

*Jaap Hemelrijk seated in front of the Dionysos Sarcophagus in the Allard Pierson Museum, 1986
(photo M. Bootsman)*

IN MEMORIAM

Professor Dr Jaap Marcus Hemelrijk (1925 - 2018)

June last year Jaap Hemelrijk passed away rather suddenly at the age of 92 years in his house, named 't Hemelrijk, in the north-eastern part of The Netherlands. Shortly before he told me that he could not endure to live alone without his wife who had died at the age of 91 the year before; they had lived together for more than 70 years. Moreover, both his sense of hearing and power of vision had become poor; he almost could not read anymore.

Jaap Hemelrijk was professor of Classical Archaeology and History of Ancient Art at the University of Amsterdam for 20 years, from 1966 to 1986. At that time, it was usual that the professor also directed the Allard Pierson Museum, the archaeological museum of the University of Amsterdam. He thought it was the 'finest job in the world'. Hemelrijk was both an excellent and enthusiastic teacher and an outstanding museum director.

After reading Classics at the University of Amsterdam, majoring in ancient Greek language and culture in 1952, like his father long before him, he got a scholarship for Trinity College, Cambridge. Here, he started to work on his PhD thesis on Caeretan hydriae.

In the summer of 1953 he travelled around the Mediterranean, not only in Italy and Greece, but also in Turkey, where Emilie Haspels, professor of Classical Archaeology at the University of Amsterdam and one of his former professors, had gone on archaeological reconnoitring expeditions in ancient Phrygia some years earlier. She invited Hemelrijk to assist her in making drawings of the Phrygian monuments and settlements, but also of Roman and Byzantine tombs and Christian churches cut out the living rock. He also helped her make plaster casts of tomb reliefs. He was active in the Phrygian highlands during the campaigns of 1953 and 1958. His contributions to

Haspels' final book, *The Highlands of Phrygia* (Princeton, N.J., 1971) were considerable.

Besides teaching Greek and Latin in a secondary school, the Libanon Lyceum at Rotterdam, he continued writing his doctoral thesis under the guidance of his tutor Emilie Haspels. Hemelrijk defended the thesis, entitled *De Caeretaanse hydriae*, in 1956. He got a job as assistant professor of Greek and Latin at the State University of Groningen in 1963 and left for the University of Amsterdam three years later. From now on, classical archaeology was his major field of interest.

Jaap Hemelrijk was appointed as Emilie Haspels' successor in 1966. His courses of lectures attended by ca 150 students of classical archaeology, art history and classics were most inspiring, not to say, almost legendary. He showed his fervid enthusiasm for ancient Greek culture and art history in every possible way. His lectures were most successful, largely because of his remarkable charisma. They attracted a large group of students of Classics and Art History to opt for the MA of Classical Archaeology and even to write a PhD degree. The following scholars completed their PhD dissertation under his guidance: Herman A.G. Brijder, Joost H. Crouwel, Arnold Enklaar, Hans Euwe, Patricia S. Lulof, Cees W. Neeft, and Conrad M. Stibbe. He co-refereed Riemer R. Knoop's PhD thesis at the Free University in Amsterdam.

Inspired by Hemelrijk's particular brand of enthusiasm for Greek painted pottery, many of his students specialized in one of the fields of this subject, Corinthian, Attic black- and red-figure or Hellenistic vase-painting. So, the so-called 'Amsterdam School of Vasologists' was founded which got an international reputation. Hemelrijk most attentively corrected the manuscripts of his students; the pages were usually covered with his remarks

scribbled in pencil. This time-consuming personal attention to correcting other people's manuscripts took priority over writing his own books - a sacrifice worth of praise. In effect, he restricted his output mainly to shorter publications, like reviews of other people's publications and papers aimed at a broad public (see the *Bibliography*).

His most important publications to date are the standard work *Caeretan Hydriae* (*Kerameus Series* vol. 5, Mainz am Rhein 1984), the first volume of the CVA of the Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam (Amsterdam 1988) on the red-figure drinking-cups, and finally, *More about Caeretan Hydriae. Addenda et Claricanda*, the 17th volume of the *Allard Pierson Series* published in 2009 when he was 84 years of age.

As mentioned above, Hemelrijk's appointment also included the directorship of the Allard Pierson Museum. In 1966, the museum's collections had been housed, since its foundation in 1934, in a vacant former school in the eastern part of Amsterdam. The design and arrangement of the museum pieces in the old-fashioned and overcrowded show-cases had never been changed since its opening. In those days, the museum was not intended for the interested general public, but for students only. The collections were meant for study purposes. Students had to learn every object on display in the museum as part of their final bachelor exam. Hemelrijk gave practical lessons and lectures in the museum. But, from the very start he intended to improve the museum's situation: *i.e.* to transform it into an up-to-date museum and to move it to a more appropriate accommodation on a more central location in the city of Amsterdam.

Thanks to Hemelrijk's energetic drive and persistence at the negotiating table of the university board his request was granted. By coincidence the buildings of the head offices of the Nederlandsche Bank on the Oude Turfmarkt, located in the very centre of the city, were empty because the bank had moved to another part of the city in the early seventies. The University bought the former bank buildings and they were transformed into the museum of ancient art. The transfer of the ancient objects from the old school to the monumental neo-classicistic building of the new museum took place in 1976. One of the most renowned museum designers of those days in The Netherlands, Dick Elffers, was chosen for the job. His aesthetic design of the chronologically arranged museum-objects according to the different regions - Egypt, Ancient Near East, Greek world, Etruria and Roman world - was highly

praised. The adjacent part of the former bank building was prepared to house the institute of Classical Studies, comprising all fields of studies in ancient civilizations, well-equipped with their own libraries. Indeed, it was an ideal situation for both teaching and researching. The new location and accommodation for the museum and institute were Hemelrijk's greatest feat.

In order to mark the opening of the new museum, Hemelrijk appointed a committee whose duty it was to raise financial means for purchasing Greek and Roman sculptures of large size, since these were so far lacking in the museum. This was a great success: there were over 1400 donors. Hemelrijk himself set out on travel in order to visit ancient-art dealers in Europe and find important sculptures appropriate for the new museum. He was most successful in acquiring four important objects: two original Greek (archaic sphinx head and classical stele) and two Roman statues (one of Venus and another of Fortuna). These acquisitions were vital to the image of the Greek and Roman departments.

After Hemelrijk had heard of the plans of the director of the Royal Academy of Arts in The Hague to throw out its large collection of plaster casts of sculptures, he immediately sprang into action. This was in the early seventies, when the interest in drawing of plaster casts of ancient sculptures had vanished and was regarded as 'old-fashioned academicism'. Thanks to Hemelrijk's action, over 100 plaster casts of ancient sculptures, some of them 'antique' 19th-century pieces, were rescued from destruction; they can still be studied and admired in the Allard Pierson Museum.

To mark the fiftieth anniversary of the museum in 1984, Hemelrijk aimed to purchase another impressive sculpture, if possible, even more impressive than the four sculptures acquired to mark the opening of the museum. He succeeded to purchase the huge marble sarcophagus with large Dionysiac scenes represented in the background of his portrait. This sarcophagus has a most distinguished provenance: in the 16th century it belonged to the collection of the Villa Farnesina, Rome. It was put on sale by a Roman art dealer (in 1903) and acquired by Lord Astor who intended it for decoration of his park at Haver Castle. The transport from England to the museum was spectacular.

In the museum, several exhibition-seminars for students were supervised by Hemelrijk. They were meant to serve as a practical experience during their study of Classical Archaeology, Classics or History of Ancient Art. He taught the students all aspects of preparing an exhibition, such as, the

choice of the museum pieces and their descriptions in the catalogue. Hemelrijk was always most supportive of his students, but he could be quite critical as well. This resulted in several interesting exhibitions and catalogues.

On the occasion of Hemelrijk's retirement as professor and museum director in 1986, the mayor of Amsterdam handed over the Silver Medallion of the city of Amsterdam to him, in recognition of his achievements as director of the Allard Pierson Museum. In addition, a *Festschrift* including 26 contributions of national and international colleagues and pupils was presented to him. Its title could not be more appropriate: *Enthousiasmos*.

It is unnecessary to say that Hemelrijk could not be sitting around and doing nothing as a professor emeritus. He gave innumerable lectures on general subjects of ancient Greek culture, especially themes relating to the explanation of the representations on Greek vases. Over a decade or so he continuously delivered each second month a paper on his admired vase-painter Makron in *Amphora*, the journal of the Dutch Association of Friends of the Gymnasium. They are written on the one hand with a ready pen in an often humorously, purely 'Hemelrijkian' style and on the other hand in full awe of the gifts of the painter. 'Here, he could freely share his knowledge and thoughts of Greek vase-painting with old gymnasium students who understood his references to Homer and other Greek poets'.¹ All 60 papers have finally been published in two handsomely illustrated volumes.

Jaap Hemelrijk was a most important source of inspiration not only for his pupils of the secondary school, but also for the University and PhD students and the wider public who attended his lectures. He made the museum accessible to a considerably larger contingent of interested visitors by organising interesting exhibitions, acquiring important objects and publishing expert and clear papers.

For me personally, Jaap Hemelrijk has meant a lot to me and I always have been proud of having been, first his student and PhD doctorand, and later his successor.

Herman A.G. Brijder

NOTE

¹ Citing his daughter, Emily Hemelrijk (Preface of J. M. Hemelrijk, *Makron en zijn makers. Vaasschilders in Athene 525-475 v. Chr.*, Wanneperveen 2009, 5).

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Bisenzio (Capodimonte, VT - Italy) between the Bronze and the Archaic Age.

A minor centre or a relevant hub in the inland district of South Etruria?

Report of the 'Bisenzio Project' research activities, 2015-2016.

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Abstract

Since 2015, an international and multi-disciplinary research project supported by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) has been systematically studying the 'Etruscan' site of Bisenzio situated in the district of the modern town of Capodimonte (Viterbo), inland of South Etruria and west of Lake Bolsena. Considering that a community thrived there uninterruptedly between the late 10th century and the early 5th century BC, our knowledge of the evidence from both the residential area and the cemeteries is limited and unsystematic. This paper offers a short overview of the previous research and a more detailed comment on the investigations carried out during the first two years of the new research project.

1. INTRODUCTION

Four kilometres north of the modern town of Capodimonte (Viterbo - Lazio), on the southwest shore of the volcanic Lake Bolsena (fig. 1a-b), we find the small Bisenzio hill (404.8 m asl) that commands a wide view across the lake, nowadays at about 305 m asl (fig. 1c). In the east, steep cliffs characterise the profile of the hill, while in the other directions, the promontory gently runs down toward the flat or slightly undulated landscape that either meets the lake or turns into the hilly countryside in the distance (fig. 2).

The toponym 'Bisenzio' derives from that of the Roman municipium, i.e. 'Visentium', located in the same district. However, the inception of a permanent settlement on the hill is much earlier and dates back to at least the Final Bronze Age.¹ This community thrived between the 10th and early 5th century BC, at the end of which this dynamic and powerful Etruscan town underwent a profound crisis.

The great scientific interest in Bisenzio is fostered by some of its peculiar features. First of all, the site is a real one-off in the framework of settlement nucleation trends documented in the inland area of southern Etruria, west of Lake Bol-

sena. In fact, Bisenzio is the only Bronze Age settlement thriving uninterruptedly into the early 5th century BC.² In this respect, this trend echoes the evidence of the central Tyrrhenian coastal region, despite the substantial differences that



Fig. 1a. Location of Bisenzio (A. Babbi).



existed regarding geographic features (open and wide fertile flat landscape vs a heavily wooded and very hilly region), and the orographic patterns of the major proto-urban centres (large plateaux of Vulci, Tarquinia, and Cerveteri).³ On the other hand and despite the similarities with the Bisenzio ecosystem, the so called 'Teverina area' east of Lake Bolsena displays continuity both in the settlement and in landscape population dynamics, which sets it apart from the Bisenzio region. The reason for this is thought to be 'due to a marginal location in respect of the lively coastal region'.⁴ Finally, Bisenzio offers the unique chance to investigate both the structure and the development of a pre-Roman urban fabric. In contrast, the other major centres in Southern Etruria underwent profound alterations due to the fact that they were continuously occupied down to the Roman period.⁵

All of the above convinced the Soprintendenza Archeologia to grant the permits of study and publication necessary to realize the Research Project Bisenzio. The DFG has generously supported the research activities during the first three-year

period (2015-2017), and is now pondering an extension as regards the funding programme in light of the unexpected results achieved.⁶

A.B.

2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

2.a Cemeteries

The earliest written source mentioning tomb looters' activities in the area is dated to the early 17th century.⁷ Such pillaging likely continued throughout the following centuries and the stonecutters, who were retrieving tufa stones from

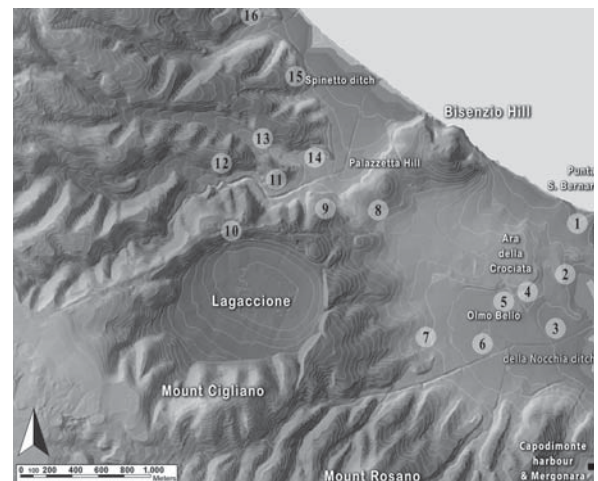


Fig. 2. DTM of the district of Bisenzio hill, features and burial grounds (burial grounds 1. Punta S. Bernardino, 2. Porto Madonna, 3. Polledrara, 4. Bucacce, 5. Olmo Bello, 6. Piantata, 7. Ginestreto, 8. Palazzetta, 9. Poggio della Mina, 10. Fontana del Castagno, 11. Poggio Palombo, 12. Poggio Sambuco, 13. Valle Saccoccia, 14. Valle dello Spinetto, 15. Casale del Giardino, 16. Grotte del Mereo. Image editing A. Babbì on the basis of the DTM elaborated by the Institut für Raumbezogene Informations- und Messtechnik (i3Mainz), Hochschule Mainz).

both funerary structures and sarcophagi for re-working, became the best connoisseurs of the locations of the grave plots.⁸ As late as 1885, when rumours of the discovery of important burial evidence in the Capodimonte territory reached the 'Direzione Centrale degli Scavi e dei Musei del Regno', a decision was made to send Angiolo Pasqui, at that time secretary of the 'Commissariato dei musei e degli scavi dell'Etruria' directed by Gianfrancesco Gamurrini, to start recording the evidence as systematically as possible (fig. 3).⁹

Between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the funerary clusters scattered across the plains west, southwest and south of the Bisenzio hill were the main focus of the investigations (Poggio della Mina, Palazzetta, Polledrara, Porto Madonna, S. Bernardino). The locations hosted almost entirely pit tombs, trench graves and very few enclosures/mounds dated between the Early Iron Age and an advanced stage of the Archaic period (fig. 2, 1-3, 8-9).¹⁰ On the one hand, the discovery and publication of Iron Age graves raised the interest of the scientific community

engaged in debating the origins of the Etruscans and brought the site of Bisenzio to the fore. On the other hand, the news about the wealth of the Orientalizing and Archaic burial assemblages fostered the activities of tomb looters. Gradually, some relevant objects originating from Bisenzio showed up not only in different Italian Museums, but regrettably also in various European and North-American collections.¹¹ Interested citizens continued investigations in the 1920s and 1930s, but this time under the auspices of the Soprintendenza (fig. 2, 4-6).¹² From the mid-20th century, the Soprintendenza became engaged in a long-term struggle to prevent the cultural heritage from being looted. For instance in the 1950s and 1960s respectively, Giuseppe Foti and Giovanni Colonna undertook a wide range of archaeological investigations to rescue a huge amount of funerary goods from graves and chamber tombs, in the plain southeast of the Bisenzio hill and along the neglected, bushy cliffs of the hills northwest of Bisenzio between the so called 'Poggio della Mina' and Merellio S. Magno (fig. 2, 10-16).¹³ Unfortunately, the antiquarian approach of the 19th

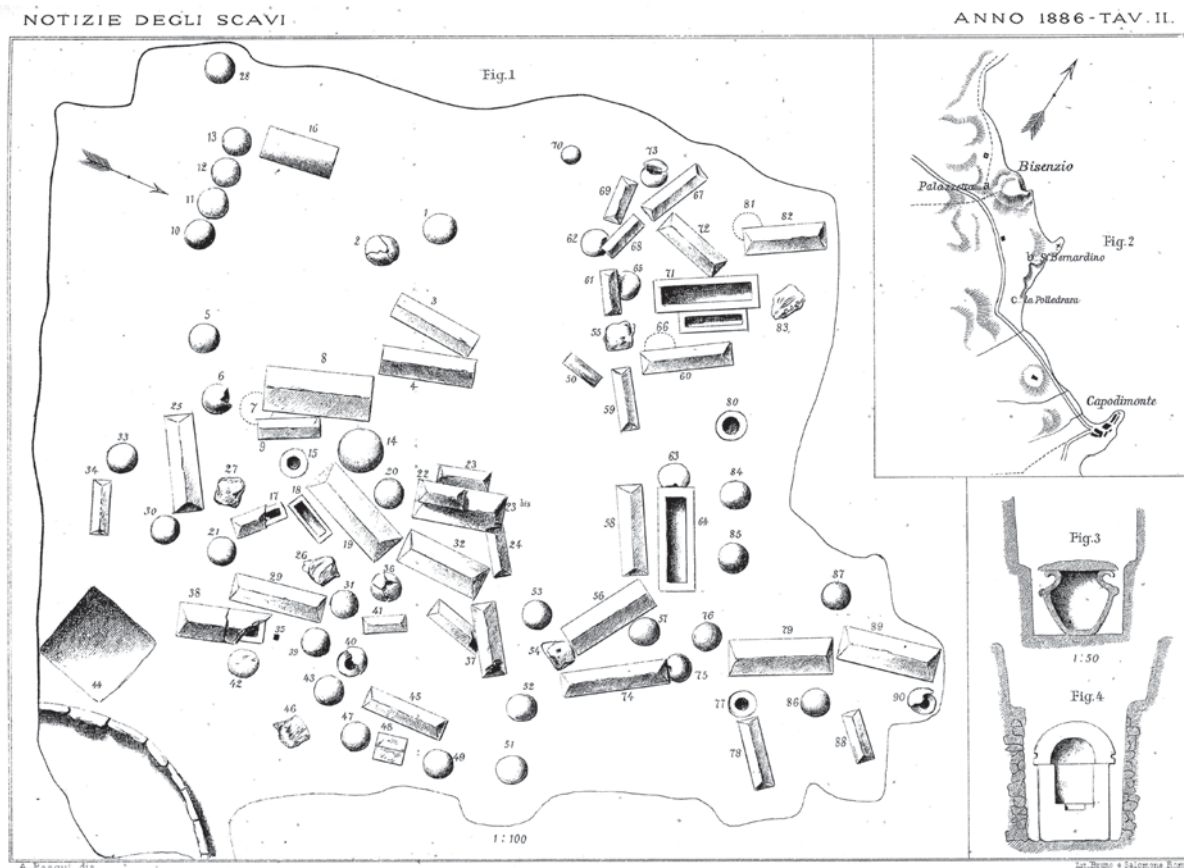


Fig. 3. Bisenzio, San Bernardino burial plot (after Pasqui 1886, pl. II).

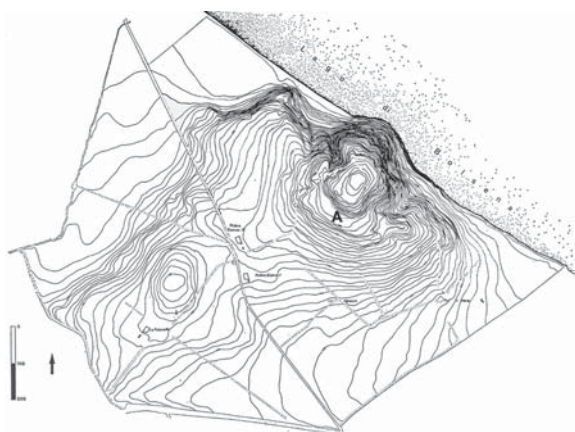


Fig. 4a. Bisenzio, Location of GAR survey in 1971 (A) (after Di Gennaro 1986, pl. 6). 4b. Bisenzio, Detail of the Raddatz's distribution map, in grey the unchecked field surfaces (after Raddatz 1975, Beilage 1).

century studies in combination with the fact that later on almost all of the investigations were emergency excavations has resulted in a quite limited and unsystematic knowledge of the funerary evidence from Bisenzio.¹⁴

A.B., F.D.

2.b Settlement

The interest in the settlement evidence developed only from the 1970s onwards.¹⁵ This new approach to Bisenzio's archaeological heritage sprung from

a new interest in settlement and urban archaeology inspired by the introduction of field-surveys.¹⁶ Besides, in the late 1960s, the archaeologists' interest in the inland centres of Southern Etruria increased thanks to the important outcomes of the Swedish archaeological excavations in such settlements as Luni sul Mignone, San Giovenale, and Acquarossa.¹⁷

In the spring of 1971, the Gruppo Archeologico Romano (GAR) carried out surveys on the Bisenzio hill.¹⁸ The investigations focused mainly on the west slopes of the hill and in particular on the terrace located below the top (fig. 4a).¹⁹ Of the wide variety of sherds stored in the Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia in Rome in 1976, a number of interesting shapes were published in 1977.²⁰ Even if their dating remains contentious to this day,²¹ a recently published Middle Bronze Age fragment from the GAR surveys suggests a much earlier date for the first phase of the settlement.²²

Between 1972 and 1975, Klaus Raddatz extended the research to the fields along the slopes of the hill and downwards into the surrounding valleys. On the one hand, Raddatz's work offers us invaluable insights thanks to the wide range of sherds published very quickly.²³ On the other hand, his reflections and concluding picture deeply suffer from a lack of thorough knowledge as regards the local material culture and from the impossibility to sketch out an accurate distribution map.²⁴ Furthermore, information provided by Raddatz's study is unfortunately undermined by the fact that the survey was limited to fields whose topsoil offered high visibility (fig. 4b).²⁵ Additionally, the absence of distribution maps of peculiar objects, which could point to the function of the submerged structures, and the real-



Fig. 4c. Bisenzio, snapshot of Driehaus' distribution map (after Driehaus 1986, fig. 4).

istic style of drawings, which can be misleading when elaborating the chrono-typological sequence of pottery shapes and decoration (e.g. Final Bronze Age versus very Early Iron Age sherds), make that this study is not easy to use and lacks clarity.²⁶

In the late 1970s, a first systematic archaeological excavation was accomplished by the Soprintendenza and the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche. Both the west edge of the top of the Bisenzio hill and the above-mentioned terrace yielded hints of a permanent Final Bronze Age settlement as well as probable archaic structures and medieval foundations.²⁷

In the winters of 1980 and 1982, Jürgen Driehaus carried out two field-walking campaigns and extended the investigations to many fields which had so far not been taken into consideration. The interesting results were published posthumously in a brief but dense article whose accuracy astonishes to this day.²⁸ Nevertheless, when considering the outcomes of Driehaus's research, it is apparent that its strong points - the large area that was examined, the precise mapping of the pottery clusters, and the accurate positioning of loom weights which helped to distinguish between funerary and residential areas (fig. 4c) - are superseded by the lack of both a catalogue and illustrations of the sherds.²⁹

More recently, new occasional field-walking activities or occasional discoveries added new relevant pieces of information that have considerably detailed the picture of the earliest population patterns in the Bisenzio territory. It can now be argued that the Bisenzio hill was most probably

only one of the sites occupied during the Bronze Age, as hinted at by the sherds from Mount Cigliano (Middle Bronze Age, Final Bronze Age), Mount Rosano (Recent Bronze Age), the Capodimonte Harbour (Middle Bronze Age 3), and the so-called 'Mergonara' plot located on the south slopes of the Capodimonte peninsula (Recent Bronze Age-Final Bronze Age) (fig. 2).³⁰

Finally, in 2002, the Soprintendenza accomplished an emergency excavation in a field located on the south and southwest slopes of the Bisenzio hill (fig. 5a). The outcomes not only confirm the wealth of the archaeological layers and the occurrence of trackways or roads, but for the first time, they also throw a light on the architectural features of Archaic, rectangular buildings, possibly high-ranking houses, as hinted at by a fragment of a decorated architectural terracotta relief plaque with a narrative scene (fig. 5b).³¹

A.B., F.D.

2.c Underwater contexts

As hinted at by the evidence from the Gran Carro settlement located on the lake's east coast, a rising of the water level occurred during the 9th century BC.³² This phenomenon was probably still in progress during the Orientalizing and possibly Archaic Age, when the lake reached a level that was circa 7 to 8 m higher than in previous years.³³ Therefore, one can assume that during the 9th century BC, the Bisenzio hill was located in the middle of a plain extending up to circa 200-300 m east-



Fig. 5a. Bisenzio, Soprintendenza investigations 2002, location of soundings (after D'Atri 2016, 165 fig. 1).
Fig. 5b. Bisenzio, Soprintendenza investigations 2002, fragment of architectural terracotta decoration, 9.5 x 6.3 cm, 2 cm in thickness (not to scale, after D'Atri 2016, 167 fig. 4).



Fig. 6. Bisenzio, extension of the vegetation cover and lake level during the 9th century BC (image editing A. Babbi).

wards (fig. 6).³⁴ It is likely that the residential area extended across the above-mentioned plain; the nearby lake was significant not only as a source of food and fresh water, but also as a medium connecting the communities located along its shores.³⁵

A telling example, in this respect, is offered by eleven well preserved coarse-ware vessels, pottery fragments, and animal bones from the lake bed between the Bisenzio hill and Punta S. Bernardino.³⁶ The few published vases display similarities with the Gran Carro evidence and can therefore be dated to the beginning of the Early Iron Age (fig. 7).³⁷ Only the accurate and systematic analysis of the above-mentioned underwater area will allow us to determine whether or not the evidence was in situ and will offer the necessary data sets to put it in context.³⁸ Anyway, it is beyond doubt that both Bisenzio and Bisentina Isle played a capital role as far as lake-faring is concerned, as evidenced by the two Bronze Age dug-out canoes found respectively near the Bisenzio hill and the Bisentina Isle (Punta Calcino).³⁹

A.B.

3. NEW RESEARCH: RESEARCH AIMS AND PLAN

In order to make a plausible reconstruction of Bisenzio as a complex system made up of a proto-urban and subsequently urban area, suburbs, and cemeteries harmoniously and dynamically connected with the surrounding territory, the 'Bisenzio Project' has taken the evidence from both earlier research and new non-invasive investigations into consideration since 2015. With reference to

the earlier research, the evidence from the 1927-1931 excavations in the Olmo Bello cemetery as well as the archaeological soundings from 1978-1979 on the Bisenzio hill and the vessels from the underwater investigations in the 1970s have been studied. Among the new, non-invasive investigations, ultra-intensive intra-site field-walking and extensive geophysical prospections can be mentioned. Finally, thanks to a network of georeferenced points set up in situ by the University of Applied Sciences Mainz (i3mainz), the new data are localised, and will be uploaded onto a GIS already set up with many historical and thematic maps, aerial photographs, and a digital terrain model (DTM). This GIS, implemented with GeoServer and GeoExplorer, enables us to merge different datasets in order to develop a multivariate, synchronic/diachronic interpretation.⁴⁰

The main aim is to improve our knowledge of both the funerary traditions and the material culture, as well as the residential features and urban developments, such as the pace at which the settlement grew into a town, the function of the different residential areas, the distinction between urban and suburban districts, the possible presence of defence works and gates, and the infrastructure including roads.

A.B.

4. RESEARCH CARRIED OUT DURING THE FIRST TWO YEARS

4.a The 1927-1931 excavations at the Olmo Bello cemetery

On the 29th of August 1927, the antiquarian and excavator 'knight' Fausto Benedetti applied for the permit to carry out archaeological investigations at 'località [...] Olmo Bello e la Piantata'.⁴¹ A first campaign was held between early September 1927



Fig. 7. Bisenzio, underwater finding, 11.0 cm in height (after Cardoso 2014, 224).

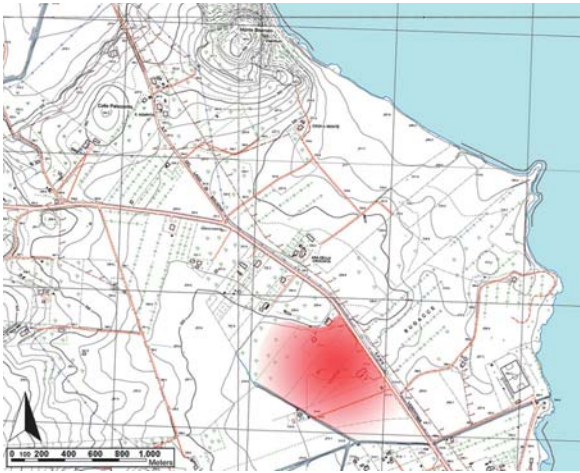


Fig. 8a. Bisenzio, location of the Olmo Bello cemetery (detail of the Carta Tecnica Regionale; image editing A. Babbi).

and the end of January 1929 at 'Olmo Bello', i.e. 'a sud di Monte Bisenzio, e precisamente in quell'area compresa tra la via provinciale e il corso d'acqua che sulla pianta catastale è indicato con il nome di *Fosso della Nocchia*' (fig. 2, 5).⁴² In 1928, Roberto Paribeni published the description of 16 burial contexts that came to light at the beginning of the first campaign 'facendo tesoro degli appunti' submitted by Benedetti.⁴³

The second campaign began at the end of 1929 and lasted with some interruptions till mid-1931, when the investigations came to an end for good due to the death of Benedetti in Rome. The second campaign was also carried out by Benedetti, but it was directed by the architect and archaeologist Enrico Stefani and supervised by the 'Ispettore onorario' at Viterbo, Augusto Gargana as requested by Paribeni.⁴⁴

Thanks to Stefani's map of the archaeological excavations at Olmo Bello, currently being studied for publication (fig. 8b), and the analysis carried out by Maria Chiara Mac Donald in the mid-1970s, the above mentioned location of the necropolis can be specified more carefully.⁴⁵ In fact, the fields investigated by Benedetti and Stefani extend between the regional road leading to Valentano ('Strada Provinciale Verentana' 8) and the ditch 'Olmo Bello', as well as between the modern 'Agriturismo Bisenzio' to the south and, to the north, the slope of the small hill rising to the same altitude of the 'Ara della Crociata' district (fig. 8a).⁴⁶ Furthermore, Benedetti identified and dug out a rather wide *agger* (circa 6-8 m wide at the bottom and 10 m wide at the top) running along the slope of the

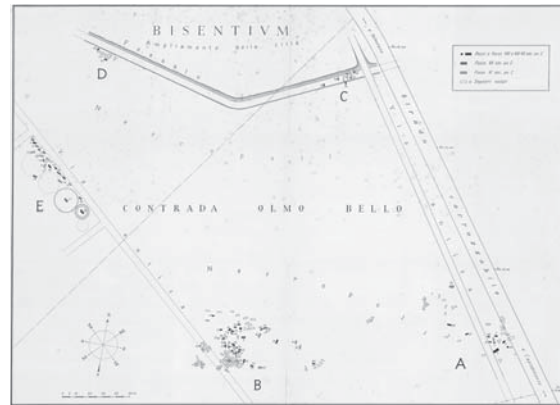


Fig. 8b. Enrico Stefani's Map of the Olmo Bello cemetery (Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per l'area metropolitana di Roma la provincia di Viterbo e l'Etruria meridionale, Drawings Archive).

above mentioned small hill (fig. 8b, up above 'Fossato').⁴⁷ The discovery of some Iron Age graves cut by the *agger* (fig. 8b, cluster of tombs C, and see in the text below 'Cluster C'), led Stefani to match such a defence work with the south boundary of the urban district in the Archaic, possibly as early as the Orientalizing period (fig. 8b, up above 'Ampliamento della città').⁴⁸ What is more, Stefani located a gate along the *agger* through which an ancient road ran almost parallel to the modern one.⁴⁹ If the slope of the hill, whose top surface was much likely part of the inhabited area, can be counted as a boundary of the burial ground at least during the Archaic period, the line corresponding to the abovementioned modern regional road cannot. This assertion is confirmed by the ten graves discovered in 1911 circa 3 km north of Capodimonte, when a stretch of the old road leading to Valentano was rebuilt slightly further to the west.⁵⁰ Not only do the architectural features and the funerary gifts of these burial contexts mirror those from Olmo Bello (pits, *fossa* graves and graves with sarcophagus), but such graves also joined the funerary area tellingly named 'Le Bucacce' and the 'Olmo Bello' district. This kind of setting, extending clockwise at least from Punta San Bernardino to the southeast up to 'Colle Palazzetta' to the northwest, would be made up of several burial clusters interconnected by a net of funerary paths and interspersed by transitional areas where burials were scattered more infrequently.⁵¹ Some of the paths should definitely be considered as 'monumental' funerary roads in the light of the accurate building technique, their decoration, and their connection

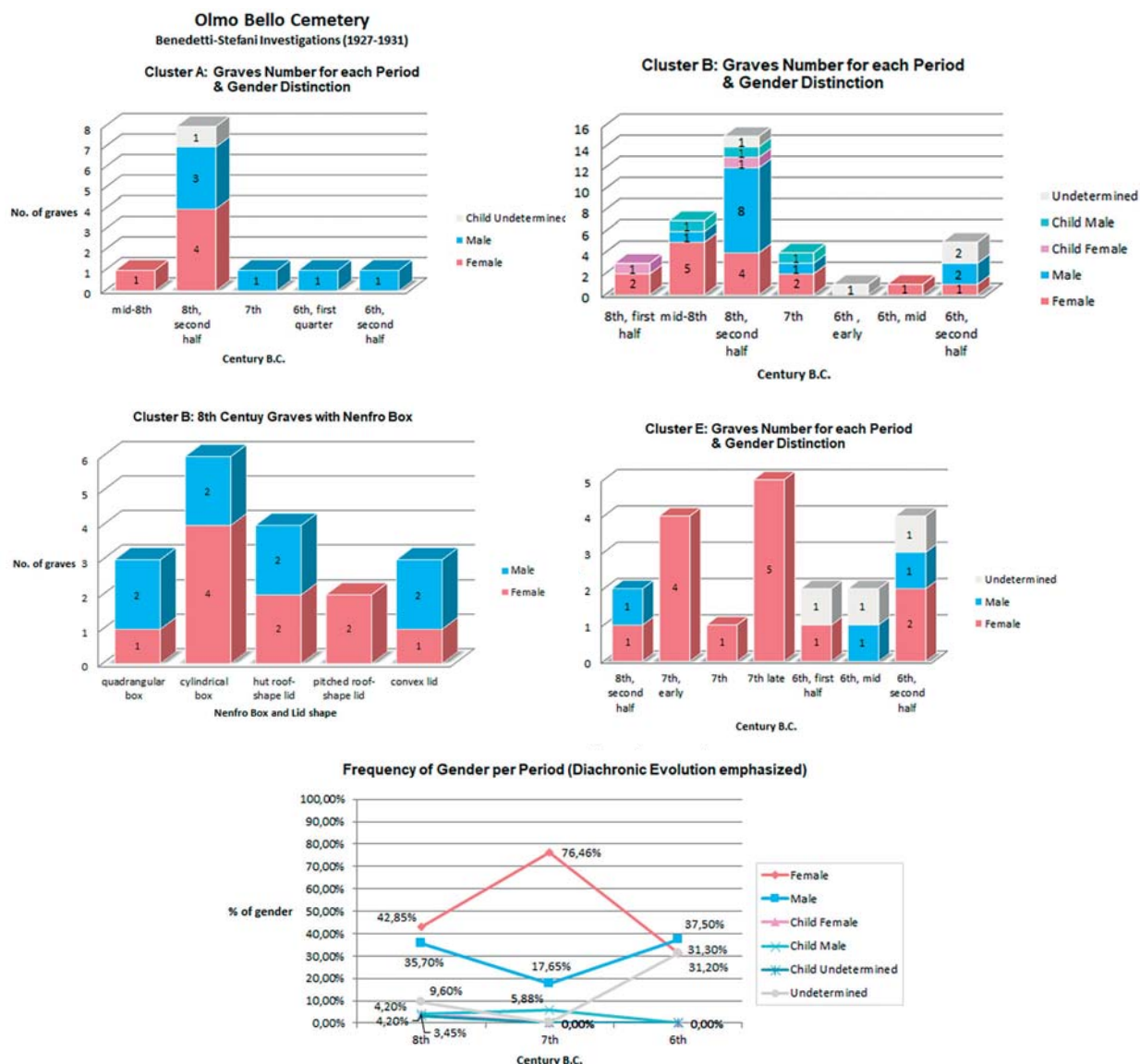


Fig. 9a. Bisenzio, Olmo Bello cemetery, cluster A, frequency of graves according to gender. 9b. Bisenzio, Olmo Bello cemetery, cluster B, frequency of graves according to gender. 9c. Bisenzio, Olmo Bello cemetery, cluster B, 8th century graves with nenfro box. 9d. Bisenzio, Olmo Bello cemetery, cluster E, frequency of graves according to gender. 9e. Bisenzio, Olmo Bello cemetery, frequency of gender per period (image editing A. Babbi).

to small shrines.⁵² Additionally, the occurrence of paths, possibly real roads, in the Olmo Bello 1927-1931 excavations hinted at on Stefani's plan, has recently been confirmed by the geophysical prospections carried out by the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute at Vienna in July 2013 (fig. 21, a01). The transversal secondary roads documented by both Stefani's plan and notes, underpin the occurrence of an articulated and possibly regular road system running through the region connecting

the residential zone of Bisenzio with the neighbouring districts.⁵³ Lastly, it is likely that part of this web was already in use between the late 8th and 7th century BC, as pointed to by some of the earliest funerary structures patently scattered alongside the southwest border of one of the main roads running through the Olmo Bello cemetery (fig. 8b, cluster of tombs E, and see in the text below 'Cluster E').⁵⁴

At Olmo Bello, Benedetti located 210 graves, of which 84 were numbered although only 75 ap-

peared to have been remained untouched or reasonably well-preserved and yielded burial assemblages.⁵⁵ This evidence spans the 8th to the transition of the 6th to the 5th century BC. The burials are arranged in at least five different clusters (A-E), and are situated circa 150 m apart from each other (fig. 8b).⁵⁶ Clusters A and C were located along the ancient road running north-north-west/south-south-east through the *agger*, which in turn had cut the tombs of cluster C homogeneously datable to the Iron Age, while it seems to have been significantly respected by a small chamber tomb in cluster D, unfortunately looted. Cluster B and especially E extended along the border of the second main 'funerary' road running northwest/southeast. While clusters A and B are more sparsely scattered across the field, clusters D-E are rather homogeneous. Finally, four robbed trench graves were located in between clusters A and B.⁵⁷

By focusing on the single clusters, the following can be observed.⁵⁸ In cluster A, 30 graves were empty (72%), while 12 were intact or almost intact (28%). Nine can be dated to the 8th century,⁵⁹ one tentatively to the early 7th century BC,⁶⁰ while only two are datable to the 6th century (fig. 9a).⁶¹ The exceedingly wealthy female Grave 2 containing a wooden coffin in a huge trench with a large burial space sheltered by a carefully built pseudo-vault made of large, irregular stone blocks is almost unique for both its dimensions and architectural features (fig. 10),⁶² and can be paralleled only with Grave 22 for both structural features and the wealth and variety of burial gifts.⁶³ Besides, the spatial analysis of the offerings in Grave 2 points to three specific areas in the funerary space and sheds light on the complexity of the social persona of the deceased. In fact, while most of the personal belongings had been buried within the coffin, which can therefore be seen as a 'private' space (fig. 10, Red), two 'communal' areas can be recognized outside the coffin and along its short sides: by the feet, the prestige objects conveying the social status and the role exerted in life (fig. 10, Yellow); by the head, the clay vessels imbued with the meaning of disposal of food and much likely functioning for food and beverage consumption enacted during the funerary ceremony too (fig. 10, Green).

In cluster B, 87 contexts showed considerable damage due to the illicit digging by grave robbers (71%), while 36 graves were uncovered intact or almost intact (29%). Of these, 25 date to the 8th century BC,⁶⁴ while four and seven, respectively, to the 7th and 6th century (fig. 9b).⁶⁵ One feature characterising this cluster is the occurrence of a high number of pits or quadrangular

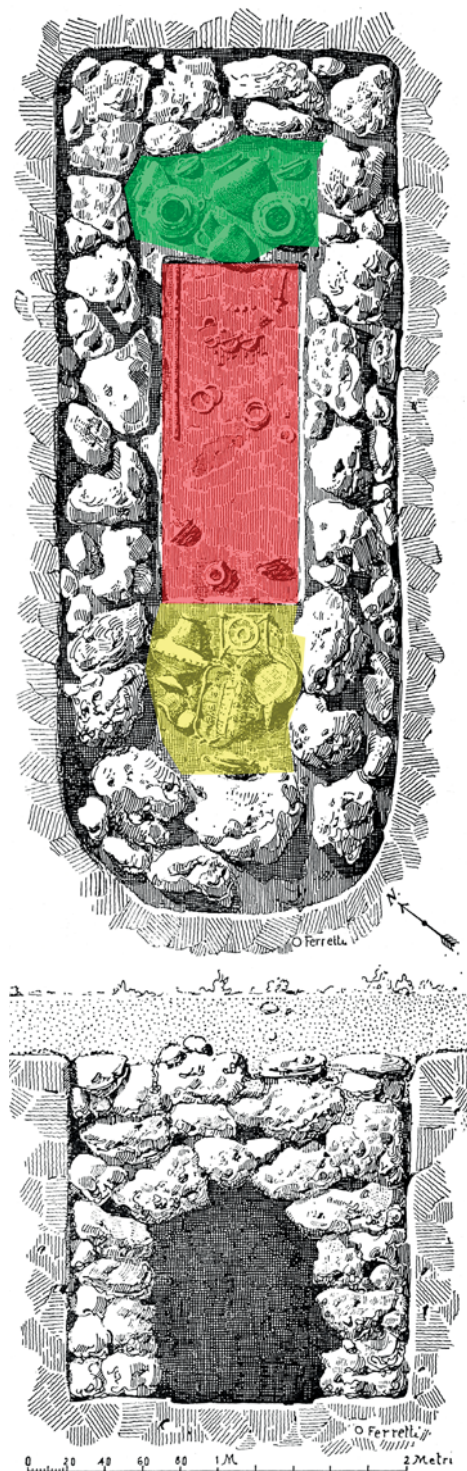


Fig. 10. Bisenzio, Olmo Bello cemetery, Grave 2, plan and section. Red: private space; yellow: public space for prestige objects; green: public space for clay vessels (after Paribeni 1928, 435-436, figs 2-3; image editing A. Babbi).

shafts with stone boxes, which can be linked to both male (four) and female (five) adults, all of them of high social status (armed males, females with wealthy offerings) (fig. 9c). What is more, while the stone boxes linked to male individuals can have a hut roof-shaped lid, those belonging to women mainly have a roof-shaped lid reproducing either a hut or a pitched roof (fig. 9c).⁶⁶

The six intact graves in cluster C (43%), almost all dating to the 8th century, can be singled out due to the unusual homogeneity of the architectural features of the graves. In fact, apart from one pit,⁶⁷ the cluster is made up of *fossa* graves with a fill of large stone blocks creating a sort of small pseudo-vault protecting the wooden coffin. While such features recall the ones of the above-mentioned Graves 2 and 22 of cluster A, the funerary assemblages are much simpler. Finally, apart from the likely female Grave 59 (spindle whorl and a small bronze lozenge-shaped 'navicella' fibula), and the possibly male Grave 58 (fragmentary razor), the remaining three cannot be linked to either gender due to the very simple and plain burial furnishing.

The interesting cluster D was unfortunately almost completely looted. The only two intact *fossa* graves with stone sarcophagi (18%) date back to the 7th century, and can be linked to a woman and a man with signs of high social standing, evidenced respectively by a rich parure and a miniature bronze shield.⁶⁸ The above-mentioned small and irregular chamber tomb with a short and narrow *dromos* located by Stefani along the south-southwest border of the *agger* provides evidence for a wider distribution of chamber tombs at Bisenzio that would occur along the steep cliffs of the west and northwest hills and in the plains southeast and south-southwest of the Bisenzio hill.⁶⁹

Finally, cluster E is made up of 20 still preserved graves (91%). Two of them go back to the second half of the 8th century,⁷⁰ while 10 *fossa* graves date to the 7th century BC⁷¹ and eight date to the 6th century (fig. 9d).⁷² Cluster E is characterised by the above-mentioned occurrence of one of the two main roads running through the Olmo Bello area and two stone enclosures drawn and described by Stefani (Graves 70 - two concentric circles, d. 10.65 m and 7.80 m; and 77 - one circle, d. 17.90 m), as well as the remnants of three more circular enclosures situated parallel to the road.⁷³ Two structural details of graves 70 and 77 offer valuable insights into the variety of the funerary architecture at Olmo Bello and, more generally, of the funerary landscape at Bisenzio. In fact, if the smaller enclosure of the former and that of the

latter were made of *nenfro* blocks refined exclusively on the exterior surface, the stones of the exterior circle of Grave 70 had been carefully carved on both the sides.⁷⁴ According to this, the former stone circles would function as the border of burial mounds (*crepido*),⁷⁵ while the latter should be rather considered as a visible enclosure, which canvassed a buffer zone around the mound. A more widespread and copious occurrence of burial mounds at Bisenzio can possibly be hinted at by the above-mentioned remnants of circular stone enclosures at Olmo Bello, and at least two more pieces of archaeological evidence. Firstly, the so called 'limite semicircolare della necropoli' of S. Bernardino that turned up in the ESE corner of Pasqui's sounding, has to be mentioned (fig. 3, 1.44 immediately E of it).⁷⁶ Considering that such a boundary that was 'sostenuto da una fila di grosse pietre di nenfro', delimited a surface 'rialzata sul piano della necropoli per circa un metro [...] cosparsa di carboni e di qualche frammento di pietra con evidenti tracce di fuoco' and that it was very close to the previously mentioned squared ditch, Pasqui assumed that the enclosure was the *ustrinum* of the burial ground and therefore functionally connected to the ditch.⁷⁷ Despite the astute approach pictured by Pasqui, some details could lead to a different interpretation of the S. Bernardino evidence. In point of fact, the series of irregular *nenfro* blocks draws a quite regular circle, whose diameter (7.10 m) goes along with some of those recorded by Stefani at Olmo Bello. Furthermore, the height of circa 70 cm of the *nenfro* elements making up the enclosures of Graves 70 and 77 is only slightly lower than the one described by the *nenfro* blocks at S. Bernardino. Besides, the charcoal fragments and burnt stones scattered on top of the surface at S. Bernardino could certainly hint at the presence of an *ustrinum*, but also match the features necessary to set up a long-lasting burial mound, i.e. a core made of stones and a cover of earth very rich in organic substances to ensure the fast growth of a verdant and waterproof meadow that could ensure the superficial drainage of rain water and avoid the gradual decay of the funerary structure.⁷⁸ Finally, the hypothesis that the funerary pyre was lit directly above the 'formella quadrata' (squared ditch) located nearby cannot be ruled out.⁷⁹ The second source that seems to shed new light on the funerary landscape at Bisenzio is offered by the results of the geophysical prospections that hint at the presence of a quite considerable number of burial mounds scattered over a landscape surface much wider than considered up to now (fig. 27, B, D-G, O).⁸⁰

Each of the points made above and the assessment of the height of the funerary mounds enables us to figure out how much articulated the funerary landscape had been: roads, facilities (perhaps small commemorative shrines?), springs, statues, grave markers, such as small stone mounds and rectangular enclosures, large mounds of a height between circa 2.80-3.80 m (S. Bernardino, the so called 'limite semicircolare della necropoli') and 4.80-6.80 m (Olmo Bello, Grave 77).⁸¹

With reference to the diachronic evolution of the Olmo Bello burial ground, it is worth stressing that the analysis of the gender frequency, as well as the architectural features and the wealth of the burial assemblages, seem to highlight a special role of female individuals during the 8th and 7th centuries, as well as a watershed occurring during the 6th century. As for the former aspect, it must be stressed that the two huge trench graves with a carefully built pseudo-vault made of large irregular stone blocks and rich furniture located in cluster A (Graves 2, 22), as well as a large number of cremations encased in the stone boxes significantly with a roof-shaped lid in cluster B, and the two rich burial mounds from cluster E (Graves 70, 77), hosted female individuals. Besides, the occurrence of bronze human figurines exclusively found in prominent female graves (2, 22, 60), lends further weight to the impression of a high social standing of at least some affluent female individuals that could hypothetically be counted as the keepers of the

lore of legends, beliefs, and tenets fostering the communal identity of the local community.

Finally, the ratio of male/female contexts per period shows a priority of female burials in the 7th century and, in contrast, a decrease during the 6th century (*fig. 9e*). This change in frequency could certainly depend on the high number of looted contexts and, moreover, be influenced by the best preserved evidence from cluster E that indeed displays a proliferation of female interments during the 7th century (10 out of 10 graves). Nevertheless, the above-mentioned statistical trend could also be a reflection of a change in burial traditions as suggested by the decrease of female contexts during the 6th century and the almost constant occurrence of armour (8th century: 87.5%; 7th century: 100%; 6th century: 88.9%). This trend could hypothetically reflect a change in the social structure of the community buried at Olmo Bello, perhaps consequent to a decline of the social/religious/political pre-eminence of the female individuals.

With respect to the informative potential of the burial gifts, whose contexts are still under study, mention must be made of the occurrence of two shapes among the richest graves: the 'hemispherical' cup and the ribbed phiale. Actually, the facts that such forms can be traced to exogenous repertoires and were made of precious bronze modelled by skilful and specialized craftsmen, hint at the involvement of the highest echelons in the frequent and multidirectional contact linking the



Fig. 11a. Bisenzio, Olmo Bello cemetery, grave 72, Inv. 57162/7 (photo A. Babbi). 11b. Bisenzio, Olmo Bello cemetery, grave 60, Inv. 57133/9 (drawing T. D'Este). 11c. Bisenzio, Olmo Bello cemetery, grave 24, Inv. 57069/05 (photo A. Babbi).



Fig. 12a. Bisenzio, location of the 1978-1979 investigations at the top of the hill and the terrace (copyright F. Delpino; image editing A. Babbi). 12b. Bisenzio, Fugazzola Delpino, 1979, *saggio A vetta*, trenches I and II from south (copyright M.A. Fugazzola Delpino and F. Delpino).

inland districts to the Tyrrhenian networks by which imported or locally made alien goods as well as foreign influences spread over South Etruria between the late 8th and 6th century BC (figs 11a-b). Finally, the high frequency of painted coarse ware vases preserving exuberant patterns painted in red and black on a light cream or white slip, could further substantiate the above-mentioned assertion by documenting the occurrence at Bisenzio of productions deeply influenced by the east Mediterranean bi-chrome technique too (fig. 11c).⁸²

A.B.

4.b The 1978-1979 excavations on Monte Bisenzio

4.b.1 The archaeological excavations

In the late 1970s, under pressure of a wide construction parcelling plan involving both the Bisenzio hill and some neighbouring fields,⁸³ the Soprintendenza and the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche carried out systematic archaeological investigations. In 1978 and 1979, a sounding and some trenches were opened respectively on the top of the hill and the terrace where the above-mentioned GAR surveys had been carried out (fig. 12a). Both areas yielded extremely interesting contexts. In the sounding, the evidence brought to light by Maria Antonietta Fugazzola Delpino and Filippo Delpino confirmed the picture of a quite early inception of a permanent settlement directly below the degraded remains of medieval buildings (fig. 12b).⁸⁴ On the terrace below, up to 13 trenches were opened by Delpino, Maria

Paola Baglione, and Francesca Melis, where clusters of proto-historical sherds, remnants of possible kilns, remains of earlier tufa buildings and paved roads were localised in 1978 (Delpino) and 1979 (Baglione/Melis). Finally, a defensive ditch from the Middle Ages running along the edge of the hill top was uncovered by Delpino.⁸⁵

A.B., F.D.

4.b.2 Chronological and typological comment on part of the findings from the 1979 Campaign

As already indicated in the preliminary report of the excavators, the finds from the settlement on the summit mainly belong to the Final Bronze Age.⁸⁶ The present state of research confirms this assumption for 2/3 of the evidence from the 1979 campaign, that has been studied during the first three-year phase of the Bisenzio Project. While metal artefacts are much less frequent on the summit,⁸⁷ the wide range of vessels uncovered provides a more specific chronological outline. This especially becomes clear when the decoration and shape of the bowls and cups are regarded. A large number of the bowls have an S-shaped profile, often with incised decoration, such as zigzag motifs (fig. 13, 1);⁸⁸ also common are turban impressions (fig. 13, 3).⁸⁹ In sharp contrast to this, bowls of the Early Iron Age are scarce. One of the few secure pieces is a hemispherical bowl with inverted rim, decorated with cord-like impressions (fig. 13, 5).⁹⁰ The same applies to the cups: considering their shape and decoration,⁹¹ the

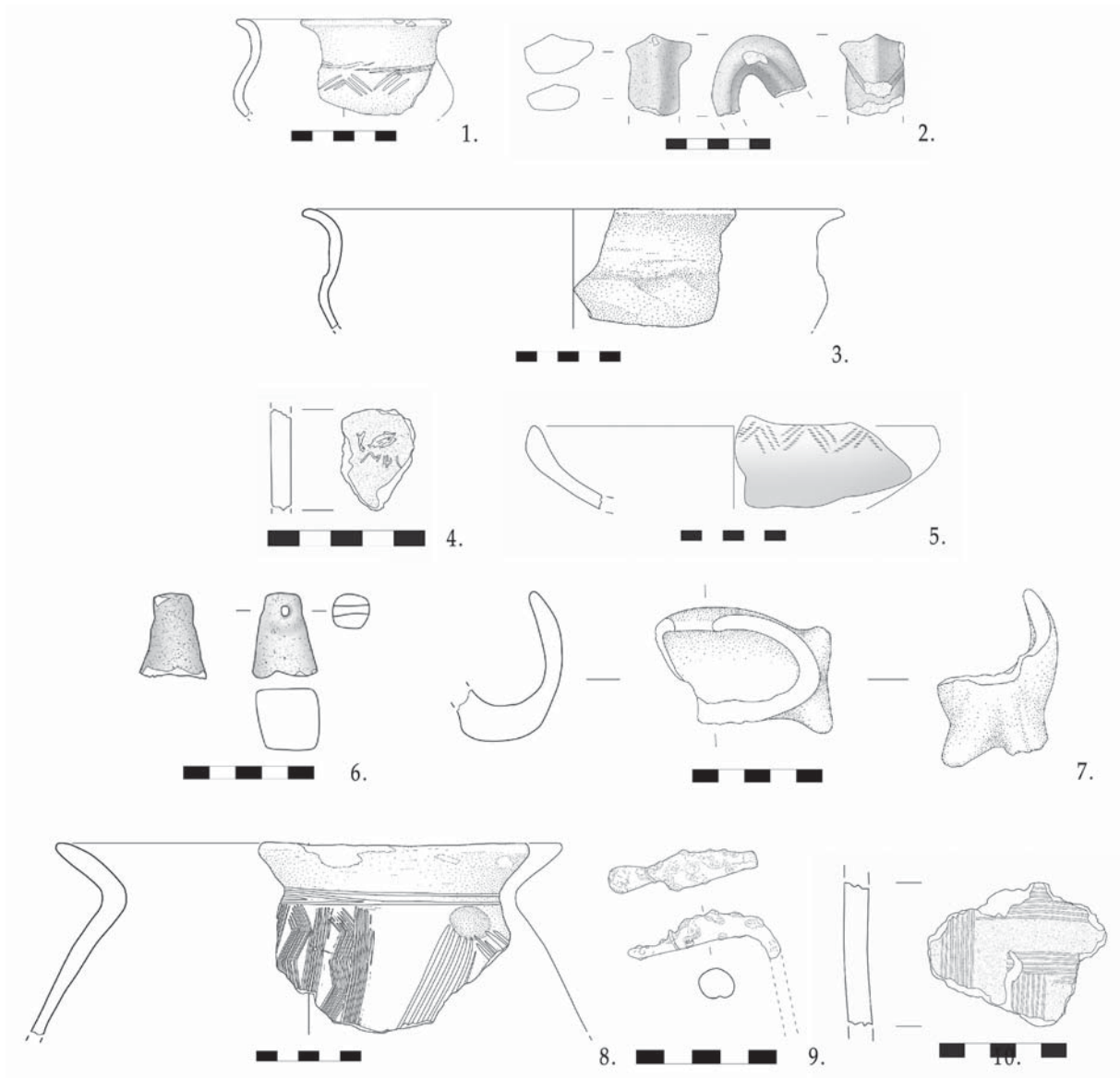


Fig. 13. Selected finds from the Monte Bisenzio (drawings 1. 3. 7-9 A. Festuccia. - 2. 4 F. Miketta/C. Ohrmann. - 5. 6. 10 I. Bell/F. Miketta).

majority belongs to the Final Bronze Age. However, a bird-shaped handle fragment (fig. 13, 2) may indicate a possible older occupation phase on the summit already during the Late Bronze Age.⁹² A precise dating of the larger vessels is often more difficult. At least some of the biconical vessels (fig. 13, 8)⁹³ bear typical Protovillanovan incised decoration, and larger dimples, and early examples of comb lines.⁹⁴ On the other hand, the abundant jars, storage vessels and basins can only be roughly dated, because their ovoid or bucket shape and their plastic decoration (e.g. finger-

tip-impressed cordons) is known from both Protovillanovan and Villanovan sites.⁹⁵ Cooking stands, loom-weights (fig. 13, 6), spindle-whorls and spools give some insight into domestic activities on the summit. Unfortunately, nearly all of the loom-weights are only fragmentarily preserved, so that it is impossible to define weight standardization. Additionally, sherds of zoomorphic vessels (fig. 13, 7) allow some speculations about ritual practices and religious beliefs on Monte Bisenzio.⁹⁶ A sherd with incised decoration showing a fish can be regarded as one of the latest finds (fig. 13, 4).⁹⁷



Fig. 14. Location of priority fields (detail of the *Carta Tecnica Regionale*; image editing A. Babbi)

Underneath this decoration, there is an inscription in Greek letters reading: $\mu \psi \iota$. The sherd was found in a layer with fragments of Protovillanovan and Villanovan pottery, but a dating to the Orientalizing period seems more plausible, because the earliest finds of Greek inscriptions in southern Etruria generally date to the end of the 8th century BC.⁹⁸ In view of the present state of research, the conclusion can be drawn that the habitation on the summit was most extensive during the final stage of the Bronze Age - maybe with a preceding occupation in the Late Bronze Age -, while it declined considerably during the Early Iron Age and the beginning of the Orientalizing period.

Compared to this, the chronological situation at the other site on the Monte Bisenzio - the terrace - is much less clear. Some finds indicate an occupation at least as early as the Villanovan period, for there are a few sherds decorated with comb lines, sometimes arranged as elaborate geometric motifs (fig. 13, 10). The identification of Early Historic material is even more difficult. Potsherds made of orange or yellow impasto with dark inclusions and, occasionally, red slip could either belong to the Orientalizing or - more likely - Archaic period. The only identifiable bronze artefact from the 1979 campaign on the terrace is a bird-shaped handle application from a ladle or strainer (fig. 13, 9), collected as a stray find. As indicated by the absence of Attic red-figure pottery in the adjacent cemeteries, the urban centre on and around Monte Bisenzio must have been abandoned shortly after 500 BC.⁹⁹ However, the abundant fragments of black and red glazed ware on both the summit and the terrace demonstrates a resurging - and again intense - occupation during the Hellenistic period.

F.M.

4.c Surface survey

4.c.1 Selection of areas

At the beginning of the 2015 survey and even more so during field walking in 2016, it became apparent that the huge number of fragmented findings found scattered in the top soil, was not compatible with the original plan to investigate the entire surface of the archaic town.¹⁰⁰ Despite this, it was decided to adopt an ultra-intensive intra-site survey strategy, at the same time reducing the surface earmarked for investigation, in the light of the notes of warning clearly sounded by Raddatz with reference to the urgency of an accurate distribution map¹⁰¹ and considering that the chronological and typological limitations of Raddatz's and Driehaus's hypotheses are the outcome of a simplistic survey strategy implemented by both scholars. This reduction was planned precisely in order to ensure a wide enough collection of data to sketch a detailed diachronic picture of the settlement's evolution into a town.

In accordance with the above-mentioned change in strategy and the available fields, the following areas were prioritised (fig. 14):¹⁰² Area A (10.8 ha, including Area 4), from the south hillside of Mount Bisenzio to the Montechiarini farmhouse at 'Ara della Crociata';¹⁰³ Area B (1.8 ha, including Area 8) and Area C (6.0 ha), respectively north of the steep slope running north of 'Colle Palazzetta' and usually seen as a boundary of the archaic residential district¹⁰⁴, and on the 'Colle' itself. This selection was planned pondering a few relevant points. In Area A, the emergency investigations carried out by the Soprintendenza in 2002 along the W edge of the field brought to light remnants of foundations of rectangular buildings likely to go back to the Archaic period as shown by the above-mentioned fragment of architectural terracotta decoration with a narrative scene (fig. 5b). The 2015 and 2016 geophysical survey documented the occurrence of some better preserved rectangular buildings as well as of an E-W arterial road and possibly other residential buildings to its sides, and a transition from the urban area to cemeteries in the east (fig. 27, 4-5). Area B can be described as suburban in the light of its topographic location, and therefore its analysis would offer quite informative insights concerning the overall picture of the town. Area C retrieved informative contexts due to its peculiar orography (a hill), its location within the perimeter of the Archaic residential district near the slopes of Mount Bisenzio, its peculiar toponym, the evidence collected there by Raddatz and Driehaus and, finally,

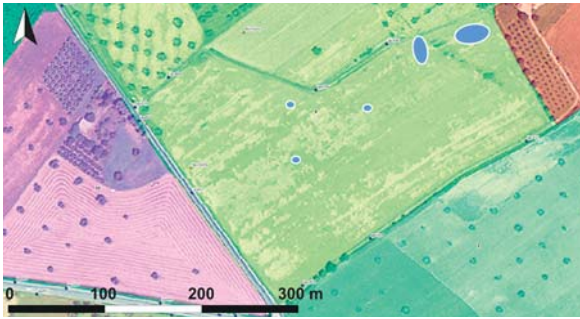


Fig. 15. Bisenzio, Area 4, Final Bronze Age findings, concentration of sherds (light blue ellipses), single sherds (light blue small circles) (mapping processing F. Miketta; interpretation and image editing A. Babbi).

the discovery of Republican pottery sherds recorded by Pasqui, which could be seen as the almost sole context dated later than the Archaic ones located in the district surrounding the hill top.¹⁰⁵

An ultra-intensive intra-site survey has been crucial for both canvassing an accurate horizontal stratigraphy of the urban area, and complementing the geophysical prospections where the Ground Penetrating Radar could not record any anomalies.¹⁰⁶

A.B.

4.c.2 Results from 2015 and 2016

4.c.2.a Bronze Age evidence

Final Bronze Age evidence mainly came to light in 2015 in Area 4 (fig. 15).¹⁰⁷ The frequency of Final

Bronze Age sherds is slightly higher nearer the slope, while their number decreases proportionately when moving further away from it. Among the slope material, it has been possible to localise not only a few fragments of vessels with incised and impressed decoration (figs 16, 1-2), but also some sherds of cooking stands such as a flat diaphragm decorated with a finger-impressed cordon applied to the wall (fig. 16, 3). If the decoration of the former can be dated back to an advanced stage of the Final Bronze Age (phases 2B/3A), the fragment of the diaphragm can be generically referred to the Final Bronze Age and the transition to the Early Iron Age.¹⁰⁸ Such occurrences of Final Bronze Age fragments and in particular remnants of cooking stands allow us to argue for the presence of some dwellings on the slopes during an early chronological stage of the permanent settlement. If this is correct, it can be suggested that the Late Bronze Age community could have gradually expanded, perhaps unevenly, down the hillside at least during the advanced stage of the period. As a consequence, the Final Bronze Age settlement could have been larger than formerly thought.¹⁰⁹ Westwards in the field, the occurrence of a large fragment of a rather early Final Bronze Age plain bi-conical vessel with calcareous concretion could tentatively be interpreted as stemming from a grave and possibly hinting at a boundary between the settlement and the burial grounds over which residential dwellings were superimposed since the Orientalizing Age at the very latest (fig. 16, 4).¹¹⁰

A.B.

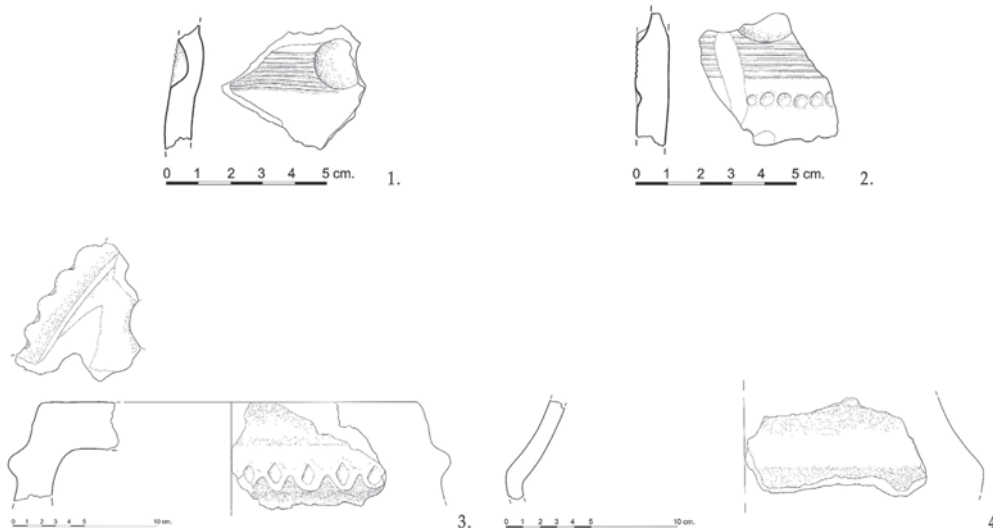


Fig. 16. Selected finds from the field walking campaign of 2015, Area 4 (drawings 1. A. Babbi/T. D'Este, 2. W. Ney/T. D'Este, 3. Chr. Unger/T. D'Este, 4. A. Babbi/T. D'Este).

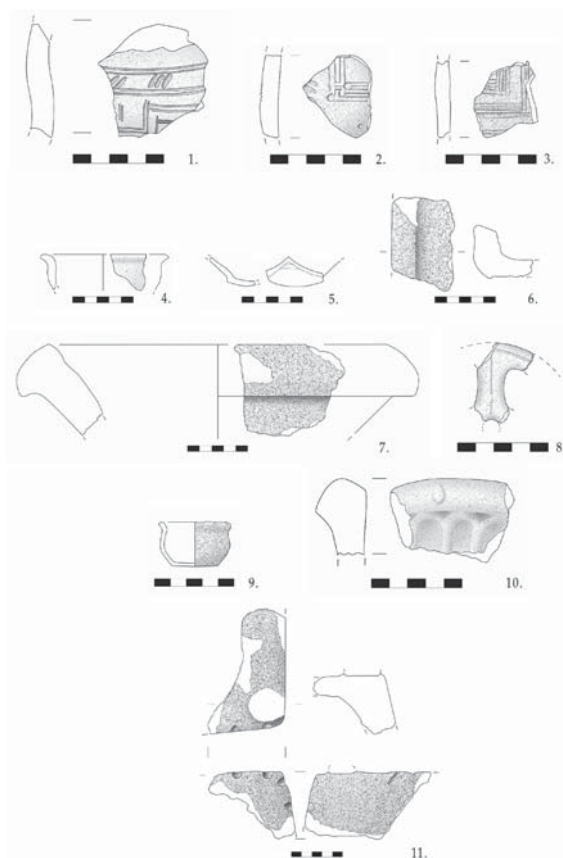


Fig. 17. Selected finds from the field walking campaign of 2015 and 2016 (drawings 1.-2. W. Ney, 3. J. Riehling, 4.-5. D. Rogall, 6.-8. 11. Ph. Schneider, 9.-10. E. Brunetti).

4.c.2.b Iron Age, Orientalizing Age, and Archaic Age evidence

During the first campaign in 2015, a smaller sector of Area 2 and a larger sector of Area 4 were surveyed (fig. 18). Sherds of pottery like storage vessels (fig. 17, 7), jars, basins, bowls (fig. 17, 4), cups, and kantharoi (fig. 17, 5) represent the majority of the finds - as was also the case during the following campaign in 2016. In addition, some implements for textile production (e.g. loom-weights, spindle-whorls) and household items, such as cooking stands or grinding stones were found. The ubiquitous tiles (fig. 17, 6) allow for some speculations about the presence of buildings. As expected, metal artefacts are very rare.

The results from Area 4 are of particular importance in understanding the chronological development of the settlement into a town during the Protohistoric and Early Historic periods.¹¹¹ In the

north-eastern part of Area 4, at least two accumulations of protohistoric potsherds were revealed, some of them with the characteristic decoration of the Early Iron Age (fig. 17, 1-3). Further towards the south-east and especially towards the north-west, the distribution of the protohistoric objects gradually decreases. The finds of the Orientalizing and Archaic periods show a denser distribution, with concentrations in the north-eastern part along the border of the field, and other along the southern limits of the surveyed area. This becomes even clearer when the distribution of the roof tiles is examined in detail, which were probably found more or less *in situ*.¹¹² Within the surveyed area, a strip of ground that lacks artefacts and separates the find concentrations in the north and the south, appears significant; it can possibly be interpreted as a street leading through this part of the urban area.

During the following campaign in 2016, special attention was devoted to Area 8 (fig. 19a). Although this is situated on the assumed north-western periphery of the Archaic centre,¹¹³ a surprisingly large number of artefacts came to light. Interestingly, the distribution pattern of the finds from each chronological period is similar:¹¹⁴ protohistoric, Orientalizing and Archaic finds are rare in the northern sector, whereas the middle part appears to be nearly empty. In contrast to this, there is a location in the southern part where the number of fragments from each period is considerably higher. Especially in this find-rich concentration, there are some exceptional artefacts dating to the Orientalizing or Archaic period (fig. 19b). One of them is an architectural decoration, an antefix with convex strigils (fig. 17, 10). In case of another fragment, an interpretation as an architectural decoration is also possible. In close proximity to each other, the fragment of a clay wheel model (fig. 17, 8) - maybe a part of ritual cart¹¹⁵ - and a black bucchero sherd with incised letters were found. Further to the south and near to the border of the field some black bucchero fragments were collected which could be reconstructed into a goblet showing a mark on its bottom side.¹¹⁶ Another, partially red slipped terracotta fragment (fig. 17, 11) may have been part of a roof decoration. Next to this, an orange fine ware fragment belonging to a plate, bearing an incised N was found. All these artefacts taken together, along with the accumulation of tiles in the same sector indicate the remains of a more lavish (residential) building, in which - at least occasionally - ritual practices must have been performed. A small impasto jar (fig. 17, 9) - the only completely preserved vessel of both campaigns - was found in the south at a distance to this concen-

tration and could possibly belong to a related votive deposit.¹¹⁷

To sum up, the new survey campaigns expand our knowledge concerning the presence of an (Early) Iron Age settlement in Area 4 in the plain directly below the Monte Bisenzio. Because of the limited area that was surveyed, it is difficult to verify Raddatz's assumption that the Orientalizing and Archaic urban fabric of Bisenzio also included areas, which were not occupied before in the Early Iron Age. The evidence of Area 8, however, indicates the presence of an extensive suburb, sprawling towards the north-west.

F.M.

5. GEOPHYSICAL PROSPECTION¹¹⁸

5.a Geophysical surveying strategy and methodology

In order to generate as much useful information as possible about still buried archaeological remains in the framework of the Bisenzio research project, it was proposed to employ non-invasive large-scale near-surface geophysical prospection methods in addition and in support of the traditional field survey. Geomagnetic prospection which is a method commonly applied. Archaeological prospection can be problematic in areas with volcanic geology, as observed in 2007 by the geophysical prospection team of the British School at Rome, when attempting an archaeological magnetometer survey at Bolsena, and as indicted in magnetic susceptibility test readings taken during a pre-study at Bisenzio in 2013. A near-surface geophysical prospection method with a great potential for three-dimensional imaging even in areas subjected to magnetic noise is the resolution ground-penetrating radar (GPR) method.¹¹⁹

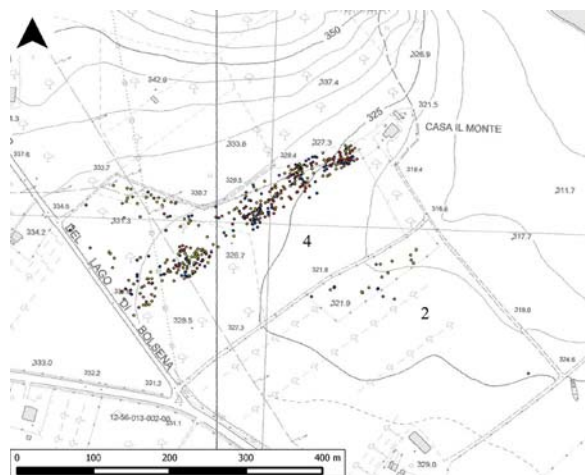
During the 2013 pre-study, a small-scale high-resolution GPR test survey had successfully imaged buried structures that with great confidence can be interpreted as belonging to the Olmo Bello Etruscan cemetery. Therefore, it was proposed to make use of large-scale GPR prospection¹²⁰ for the investigation of the areas surrounding Monte Bisenzio, concerning the presence of buried prehistoric settlement traces. Under suitable conditions - suitable in regard to the physical contrast between the archaeological structures of interest and the surrounding soil matrix - novel motorized multichannel GPR antenna arrays offer a great potential for the time- and cost-efficient three-dimensional imaging and mapping of buried archaeological remains. It was proposed to use motorized multichannel GPR measure-

ments at an unprecedented scale in order to investigate the areas in the vicinity of Monte Bisenzio for prehistoric settlement remains.

Each GPR receiver antenna is collecting a vertical GPR profile with a vertical extent that corresponds to the signal penetration depth. In case of 400 MHz or 500 MHz antennae commonly used for archaeological prospection the penetration depth of the electromagnetic GPR pulse varies normally between c. 1.5 m (in case of humous soils) and 3 m (in case of dry sandy soils). Electrically well conducting soils, such as clays, do not permit great signal penetration due to a strong absorption of the GPR pulse.

In open fields, motorized GPR antennae arrays can efficiently be positioned using Real-Time Kinematic Global Navigation Satellite Systems (RTK-GNSS), permitting the automatic geo-referencing of the measured GPR data with a few centimetres accuracy. In case of the high-resolution GPR transmission here presented, the recording of vertical GPR traces takes place with 8×4 cm spacing,¹²¹ in case of the 16-channel 400 MHz MALÅ Imaging Radar Array - MIRA, or 10×25 cm in case of the 6-channel 500 MHz Sensors & Software SPIDAR GPR system. In areas where buildings or high vegetation obstruct the view to the sky, as in olive groves, GPR measurements can be performed using manually operated GPR systems with 1-3 antennae mounted in parallel with 25 cm spacing in-between.

In July 2015 and June 2016 two archaeological prospection fieldwork campaigns were conducted at Bisenzio (fig. 20). Two different 16-channel MIRA systems and a Quad-bike-towed 6-channel SPIDAR system were employed. In July 2015, after



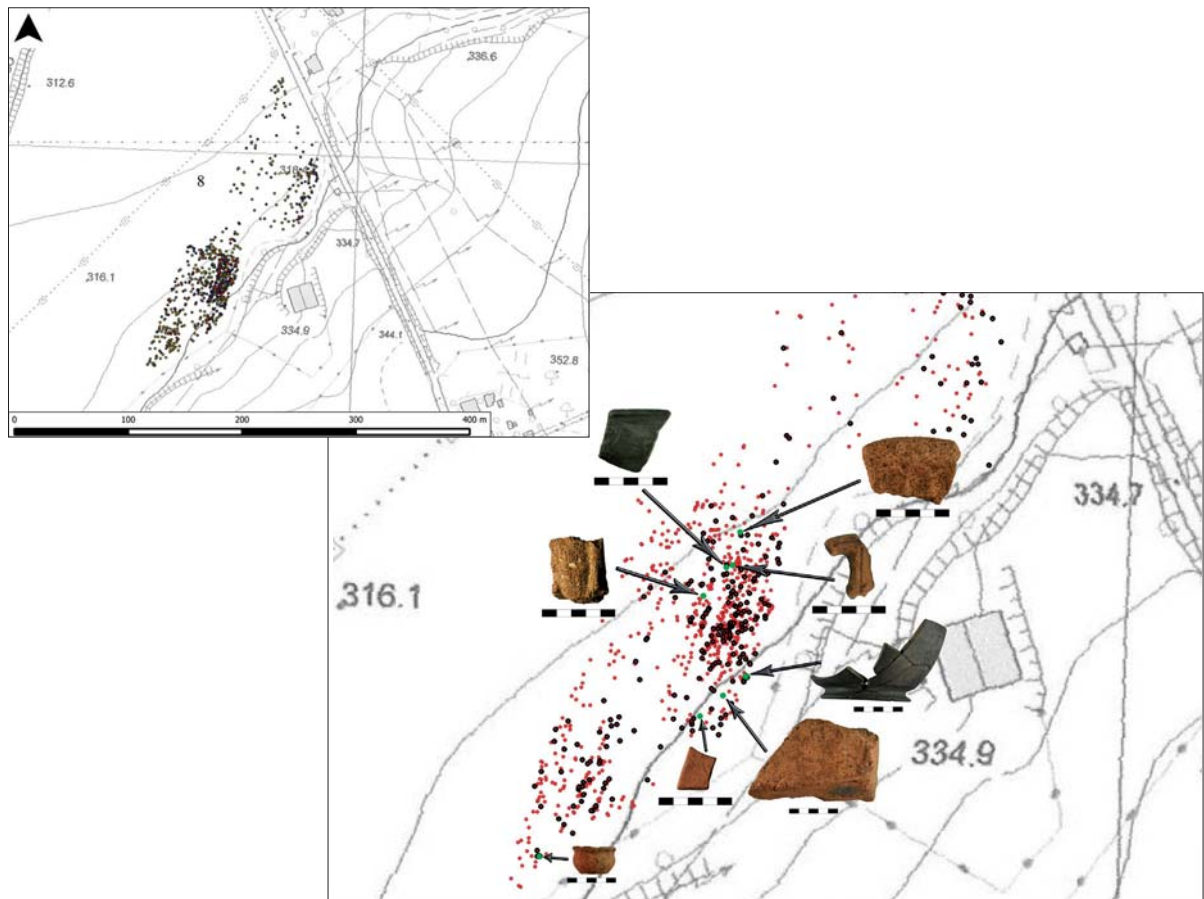


Fig. 19a. Distribution of the finds from the 2016 field walking campaign. 19b. Particular artefacts from area 8 and their distribution (mapping processing F. Miketta).

the harvest, in total 42 hectares of survey area in the vicinity of Monte Bisenzio were covered. The survey conditions have been challenging, with high temperatures straining GPR hardware as well as operators, and many loose, fist-sized rocks obstructing a smooth GPR antenna array movement on the dry, adamant ground surface.

The large amount of gathered GPR data were subsequently processed using a specific software developed for optimized imaging of buried archaeological remains. Band-pass frequency filters, time-shift trace corrections, amplitude gain corrections, average-trace removal, outlier detection and noise suppression, as well as envelope-trace computation were performed, before the individual GPR profiles were merged and binned into three-dimensional data volumes. Subsequently, horizontal amplitude slices, so called GPR depth-slices, were extracted from the data volumes and geo-referenced, grey-scale TIFF images were generated.

Using selective GPR pulse velocity analyses, appropriate values for time-to-depth-conversion were obtained.

In 2016, over 22 hectares were covered with motorized GPR measurements, and the data were subjected to the same treatment. The analysis of the GPR data, present in form of the grey-scale TIFF images, imported into a specially designed geo-database, took place within a Geographical Information System (Esri ArcMAP)¹²² using specially developed plug-ins, permitting for instance the on-the-fly animation of GPR depth-slice mosaics and semi-automatic feature classification. Data segmentation and classification form the basis of the interdisciplinary archaeological data interpretation process and interpretative mapping of structures of archaeological interest (fig. 21).

It is important to keep in mind that any near-surface geophysical prospection survey depends on sufficient contrast between the structures of interest

and the surrounding soil. The lack of geophysical anomalies¹²³ does not necessarily imply negative evidence, i.e. absence of any structures of archaeological interest. Likewise, the presence of geophysical anomalies in GRP data does not mean that causative structures have to be visible in the soil.¹²⁴

H.S., I.T.

5.b Short account of the results from 2015 and 2016

The analysis of the high-resolution GPR data acquired at Bisenzio has made clear that deep ploughing of the agricultural fields has heavily affected the condition of buried archaeological structures. In the field, a track vehicle with just two large plough shares was seen, explaining the lack of substantial contiguous architectural structures due to considerable plough damage.

The largest structures encountered so far in the project area belong to trackways or roads that in case of the road segment mapped at the Olmo Bello cemetery clearly could be identified as prehistoric, since the course of this road segment (fig. 21, a01) had been mapped also in the 1927-1930 excava-

tions. Another structure that has been interpreted as the remains of a larger road has been mapped in a field to the south-west of Monte Bisenzio (figs 20, C1; 21, a02). This east-west oriented, 10 m wide road, appears to be flanked to the north and south by the remains of buildings, indicated by layers of debris causing increased reflectivity in the GPR data, and few segments of building walls. In the field immediately to the north of Casale Montechiarini (figs 20, A3; 21, a03) another road segment running in east-west direction can be seen in the GPR depth-slice image at approximately 75 cm depth. Here, perpendicular walls are visible on either side of the road, indicating more substantial settlement remains (fig. 22). In the field immediately to the south-east of Casale Montechiarini (fig. 20, A2) two road structures appear to run parallel or close to the course of the modern road between Capodimonte and Valentano. In the northern and eastern part of this field, as well as in the field to the north-east of Casale Montechiarini towards the Lago di Bolsena (fig. 20, A1), minor track ways seem to be visible within areas that have been interpreted as cemeteries (figs 20, A2-A1; 21, a04-a05).

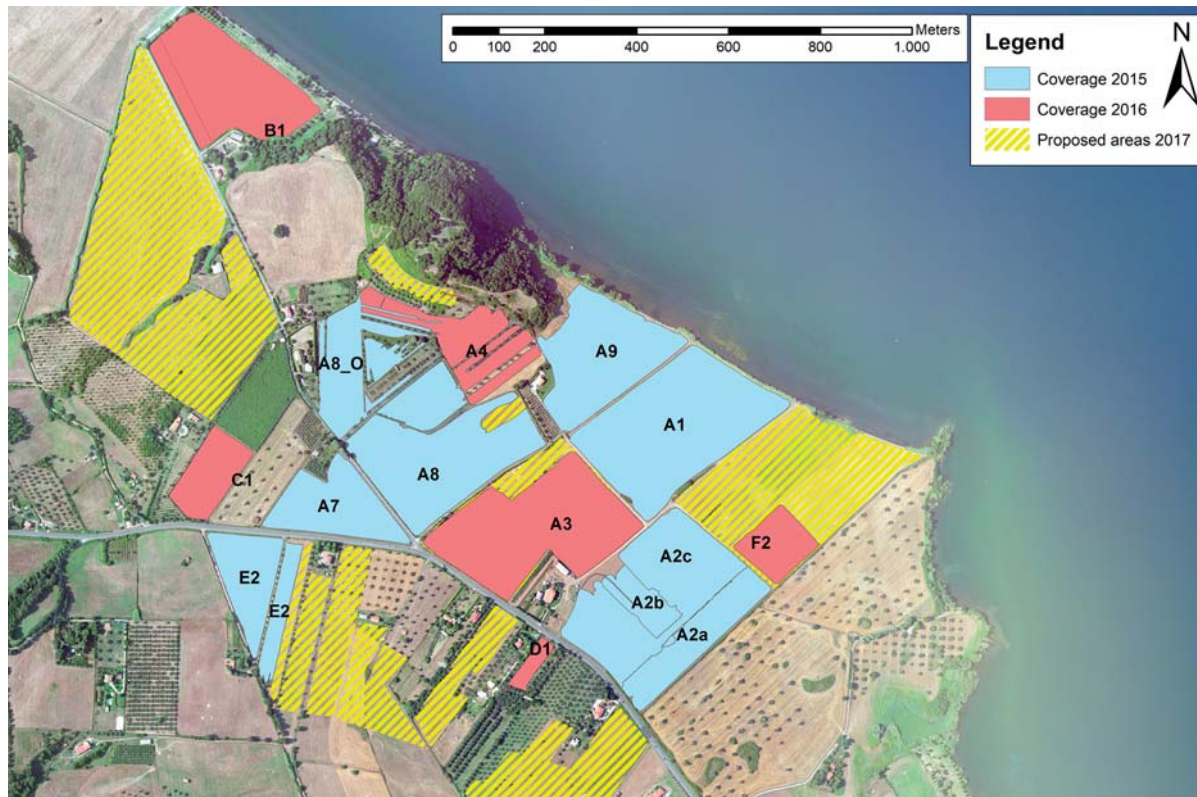


Fig. 20. Coverage map showing the areas investigated in 2015 and 2016 by GPR measurements. The prospection survey areas proposed for 2017 are shown hatched.



Fig. 21. Interpretation map of the GPR data acquired in the surroundings of Monte Bisenzio, showing assumed ancient roads, settlement remains and burials/grave fields.

Considering that a possible submerged prehistoric harbour location has been identified here, the course of the first two mentioned major roads can be explained as leading towards it.

Remains of three well-preserved structures that can be traced at a greater depth (figs 20, A2; 21, a06/1-3) indicate that comparable architecture would be imaged if present, irrespective of the age of the structures. These three structures consist of clearly defined stone walls at right angles. Their shape renders them likely to have been associated with the cemetery. Distinct, coherent areas of considerably increased GPR reflectivity are interpreted as layers of debris belonging to remains of more substantial architecture that comprised stone foundations or walls.

On the terraces of the southern slope of Monte Bisenzio (figs 20, A4; 21, a07), which have also been subject to massive soil disturbance connected to deep ploughing down to a depth of 75 cm, several smaller, linear and rectangular remains of structures are visible in the GPR depth-slices in a depth

range of 75-110 cm. Here, field walking on the ploughed surface in 2015 revealed numerous pottery and glass shards, indicating building remains as known from earlier excavations.

In the olive grove south-southwest of Monte Bisenzio, just outside the property of Mr. Prosperini, on a terrace-like elevation (figs 20, A8-O; 21, a08), strongly reflective layers may indicate the presence of subsurface building remains. The GPR data acquired in the field north-west of Monte Bisenzio (fig. 20, B1), in contrast, do not show any traces of settlement remains.

The largest coherent area with clear indications for settlement remains in the form of buildings is located just north of Casale Montechiarini (figs 20, A3; 21, a03), where weak anomalies presumably caused by poorly preserved remains of prehistoric buildings in the shape of walls or property boundaries can be seen in the data. These buildings are aligned towards and perpendicular to a major road crossing the field in an east-west direction. Towards the northeast of these settle-

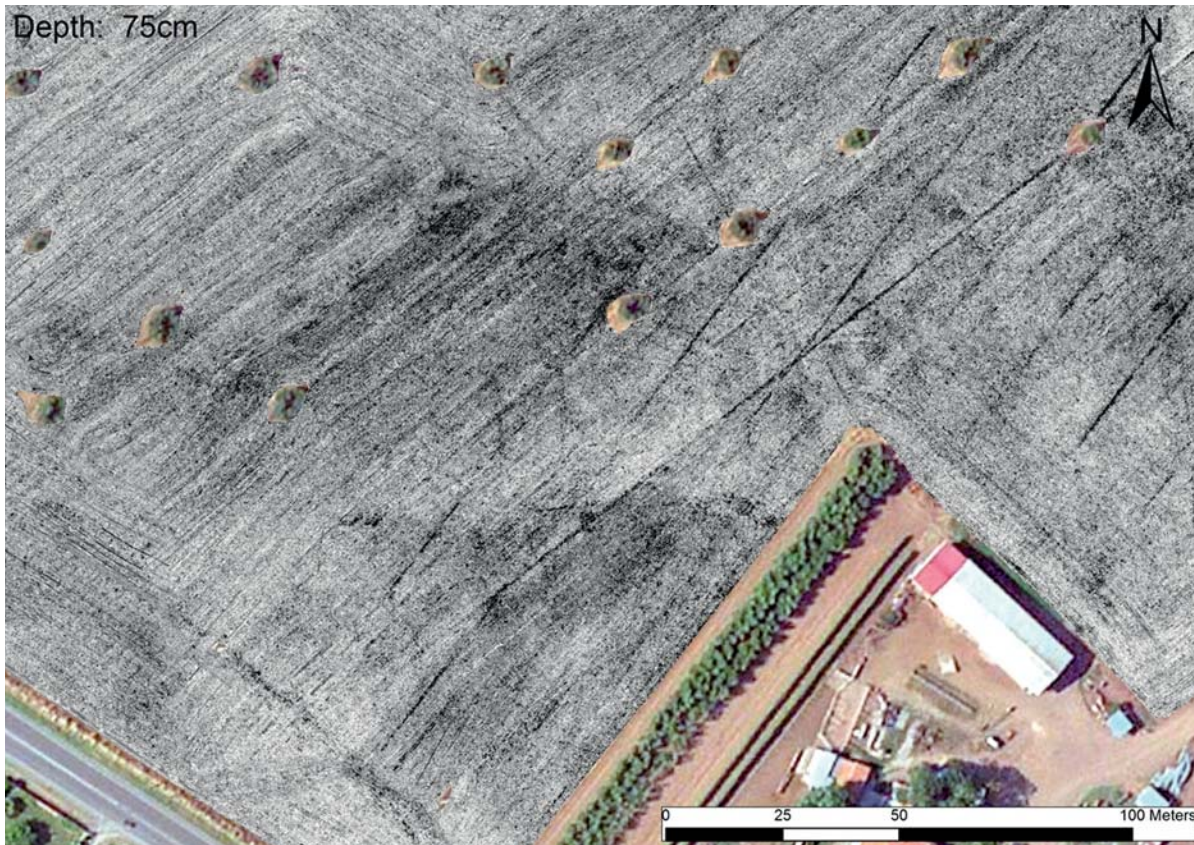


Fig. 22. GPR depth-slice from a depth of approximately 75 cm in area A3 showing faint settlement remains in north-south orientation along an east-west oriented road, as well as more recent parallel trenches of northeast-southwest orientation.

ment structures, anomalies that are believed to correlate with burials can be seen in the prospection data. Also the fields to the east of Casale Montechiarini presumably burials have been mapped (figs 20, A2-A1; 21, a04-a05). The areas with GPR anomalies interpreted as settlement remains and the areas containing GPR anomalies interpreted as burials do not overlap, and are clearly separated from each other.

In the fields A2, A8, and E2 possible buried building remains that appear more separated can be seen in the GPR data (fig. 20, A2, A8, E2). The fact that alongside the road in A8 earlier archaeological excavations have revealed considerable settlement remains in the form of stone layers and remnants of walls, whereas the GPR data do not show any substantial structures, could be explained by the situation that no destructive deep ploughing is likely to have occurred in the vicinity of the road while within the fields the tillage caused substantial soil disturbance. Linear trenches visible in the

GPR data can be associated with former olive trees plantations (fig. 20, A8), whose rows still can be seen in historical aerial photographs. The presence of layers of increased reflectivity, indicating a greater stone or rubble content in the soil, can indicate the presence of remains of more massive architecture, such as in the area towards the southern edge of field A8 (figs 20, A8; 21, a09).

At other Etruscan sites GPR surveys revealed anomalies belonging to more clearly interpretable architectural remains, such as the recent surveys commissioned by Duke University at Vulci in the framework of the 'Visualizing Vulci' project. It is likely that more and better preserved stone-built architecture is buried there, while at Bisenzio a less massive building style and deep tillage may explain the obtained results.

In 2017 remaining, accessible fields in the project area will be mapped and an overall interpretation of the generated data will be provided.

H.S., I.T.

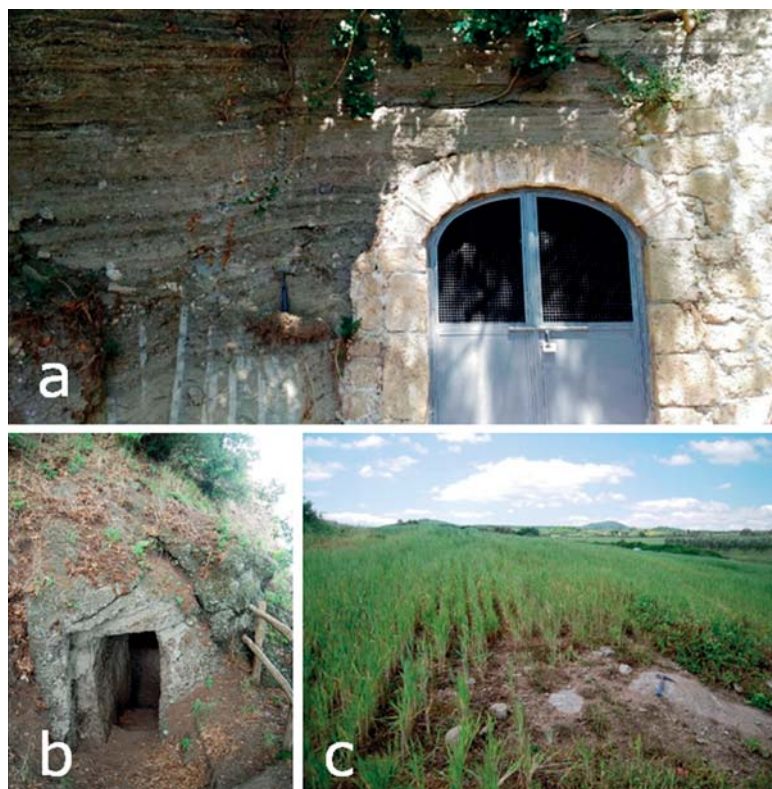


Fig. 23a. Pyroclastics deposited by means of surge and fallout mechanisms outcropping along the eastern sector of M. Bisenzio; 23b. The entry into the 'colombario' excavated in the deposits of welded scoriaceous lavas (northern sector of M. Bisenzio); 23c. Lava outcrops along the foothills.

6. GEOMORPHOLOGY AND SOIL SCIENCE

6.b Main results 2015-2016

6.a Geological investigations of the Monte Bisenzio paleo-environment: Introduction

6.b.1 Stratigraphic and geological setting of the study area

To date, in the scientific literature on the Monte Bisenzio area, the development and decline of the Etruscan town and its Roman and Medieval equivalents have been connected to the territory in a rather abstract way, without taking into account the peculiarities that characterise the physical component of the landscape. In the light of the evolution of the modern geoarchaeology, the above-mentioned approach has become untenable.¹²⁵ Considering that the existing information does not allow for an in-depth analysis, a study program has been launched including field-work activities (field surveys, hand-auger drillings) and a cartographic laboratory work (aerial photographs interpretation, historical cartography analysis, GIS modelling). The results achieved between 2015 and 2016 are summarised below.

P.M.G., M.L.

Mount Bisenzio's relief is not merely a deposit of lapilli, bombs, and blocks related to a strombolian fallout, as reported in the official cartography (ISPRA 2010), but it is also characterised by stratified and massive pyroclastic deposits of phreatomagmatic origin (fig. 23a). These deposits, outcropping prominently in the eastern sector of Mount Bisenzio between 320 and 350 m asl, have distinctive volcanological characteristics that set them apart entirely from the volcanological deposits in the north of the hill (fig. 23b), placing important questions as to their origin and provenance.

The presence of a lava deposit related to the activity of the eruptive centre of Mount Bisenzio at a shallow depth from the ground level has been confirmed (fig. 23c), although with some important changes regarding the extension of the area affected by the lava. However, due to a lack of natural and

artificial outcrops, it has so far not been possible to verify the presence of the lava in the subsoil of the northern sector of the area surveyed by means of geo-radar in 2015. The execution of a drilling campaign by hand-auger highlighted the existence of undeveloped pedological horizons, with an extensive stony fraction, but it was not useful for discriminating a lithological attribution.

P.M.G., M.L.

6.b.2 Modern changes of the topographic trend

For the purpose of studying the morphological setting, a detailed topographic map and aerial photographs from World War II have appeared to be invaluable resources. The Historical Cadastral Map (1940) available on the website <http://bisenzio.i3mainz.hs-mainz.de/> and the RAF flight made in 1944 (available at the National 'Aerofototeca' of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Tourism) allow to canvass a precious framework of the territory before the occurrence of the anthropic changes since the middle of the 20th century (fig. 24). A digital terrain model (DTM) was developed through the use of Arcmap © ESRI and compared with the DTM available on the aforementioned website. This comparison allowed the elaboration of a map showing the altimetric variations of the topographic surface (fig. 25), where the altimetric changes correspond to

areas of sedimentation or land accumulation, originating almost exclusively from the anthropic activity exerted over the last 70 years.¹²⁶

P.M.G., M.L.

6.b.3 Ancient morphogenetic phases: deposits and forms

Historical alluvial deposits have been found inside the incisions of the Fosso della Nocchia and the Fosso Spinetto. Deposits outcropping in the former appear to be densely stratified and it has been possible to recognise tractive current events and other massive and chaotic events related to deposition mechanisms of the hyper-concentrated flow type (fig. 26). The overall thickness is about 2.5 m. Inside the deposits, there are ceramic materials of the Roman period ranging from the 1st century to the 4th century A.D. (fig. 26); their presence within the whole sequence - albeit at different heights - suggests that it can be considered as a single deposition phase that occurred during the Late Roman period. Superimposed onto these deposits, a second order of alluvial terrace, probably related to the climatic fluctuation of the Little Ice Age, has been found.

The alluvial sequence of Fosso Spinetto contains a massive brown deposit, with a silty-sandy grain size sealed by a layer mixed with sherds of bricks stemming from the Roman-Medieval Age.

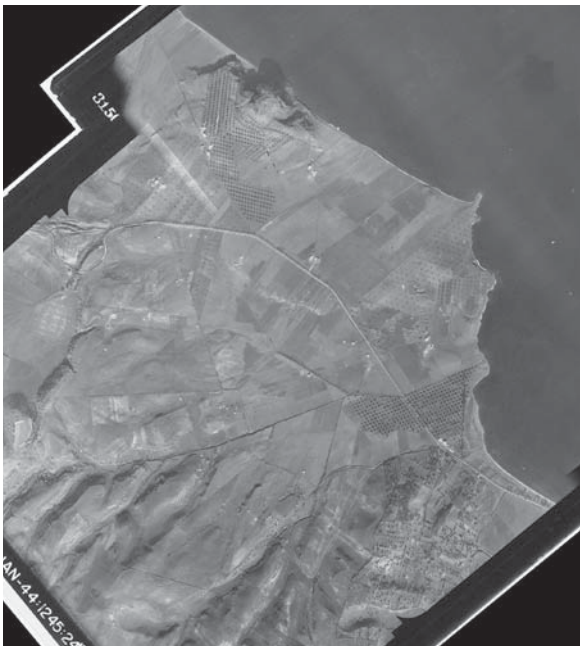


Fig. 24. Aerial photographs taken by RAF in 1944 (from <http://bisenzio.i3mainz.hs-mainz.de/>).

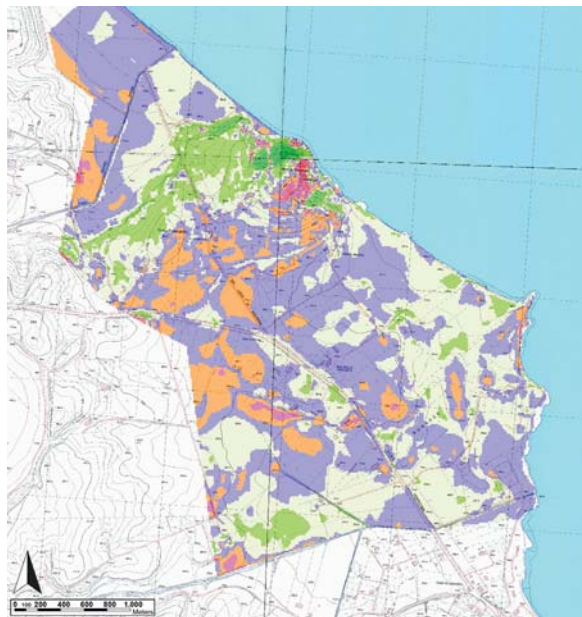


Fig. 25. Differential digital elevation model acquired from the comparison of elevation data from 1940 and 2003 (legend in the text).



Fig. 26. Hyperconcentrated flow type deposits outcropping along Fosso della Nocchia, containing ceramic materials of Roman age (top right: fragment of lid with grip and fragment of dolium, 1st-4th century AD).

Some of the erosion forms related to 'suspended' wave-cut notches compared to the current lake level have been localised along the foot of the northern slope of Mount Bisenzio. These traces are in agreement with observations reported by Margottini and Puglisi,¹²⁷ which points to three stages of a rising lake level around Lake Bolsena between the Wurm and the beginning of the Holocene. In turn, the morphological terrace arranged at an altitude of about 330 m asl. in Ara della Crociata is interpretable as an abrasion terrace linked to the level of the lake at a higher altitude.

P.M.G., M.L.

6.c Concluding remarks

The various data sets that were collected allow us to bring into focus some points that regard the landscape evolution in our study area. The ancient settlement at Bisenzio interacted with a non-homogeneous physical environment: in the northern-most sector, the landscape is uneven, subject to rock falls and not easy to work or dig due to its

stiff bedrock (the cavities in *scoria* and lava are small in dimension). In the western and eastern parts of the hill, the landscape is less steep, not subject to important erosion phenomena and containing stretches of land that are much easier to exploit. Indeed, this is the district that has been most altered and shaped by men over the last century. In the area spreading from the southern slopes of Mount Bisenzio to Punta S. Bernardino, the landscape is morphologically smoother, but with a lava bedrock that surely has been a constraint to possible uses.

During the field surveys, little evidence for stages of erosion and/or flooding has been recovered. The most obvious hints are those related to the alluvial deposits of the Late Roman period that are located in the catchments of the Fosso della Nocchia and of the Fosso Spinetto. These deposits correspond to the so called 'Younger Fill' that has been analysed in other sites of ancient Etruria.¹²⁸ In the future, it will be necessary to investigate the area of the alluvial plain of Fosso Spinetto by means of coring. Here, ancient buried deposits may be preserved below the current ground level.

The evidence of lake level oscillations at higher altitudes is important for the reconstruction of the different morpho-evolutionary phases of the landscape, but does not have a direct impact on the activities of the project as they relate to a time much earlier than the Villanovan settlement and Etruscan town.

P.M.G., M.L.

7. CONCLUSION

Thanks to the investigations carried out between 2015 and 2016, new light can be shed on the urban evolution of the settlement, the defensive features and road system, as well as the funerary landscape.¹²⁹ First of all, it is indisputable that the population patterns were rather articulated since the Recent Bronze Age at the very least, and that the community at the top of Bisenzio hill was only one of many settlements scattered across the district.¹³⁰ What is more, even if the earliest sherd from Bisenzio dates to the Middle Bronze Age, the inception of a permanent settlement possibly occurred during the Recent Bronze Age as hinted at by a slightly more conspicuous amount of finds: the fragment of a bird-shape handle from the 1979 investigations at the top of the mount (fig. 13, 2), a fragment of a probably Recent Bronze Age carinated bowl from the southeast border of Area D directly northwest and below the top of Mount Bisenzio (fig. 14) and a few additional, similar sherds from

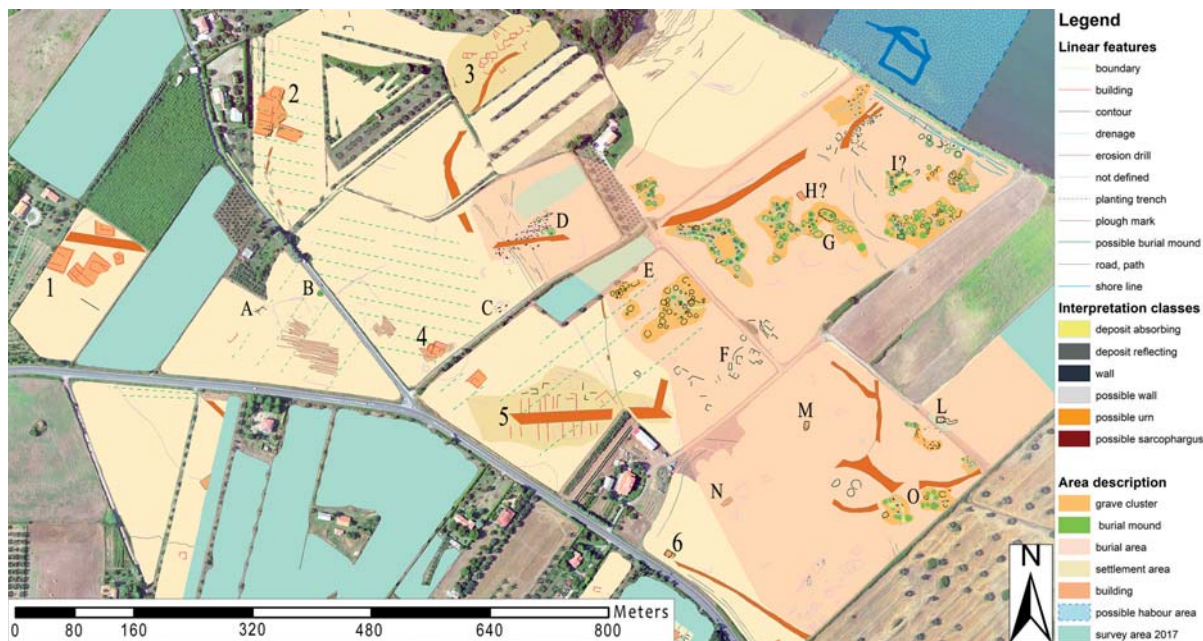


Fig. 27. Bisenzio, Geophysical Prospection Campaigns 2015-2016, urban and funerary evidence, road system (brown) and 'harbour' (blue) (1-6 urban clusters, A-N funerary clusters. Image editing A. Babbi on the basis of mapping by the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute - Vienna).

the terrace surveyed by the GAR in 1971 (fig. 4a). Yet, their precise chronology need confirmation via an accurate visual control.¹³¹ Furthermore, the evidence from the ultra-intensive intra-site survey as well as the preliminary results from the geophysical prospections canvass a form of settlement dynamics that suggests a way out of the disagreement between Raddatz's and Driehaus's models (i.e. a gradual growth of the main settlement on the top of the hill spreading downwards and joining the smaller domestic clusters scattered across the nearby plains, versus a wide uneven settlement existing since the beginning).¹³² In fact, the data collected from both Areas 4 and 8 make it possible to draw a more detailed and articulated picture than the one sketched out in the past.¹³³ With reference to Area 4, it is likely that the Late Bronze Age settlement could have spread down the hillside, while westwards a funerary function of the field can be tentatively hypothesised.¹³⁴ In this connection we must mention a burial ground detected by the geophysical prospection in this area. It is the case of a cluster that could be rather old as is indicated by both its topographic location and the occurrence of cremation pits alongside simple, rather small *fossa* graves with or without sarcophagi (fig. 27, D). Besides, the clear horizontal stratigraphy of this cluster, a development from

north to southwest according the typology of the graves, and its rather straight boundary in the north apparently respected throughout the ages, could suggest a linear edge perhaps marked by a perishable fence running between the cemetery and the residential area in the early stages of settlement's life. During the Early Iron Age-Early Orientalizing period, possibly two, perhaps three dwellings were built (fig. 28a), while in the following phase (Middle-Late Orientalizing period) the number and frequency of sherds increase noticeably and the occurrence of at least two buildings can be aired (fig. 28b). In the Archaic age, a third building was much likely set up (fig. 28c). Middle-Late Orientalizing Age ceramic typology and distribution allow us to postulate the presence of two production areas (textiles) and a larger building where the consumption of food/beverage using high quality pottery could have taken place (fig. 28b). Finally, during the Archaic period, two of the buildings seem to have hosted textile production, while a third could have been made up of rooms meant for either textile production or the consumption of food/beverage using sets of high quality pottery (fig. 28c). As for Area 8, the presence of permanent structures dates to as early as the Iron Age when at least one dwelling occurred near the cliff

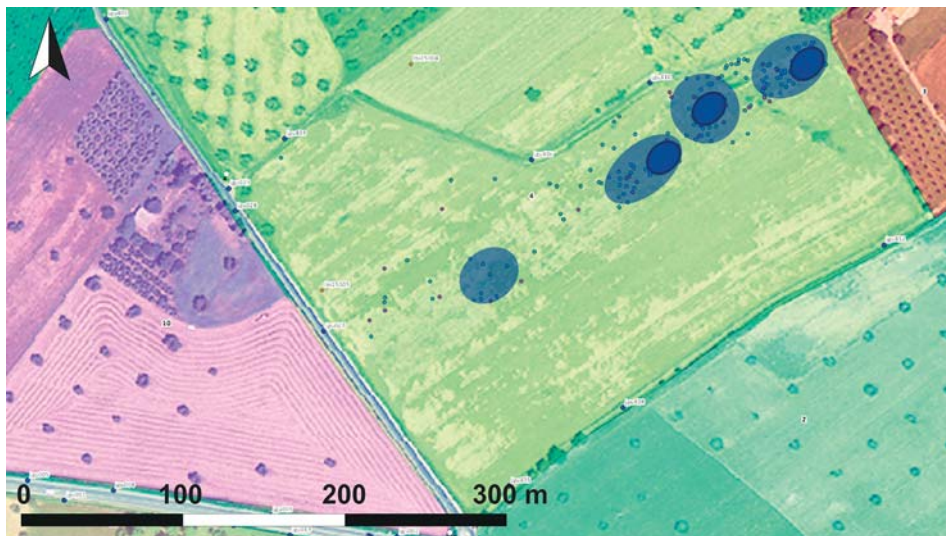


Fig. 28a.
Bisenzio, Area 4,
Early Iron Age-Early
Orientalizing Age
diagnostic findings,
concentration of
sherds (transparent
blue), possible locali-
zation of dwelling
(heavy blue).

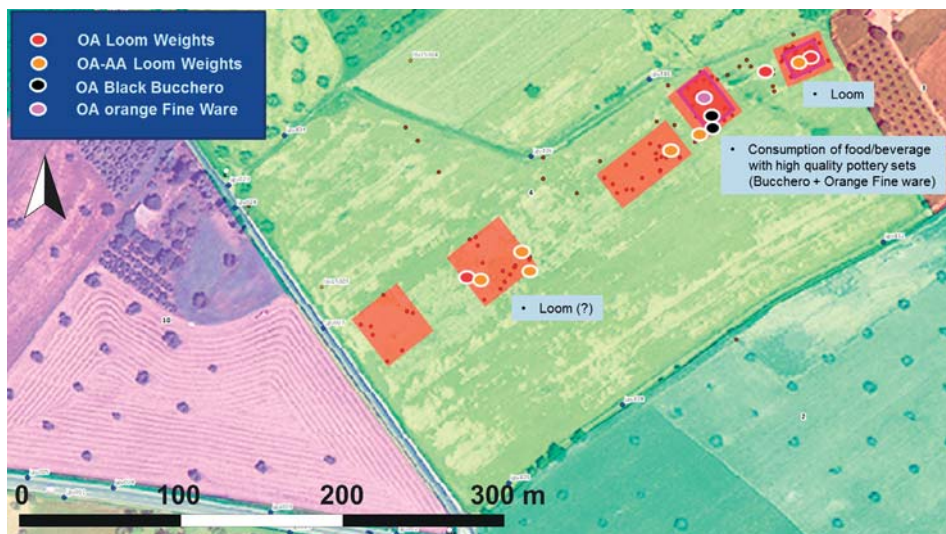


Fig. 28b.
Bisenzio, Area 4,
Orientalizing Age
diagnostic findings,
concentration of
sherds (transparent
red), possible locali-
zation of dwelling
(heavy red).

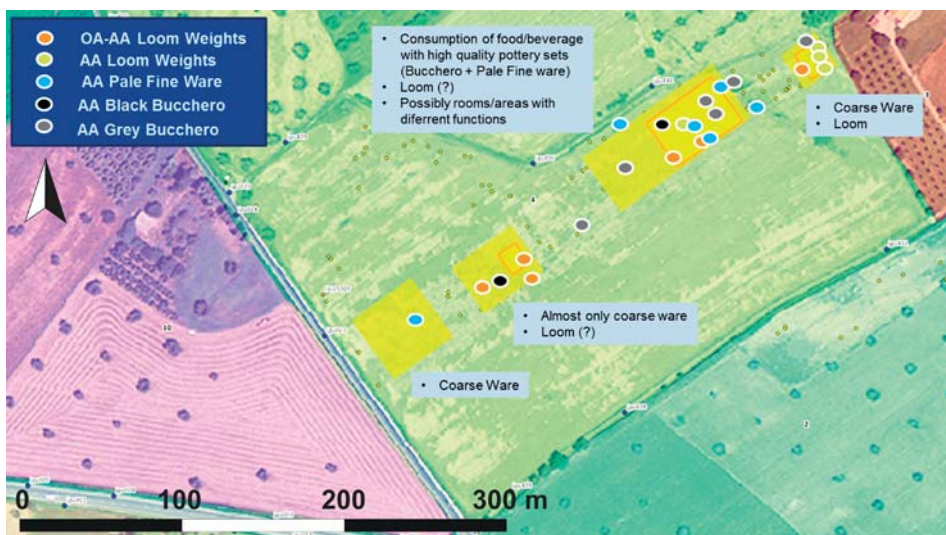


Fig. 28c.
Bisenzio, Area 4,
Archaic Age diag-
nostic findings, con-
centration of sherds
(transparent yellow),
possible localization
of building (heavy
yellow). Mapping
processing F. Miketta;
interpretation and
image editing A.
Babbi.

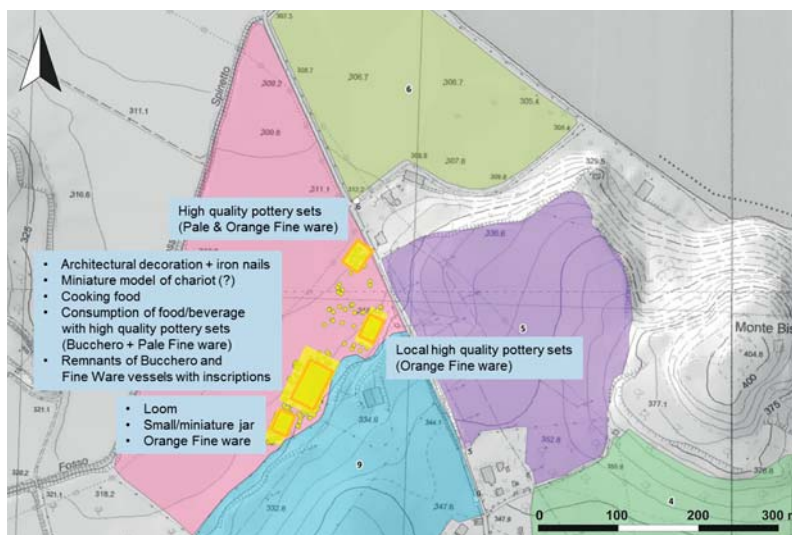
Fig. 29a.
Bisenzio, Area 8,
Early Iron Age diagnostic findings,
concentration of sherds (transparent blue), possible localization of dwelling (heavy blue).



Fig. 29b.
Bisenzio, Area 8,
Orientalizing Age diagnostic findings,
concentration of sherds (transparent red), possible localization of dwelling (heavy red).



Fig. 29c.
Bisenzio, Area 8,
Archaic Age diagnostic findings,
concentration of sherds (transparent yellow), possible localization of a dwelling (heavy yellow). Mapping processing F. Miketta; interpretation and image editing A. Babbi.



(fig. 29a). During the Orientalizing period, the evidence increased and two small dwellings and a slightly larger building could have existed here (fig. 29b). Finally, in the Archaic period when this region was likely a suburban one, the increase in number, frequency and variety of finds is apparent, and up to four buildings could have been constructed (fig. 29c). As for the function of the buildings, during the Orientalizing period, specialised activities took place in one of the smaller structures (textile production), while the larger building was committed to the preparation and consumption of food as well as beverages served in high quality pottery sets (fig. 29b). In the largest Archaic building, much likely furnished with architectural decorations, different activities occurred, such as food preparation, food/beverage consumption using high quality pottery sets, perhaps in combination to certain rituals. In contrast, the smaller concurrent buildings scattered across the area were characterised by specific functions as hinted at by the high quality pottery sets, either imported or locally made, located in two areas, and by the remnants of a possible textile production site linked to a third small dwelling (fig. 29c). To sum up, it seems possible that at least since the Iron Age smaller settlement clusters flourished both on the slopes, where the Final Bronze Age settlement had also existed, and in the fields around the Bisenzio hill. These clusters were set apart by open areas where either animal husbandry or agriculture activities took place, or even burial grounds existed (fig. 27, A-D). The Orientalizing and the Archaic evidence points to a gradual spatial expansion of the urban texture that would have reached a more homogeneous and continuous appearance by filling the gaps between the earlier dwellings clusters. Furthermore and more importantly, a specialised function of some buildings can now be assumed (textile production and high-ranking housing).

The evidence concerning the wide ditch uncovered at Olmo Bello, considered by Benedetti and Stefani as a defence work (the so-called 'fossato', possibly an *agger*), and its peculiar stratigraphic relation with graves in Groups C and D seem to bear witness to the urban process pictured above.¹³⁵ Actually, this defensive structure would correspond with the perimeter of the Orientalizing/Archaic centre in that district and would define a sharp distinction between residential and funerary areas. What is more, the occurrence of an opening with its connection to one of the roads brought to light at Olmo Bello, helps to characterising such a physical boundary. In point of fact, it

can be asserted that the defence work possibly featured gate openings through which an articulated road system connected the urban area to the landscape. Actually, a system of arterial and collector roads that takes into account the local orography and in few locations displays a sort of 'orthogonal' design has been documented by the geophysical prospections in the urban area (fig. 27, brown bands).¹³⁶ In this regard, it must be stressed that one of the arterial roads leads to the lake coastline, exactly where the now submerged structure usually interpreted as a harbour, is located (fig. 27, blue). Within the above mentioned boundary, this articulated road system connected a rather complex urban texture whose remnants have been pinpointed by the ground penetrating radar in at least five locations (fig. 27, 1-5). Some of these contexts are quite large and could be either residences or public buildings (fig. 27, 1-2). Furthermore, their connection to roads (fig. 27, 1-3, 5) could help to sketch out a chronological framework and sequence. In particular, an indirect confirmation that the so-called 'harbour' already existed during the Archaic period could be inferred, considering that the road leading to it runs alongside some of the large buildings whose chronology could very likely be Archaic (fig. 27, 1).¹³⁷ If this is correct, the relevance of lake traffic for the Bisenzio economy still during the Archaic Age would be undisputable, and the variety of grounds that allowed Bisenzio to thrive seamlessly between the Bronze Age and the Archaic Age would increase. In other words, it would render it into a rather easily defensible *optimum oecologicum*, a location at the centre of the flat and fertile landscape characterising the southwest coastline, exerting control over the cross-roads of earth and 'water' paths connecting the regions south and north of Lake Bolsena (i.e. Mount Amiata and Cimino Mountains), as well as E and W of the Lake (i.e. the Tyrrhenian coastline and the Tiber Valley).

All of the above could explain the importance of Bisenzio and the prosperity of its dynamic social body when confirmed by further investigations. With the passage of time, this lively community gave rise to a quite varied and majestic funerary landscape as is clearly documented by the new research. In fact, the skyline of the funerary area extending southwest and southeast of Mount Bisenzio was very likely defined by the curved profile of many mounds preliminarily localised by the geophysical investigations (fig. 27, B, D, G, O, likely the round contours near E).¹³⁸ Furthermore, tracks/roads and burial facilities respectively crossed and enriched the funerary

areas characterised by a number of interesting rectangular structures, too (fig. 27, E-F). Considering their size and the spatial connection with the burials, this evidence can be paralleled to rectangular elements that came to light, for instance, in the Olmo Bello cemetery and other necropoleis scattered across Southern Etruria (e.g. Vulci, Tuscania) and further away at Pontecagnano in Campania. Some of these could be interpreted alternatively as stone enclosures marking either single trench graves or a group of graves,¹³⁹ enclosures/platforms where specific funerary practices were exerted,¹⁴⁰ or shrines for commemorating and emphasising the social standing of the kin groups.¹⁴¹ These sumptuous and articulated burial grounds served as an arena for expressing societal antagonism by commemorating the ancestors and through them the living. Also thanks to the exertion of these rituals, the resourceful community living at Bisenzio in a flourishing town, a real hub connecting the Tyrrhenian and the Tiber Valley networks, achieved the necessary balance for securing a long lasting prosperity. This prosperity likely vanished at the beginning of the 5th century BC, perhaps due to the pressure exerted by larger and more influential towns such as Vulci, Tarquinia, Cerveteri and Orvieto that ceased to tolerate the coexistence of resourceful aristocratic enclaves in their neighbouring territories.¹⁴²

A.B.

NOTES

* The Bisenzio Project 2015-2017 would not have been possible without the generous financial support granted by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. The authors are also grateful to the editors and to two anonymous reviewers of *BABESCH* for their comments and suggestions.

¹ As for the Roman evidence and the epigraphic sources, see Rossi 2012.

² Compare the fate of other relevant Bronze Age centres located in south Etruria such as Scarceta, Sorgenti della Nova and Sovana (Bietti Sestieri 2008; Barbaro 2010; Barbaro et al. 2012a; Bartoloni 2014).

³ This peculiarity not only sets Bisenzio apart from those major proto-urban centres, but also sheds a different perspective on the needs and aims of the local community in the past.

⁴ Babbi 2016a, 172, note 7.

⁵ In point of fact, despite the hypothesis of a spatial superimposition of the Caesarian Municipium (Panucci 1989; Raddatz 1975; Driehaus 1985), the rare occurrence of Roman pottery across the Etruscan urban area, as already noticed by both Raddatz and Driehaus and confirmed by latest research (Rossi 2012 with personal communication to A. Babbi; outcomes of the intensive surveys 2015, 2016), make it possible to suggest that the *municipium* could be either restricted atop the Bisenzio hill or somewhere else in the territory (tentatively in Piana del Giardino).

⁶ For more details, see <http://web.rgzm.de/en/research/research-emphases-and-projects/a/article/bisenzio-multi-disciplinary-research-on-a-major-etruscan-centre-from-the-late-bronze-age-to-the-archaic-period/>.

⁷ Delpino 1987, 152 and note 2: these sources refer indeed to events already occurring during the last decade of the 16th century (see also Babbi 2016a, 173, note 9). The unexpected and rather odd description 'sepulture con cadaveri dentro di gran statura, con appresso pistole ed altre armi' (Zucchi 1630 in Annibali 1818, 113) becomes clearer if one considers that 'guns and other weapons' could spring from the misunderstanding of the oral source jotted down by Zucchi. As a matter of fact, since the mid-16th century AD a gold coin named 'pistole' (Fr), 'pistola' (It) spread from Spain across Europe. It is then possible that the word 'pistole' could have been used to describe the gold 'bullae' or *lato sensu* other pieces of jewellery yielded by the robbed grave (we owe this information to Prof. Dr. Georg Wallner).

⁸ Pasqui 1886, 177, 290; see also Milani 1894, 124.

⁹ Pasqui 1886; Bischeri in press.

¹⁰ Milani 1894; Paribeni 1928; Delpino 1977a, 455, note 7; 1977b; 1987, 152, note 2; 1994; Petitti 2007, 276-279, Nos. 141-142, 144-147, pl. IV; Babbi 2016a, 173; Bischeri 2016, 17-19.

¹¹ Delpino 1977a, 455, note 7.

¹² In this context we must mention the excavations at 'le Bucacce' in 1910 (Galli 1912), as well as the investigations by Benedetti-Stefani at 'Olmo Bello' between 1927 and 1931 (see 4.a), and Bazzica in both the 'Olmo Bello' and 'Piantata' areas in 1933 (Delpino 1977a, 455, note 7; see also Pandolfini 1985; Emiliozzi 1986, 157, note 41).

¹³ Delpino 1977a, 455, note 7; see also Pandolfini 1985; Berlingò 2005; Delpino 2006, 22-24; Petitti 2007, 277, No. 137, pl. IV. Naso 1996, 239-258; 1999 for the investigations of the chamber tombs (chronology, remains of painted architectural decorations, and the few burial assemblages preserved).

¹⁴ Delpino 1977a; 1977b; Pisu 2018; see also Babbi 2016a. For a short report on the conspicuous and extremely interesting Ginestreto burial ground that came to light between 1990 and 1991 not far from the Olmo Bello field (fig. 2, 7), see Berlingò 2005.

¹⁵ Already during the 1960s, the remarkable richness in sherds of the urban areas had been noticed during excursions carried out by young archaeologists engaged in the emergency excavations of the burial plots (Delpino 1982, 153). For the evidence from the Bisenzio settlement, see Delpino 1977a; 1982; see also Pandolfini 1985; Di Gennaro 1986, 38-40, 142, pl. 6; Delpino 1994; Petitti 2007, 276-277, Nos. 139, 143, pl. IV; Barbaro 2010, 121, 123, 183-184, fig. 64b; Babbi 2016a, 173-176.

¹⁶ Particularly relevant has been the role of the British School at Rome and the seminal work of John Brian Ward-Perkins, who embarked on the 'South Etruria Survey' Project (1950s-1970s) when the first deep ploughing spread across central Italy. A huge amount of evidence was documented and an unexpected number of sites were located, while pedestrian surface surveys were finally seen as an innovative research strategy and subsequently became widely adopted throughout Italy (see Cambi/Terrenato 1994, 13-43; for the results of the South Etruria Survey, see Potter 1979; for the more recent publications of the 'Tiber Valley Project', e.g. Cascino et al. 2012).

¹⁷ As a representative example of the series of publications concerning the above-mentioned sites, the following recent contributions can be quoted: Karlsson 2006;

- Pohl 2009; 2011. One of the earliest outcomes of Italian, systematic landscape research in South Etruria is the volume published by Di Gennaro in 1986 which in the late 1970s was 'in stato di notevole avanzamento', as Renato Peroni put it (see Di Gennaro 1986, 4).
- ¹⁸ The field-walking activities were exerted in May 1971 and directed by Vincenzo D'Ercole, see Babbi/Delpino in press.
- ¹⁹ Di Gennaro 1986, 39, pl. 6, letter A; and Dr. Vincenzo D'Ercole's personal communication to Babbi.
- ²⁰ Delpino 1977a, 459, note 15, fig. 2.
- ²¹ Such sherds have been alternatively attributed to the Middle/Recent Bronze Age and to the Final Bronze Age (Babbi 2016a, 173, note 12). The analysis and publication of the evidence from the GAR surveys has been planned for the second 3-year research period of the Bisenzio Project.
- ²² Fragment possibly of a carinated bowl preserving patterns typical of the so called *facies* 'appenninica' (Babbi 2016a, 177-178, fig. 9).
- ²³ Raddatz 1975.
- ²⁴ 'Eine Kartierung der „frühetruskischen“ Siedlungsspuren außerhalb der „eisenzeitlichen“ Besiedlung wurde wegen der einleitend genannten anfänglichen Datierungsschwierigkeiten nicht vorgenommen' (Raddatz 1975, 15); 'Ohne die Angabe durch eine Verbreitungskarte belegen zu können, [...]' (Raddatz 1975, 20).
- ²⁵ Raddatz 1975, 5: 'Insgesamt konnte [...] nur ein relativ begrenztes Areal begangen werden.' See attachment 1; Drieaus 1985, 53, fig. 1.
- ²⁶ Di Gennaro 1986, 39, note 48.
- ²⁷ See below 4.b.1
- ²⁸ Drieaus 1985.
- ²⁹ Contact with the Drieaus's heirs has been sought in order to investigate the occurrence of daily reports among his private documents.
- ³⁰ As for the evidence from Mounts Cigliano and Rosano, and from Capodimonte Harbour, see Babbi 2016a, 173, note 11. For sherds coming from the 'Mergonara' plot, see Persiani/Conti 2016. With reference to all these plots, see Babbi/Delpino in press.
- ³¹ D'Atri 2016.
- ³² Tamburini 1995b; Babbi/Delpino in press.
- ³³ A confirmation of such a phenomenon is offered by some other interesting and at the present submerged pieces of evidence among which are four mounds made up of large boulders (the so called 'Aiole'), some series of wooden poles likely made to strengthen the coast line, and two port structures located slightly south of the Bisenzio hill and at the Martana Isle (Babbi 2016a, 170-171, note 3; Babbi/Delpino in press). The causes of such a long lasting event are still debated and the possibility of a co-occurrence of different (e.g. neo-tectonic and climatic) factors cannot be ruled out, as aptly suggested by Pietro Tamburini (Tamburini 1995b, 16; Babbi 2016a, 170-171, note 3).
- ³⁴ Babbi 2016a, 170-171; Babbi/Delpino in press.
- ³⁵ This hypothesis was already put forth by Giovanni Colonna in the 1960s (Colonna 1967, 8).
- ³⁶ While the 11 vessels were rescued by Belgian looters (Di Mario 1976, 57, note 1; see also Delpino 1977a, 458, note 10; Petitti 2007, 276-277, No. 140, pl. IV), sherds and animal bones were uncovered from a depth between circa 8-12 m by a group of scuba divers coordinated by Alberto di Mario between 1972 and 1975 (Di Mario 1976). As for the cow, pig, deer, horse bones, see Pennacchioni 1976b. It is worth underlining that also four fragmentary human skulls were uncovered, but in an area deeper than 15 m. These bones have been connected to a young individual, a young adult, one or two adults and an elderly individual. Finally, one of the two fragments linked to adult individual(s) preserved hints of fire (Pennacchioni 1976a).
- ³⁷ Delpino 1977a, 459, note 18, pls. IV.a-b, V.a.
- ³⁸ Tamburini 1995a, 209-210, fig. 1a,1; see also Babbi 2016a, 173-174, note 14; Babbi/Delpino in press. The investigation of the lake bed is scheduled for the second three-year research period of the Bisenzio project as planned.
- ³⁹ Babbi 2016a, 171-172, note 6; Babbi/Delpino in press.
- ⁴⁰ Babbi 2016a, 176-177.
- ⁴¹ Villa Giulia Archive (henceforth VGA), Capodimonte folder, Prot. No. 1007, 29 August 1927, request of permit; VGA Prot. No. 1036, 2 September 1927, Benedetti's letter to the Soprintendente Prof. Roberto Paribeni planning a trip to Capodimonte and starting the investigations on 5 September (letter dated to the 29 August 1927); VGA, Capodimonte folder, Prot. No. 1144, 3 September 1927, Paribeni's Letter to the 'Ispettore Onorario' Francesco Paparozzi in Bolsena with the request to periodically visit Benedetti's excavations and monitor the activities.
- ⁴² Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (henceforth BAV) Carte Stefani 53, Inserto C, Foglio 158, Enrico Stefani's report. The first phase of the campaign was likely intermittent as it can be inferred by Mr. Paparozzi's words: 'Ma mi fece sapere il Cav. Benedetti che sospendeva i lavori e che mi avrebbe avvertito da Roma quando sarebbe tornato a riprenderli.' VGA, Capodimonte folder, Prot. No. 1222, 31 October 1927 (letter dated to 28 October 1927). Certainly the investigations had come to an end by December 1927 as communicated by Benedetti to Paribeni, see VGA, Capodimonte folder, without Prot. No., but with the official stamp of the Soprintendenza dating to 26 December 1927: 'In Capodimonte ho ripassato quei gruppi già esplorati nella speranza di trovare qualche cosa di buono [...]. Bisogna attendere dopo il raccolto del grano per vedere qualche cosa di buono, nel frattempo cercherò di occuparmi del restauro delle cose trovate' (Benedetti's greeting letter to Paribeni dated to the 22 December 1927). A new permit for taking up the investigations again was given to Benedetti in October 1928 and the 'Ispettore Onorario' at Bolsena was asked again to keep an eye on the works, see VGA, Capodimonte folder, No. 'di partenza' 1296-1297 (letter from the Soprintendenza to Bolsena dated to 25 October 1928). The excavations lasted until the end of January 1929 as testified by a greeting card sent by Benedetti to Giuseppe Cultrera, Director of the Villa Giulia Museum, see VGA, Capodimonte folder, without Inv. No.: 'Causa il freddo intenso sono stato costretto a sospendere lo scavo di Capodimonte. Mi auguro di poterlo riprendere dopo il raccolto del grano poiché la zona è seminata' (greeting letter dated to 2 February 1929).
- ⁴³ Paribeni 1928, 435-436, five graves had been looted and were found almost empty (Nos. 1, 6, 13-15).
- ⁴⁴ VGA, Capodimonte folder, without Inv. No., but with the official stamp of the Soprintendenza dating to 19 November 1929: 'Caro Cultrera, ho permesso al cav. Benedetti di riprendere le esplorazioni' (Paribeni's letter, now 'Direttore Generale delle Antichità e Belle Arti', to Cultrera); VGA, Capodimonte folder, Inv. No. 11269, 19 November 1929 (official communication from Paribeni to Cultrera); VGA, Capodimonte folder, Inv. No. 814, 6 December 1929 (Stefani's answer to Paribeni). The investigations were stopped for the first time in early May 1929 (VGA, Capodimonte folder, Inv.

No. 936, 14 May 1930, Stefani's letter to Paribeni: 'sono state momentaneamente sospese a causa delle coltivazioni le ricerche archeologiche che, sotto la mia direzione, erano state concesse al cav. Fausto Benedetti'. The activities were resumed at the end of October 1930 and lasted until 12 May 1932 (VGA, Capodimonte folder, Inv. No. 1021, 23 October 1930, Stefani's letter to the commander in chief of the Capodimonte station of the 'Carabinieri Reali': 'lunedì, 27 corrente, saranno riprese regolarmente dal cav. Fausto Benedetti le ricerche archeologiche nella contrada Olmo Bello.'; VGA, Capodimonte folder, Inv. No. 1199, 10 May 1931, Stefani's letter to the commander in chief of the Capodimonte station of the 'Carabinieri Reali': 'dovendosi sospendere per qualche tempo, a partire da dopodomani, le ricerche archeologiche che il cav. Fausto Benedetti, sotto la mia direzione eseguiva in località Olmo Bello'). Finally, the campaign started again and continued until January 1931 when Benedetti passed away (VGA, Capodimonte folder, Inv. No. 1367, 21 January 1932, Stefani's letter to the commander in chief of the Capodimonte station of the 'Carabinieri Reali': 'a causa della morte del cav. Fausto Benedetti, avvenuta recentemente qui in Roma, sono state definitivamente sospese le ricerche archeologiche che egli aveva il permesso di eseguire in località Olmo Bello.'; BAV Carte Stefani 53, Inserto C, Foglio 158, Enrico Stefani's report.

⁴⁵ VGA, Drawings Archive, Enrico Stefani's Olmo Bello cemetery map; McDonald 1974-1975, 6, 11, Maps I.n, II.

⁴⁶ The reference refers to approximately the level lines 320-330 m asl. As Driehaus already emphasized, at least the northwest boundary of the Archaic settlement could correspond exactly to the level line 320-340 m asl (Driehaus 1985, 63).

⁴⁷ VGA, Drawings Archive, Enrico Stefani's Olmo Bello cemetery map.

⁴⁸ BAV, Carte Stefani 53, Inserto A, c, Foglio 93: 'Sul lungo via, non appena entrati in città, ad est, si rinvenne un gruppo di tombe a fossa dell'VIII sec. a.C., alcune delle quali tagliate dall'antico fossato. Da ciò si può dedurre che la cinta fu ingrandita posteriormente a questi seppellimenti. Le tombe appartenenti a questo gruppo sono le seguenti: LIV-LV-LVI-LVII-LVIII-LIX.' BAV, Carte Stefani 53, Inserto C, Foglio 161: 'il che [i.e. the possible destruction of some of the graves of cluster C due to the excavation of the *agger*] verrebbe a provare che il primitivo abitato di *Bisentium* avesse più modeste proporzioni [...] e che l'ulteriore ampliamento della città, avvenuto molto probabilmente nel VII secolo, avrebbe occupato, come del resto avvenne anche altrove, parte dell'area già destinata alla necropoli.' As for a possible gradual extension of the urban texture and the unexpected discovery of burial clusters much likely within the boundaries of the archaic settlement, see below 7. VGA, Drawings Archive, Enrico Stefani's Olmo Bello cemetery map.

⁴⁹ BAV, Carte Stefani 53, Inserto C, Foglio 161: 'GRUPPO C questo gruppo trovasi [...] a lato della stessa via antica per la quale dovevasi accedere alla città.'

⁵⁰ Galli 1912, 413-414, fig. 1.

⁵¹ From southeast to northwest and without taking into account the burial plots located in the hilly district northwest Bisenzio: Punta San Bernardino, Porto Madonna, Polledrara, Bucacce, Olmo Bello 1927-1931, Piantata, Ginestreto 1990-1991, Palazzetta, Poggio della Mina (Fig. 2, 1-9).

⁵² As for instance, the straight pebbled road dug by Irene Berlingò during the investigations 1990-1991 in the Ginestreto district, bordered by low walls presumably decorated with '*nenfro*' statues of lions and horses, and running near both a shrine and well (Berlingò 2005, 563, note 33, pl. IIa) (fig. 3, 7). With reference to the occurrence of facilities in the funerary plots at Bisenzio that help to shed light on the variety of actions performed and connected with the funerary/commemoration rituals, the ditch discovered by Pasqui in the San Bernardino burial ground has also to be mentioned, even if likely to be earlier (possibly Iron Age-Early Orientalizing Age). It regards a squared shape of 1.70 x 1.70, and 1.75 deep in the ground, with the walls presumably partially lined with stones ('parte incavata nella terra vergine e parte murata attorno,' Pasqui 1886, 191), and filled with charcoals, ash, small fragments of human bones, bronze leaves and clay sherds of vessels, all partially burnt, much likely the remains of the funerary pyre (fig. 3, 1.44) (Pasqui 1886, 191 'formella quadrata' pl. II, 1.44, as noticed by Pasqui, differently from the average tradition at S. Bernardino, no charcoal and ashes were found either in the urns or in the pits; Iaia 1999, 108, the author rightly emphasizes the relevance of the context).

⁵³ BAV Carte Stefani 53, Inserto C, Fogli 159, 161.

⁵⁴ BAV Carte Stefani 53, Inserto C, Fogli 159, 161.

⁵⁵ BAV Carte Stefani 53, Inserto C, Foglio 162. Graves 1, 6, 13-15, 21, 28, 34-35 had already been looted. Finally, three clusters of findings (A, B, and C), are described as 'Gruppi di oggetti pertinenti a tombe sporadiche.' They could stem from different funerary contexts (Paribeni 1928; VGA, Capodimonte folder, without Prot. No.: 'Stima delle suppellettili archeologiche rinvenute a Capodimonte (Antica Bisenzio) inseguito agli scavi ivi compiuti dal cav. Fausto Benedetti.' BAV Carte Stefani 53, Inserto A, c, Fogli 50-149, Enrico Stefani's description of graves 17-84 and their contents (Fogli 50-125), of clusters A-C (Fogli 126-129), and of findings without specific provenance (Fogli 130-149)).

⁵⁶ BAV Carte Stefani 53, Inserto C, Fogli 159-161. VGA, Drawings Archive, Enrico Stefani's Olmo Bello cemetery map.

⁵⁷ BAV, Carte Stefani, Inserto C, Foglio 159. VGA, Drawings Archive, Enrico Stefani's Olmo Bello cemetery map.

⁵⁸ Apart from the provisional state of the assertions mentioned in this paper due to the still ongoing study of the evidence, a cautious approach is needed in the light of the high number of looted funerary contexts in the cemetery.

⁵⁹ Three pits, two trench graves with a sort of pseudo-vault made of large irregular stone blocks and wooden coffins, four simple trench graves.

⁶⁰ Trench Grave 21 with a wooden coffin.

⁶¹ Trench Graves 23 and 41, the former with a *nenfro* sarcophagus with pinched-shape lid and both containing a male burial assemblage.

⁶² For Grave 2, see Paribeni 1928, 435-436, figs. 2-3.

⁶³ BAV Carte Stefani 53, Inserto A, a, Foglio 7.

⁶⁴ Three pits, nine pits or shafts with a *nenfro* box, two trench graves with a pseudo-vault made of large irregular stone blocks and containing a wooden coffin, 11 trench graves, three of which with stone sarcophagus and one with anthropomorphic canopy on a clay throne.

⁶⁵ All trench graves with *nenfro* sarcophagi with pinched roof-shape lid.

⁶⁶ Only in the case of the stone box of Grave 44, the top of the lid is slightly flattened.

- ⁶⁷ The possibly slightly earlier Grave 54 (i.e. between 9th-8th century), which belonged to a male as confirmed by physical anthropological analysis of the cremated bones.
- ⁶⁸ Graves 82 (female accoutrements) and 83 (male funerary offerings).
- ⁶⁹ VGA, Drawings Archive, Enrico Stefani's Olmo Bello cemetery map. The reference is to the already known occurrence of a chamber tomb in 'Le Bucacce' district (Babbi 2016a, 174, note 17), and to the outcomes of the geophysical prospections in the fields southeast of Bisenzio (see 5.b and figs. 21, a06/2-3, 27, L-N and perhaps H-I).
- ⁷⁰ Graves 60 (female accoutrements) and 61 (weapons).
- ⁷¹ All with *nenfro* sarcophagi with pitched roof-shape lid, Graves 70 and 77 also with stone enclosures.
- ⁷² Seven *fossa* graves with *nenfro* sarcophagi with pitched roof-shape lid, and the *fossa* Grave 71 with two square stone boxes and two cremations contained in two local black-figure craters following a 6th-century funerary tradition that spread across some of the Archaic Etruscan centres (see Palmieri 2003).
- ⁷³ VGA, Drawings Archive, Enrico Stefani's Olmo Bello cemetery map. BAV Carte Stefani 53, Inserto C, Foglio 161: 'Si hanno inoltre resti di altre tre recinzioni di sepolcri [...] e anch'esse, come la 70 e la 77, poste parallelamente alla via antica.' Colonna and Delpino already drew attention to the architectural features of Tombs 70 and 77 (see Babbi 2016a, 175, note 18). In point of fact, the occurrence of at least one burial mound in cluster A cannot be completely ruled out, as suggested by the rather regular and slightly circular buffer zone around the monumental female Grave 2 (diam. ca 10 m).
- ⁷⁴ As for burial mound borders made up of *nenfro* blocks and located at Pitigliano, Vulci, and Tuscania, see Moretti Sgubini 2015, 602, note 28.
- ⁷⁵ Actually, the interior face of the *nenfro* blocks had been left unworked, as this side most likely would have remained invisible. All this hints at the presence of an earth mound contained by the *nenfro* blocks of which only the (worked) exterior was visible. For the construction technique of burial mounds in central Italy, see the reflections aptly formulated in D'Ercole 2015, 409-412.
- ⁷⁶ Pasqui 1886, 191 pl.II, 1. below 44.
- ⁷⁷ Pasqui 1886, 191; see also Iaia 1999, 108, the author agrees with Pasqui's reflections on the basis of the boundaries of the burial ground described as embedded in a depression in the bedrock of circa 80 cm, and of the assertion that the investigation was not stopped 'senza aver saggiato per ogni verso il terreno circostante' (Pasqui 1886, 290). Nevertheless, it is worth emphasizing that where the stone blocks meet the E limit this is not clearly represented; in that point the extremity of one more *nenfro* element was drawn; the surface limited by the circular stone boundary is higher (1.0 m) than the depth of the depression (0.80 m), i.e. this surface could have originally stretched beyond the possible limits of the cemetery and was probably partially altered by ploughing activities; to judge from the borders which were semi-circular and irregular, respectively, the surface of the hypothetical funerary pyre seems to be rather limited (ca 1.7 m width x ca 2.9 m length).
- ⁷⁸ D'Ercole 2015, 410-411.
- ⁷⁹ See note 52.
- ⁸⁰ See 5.b and 7.
- ⁸¹ To establish the original height of the mound, it has to be taken into consideration that the corner between its surface and the base of the mound, or the top of the *crepido* where it occurs, has to be between 25°- 35° (D'Ercole 2015, 410 on the so called 'angolo di riposo della terra').
- ⁸² For the Cypro-Phoenician pedigree of this technique, see Docter 1997; Schreiber 2003; Docter 2013; Babbi/Peltz 2013, 357 and notes 1408-1409. With reference to the spread of the bi-chrome ware in the Middle-Tyrrhenian region, and especially southern Etruria, see Babbi/Peltz 2013, 357 and notes 1410-1415.
- ⁸³ Driehaus 1985, 54-55.
- ⁸⁴ Reference is made to the floor of a Final Bronze Age wattle-and-daub hut, its movable furnishings, and a cylindrical structure made up of irregular stones, see Delpino 1982, 153, 156 fig.1, pls. LIX-LXII; see also Babbi 2016a, 173.
- ⁸⁵ Delpino 1982, 153, 156, figs. 1-3.
- ⁸⁶ Delpino 1982 for references to a selection of the finds of the 1978 campaign.
- ⁸⁷ One of the few metal finds is a small bronze chisel.
- ⁸⁸ For comparisons, see for instance: Luni sul Mignone, period of hut C, str. 2-3, prov. Viterbo (Wieselgren 1969, 50, 91, fig. 29, 280); Monte Rovello, prov. Roma (di Gennaro 1989, 33, C); Sorgenti della Nova, prov. Viterbo (Negroni Catacchio 1995, 350, fig. 133, 4).
- ⁸⁹ For comparisons, see for instance: Luni sul Mignone, period of hut C, strata 2-3 (Wieselgren 1969, 95, fig. 33, 293); Rocca Respampani (Monte Romano), prov. Viterbo (di Gennaro 1988, 75, fig. 13); Tarquinia-la Civita, prov. Viterbo (Mandolesi 1999, 91, fig. A2).
- ⁹⁰ In a funerary context, these bowls were often used as covers for urns. Although they already have some predecessors in the Final Bronze Age, they became abundant since Villanovan IA (Hencken 1968, 484-485, 492-493). For comparisons, see for instance: Mandolesi 2005, 455-458 (compilation of different types from various sites); Cerveteri, Monte Abbadoncinio, prov. Roma (di Gennaro/Trucco 2007, 85-86, fig. 17, punto 14, 2 and punto 16, 2); Rome-Fidene (di Gennaro et al. 2009, 20, fig. 3, 7).
- ⁹¹ Often distinguishable by their handles.
- ⁹² For comparisons for this type of handle, see for instance: Civit  di Bagnoregio, prov. Viterbo (Schiappelli 2008, 186, 189, fig. 114); Rome, Capitoline hill, area ellissoidale (Baroni 2008, 45, lower fig. 12).
- ⁹³ For comparisons, see for example: Vulci-la citt  (acropoli), Area 51, prov. Viterbo (Pacciarelli 2000, 156, 158, fig. 96, A3); Monte Rovello A, str. 6 (Barbaro 2010, 250, fig. 89, 14).
- ⁹⁴ As S. de Angelis has recently stressed, the comb lines forming zigzag motifs first appear as a decoration in the Final Bronze Age 3A1.
- ⁹⁵ For comparisons for the storage vessels, see for example: Sorgenti della Nova (Negroni Catacchio 1995, 354 fig. 135, 18); Orvieto-Sant'Andrea, prov. Terni (Babbi/Delpino 2004, 344-345, 373, fig. 4, 5); Grancaro, prov. Viterbo (Schiappelli 2008, 217, fig. 138, 163).
- ⁹⁶ See for example: Allumiere-la Pozza, grave 13, prov. Roma (di Gennaro 1997, 494, fig. 664); Soriano del Cimino, Monte Cimino, settore 1, prov. Viterbo (Barbaro et al. 2012b, 548-549, fig. A1).
- ⁹⁷ It has to be pointed out that the place was occupied again during the High Middle Ages and in the Modern period, but the evidence from these periods has not been analysed in our project.
- ⁹⁸ Bagnasco Gianni 2000, 477. In view of the fact that there are markedly fewer Villanovan finds from the

- 1979 campaign - especially from the summit - this seems even more confounding.
- ⁹⁹ Reusser 1993, 79-80.
- ¹⁰⁰ In 2015 3.494 sherds were georeferenced in an area of 3.8 ha, while in 2016 4.227 sherds were pinpointed in an area of 1.4 ha. In 2015, the field-walking activities were supervised by Babbi in conjunction with Prof. Chr. Pare, while the 2016 Survey was supervised by Babbi, as will be the case for the 2017 Survey. In 2015, students from the Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz took part in the survey. In 2016, students from the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich, Ruprecht-Karls University of Heidelberg, and the Tuscia University of Viterbo participated in the survey as well.
- ¹⁰¹ See note 24.
- ¹⁰² To date, it has not been possible to enter field D (6.0 ha). The Administration of Capodimonte, the Capodimonte offices of the Gruppo Archeologico Romano, and Babbi have been negotiating to achieve a solution.
- ¹⁰³ The northern region of Area A corresponds to Area 4 of the survey accomplished in 2015.
- ¹⁰⁴ It corresponds to Area 8 of the survey carried out in 2016.
- ¹⁰⁵ Pasqui 1886, 144, note 1; Rossi 2012, 291. In fact the fieldwalking campaigns 2015 and 2016 brought to the fore the almost complete lack of black-glazed and red-glazed ware from the fields surrounding Mount Bisenzio. This data has been confirmed also by Barbara Rossi, personal communication to Babbi.
- ¹⁰⁶ In fact, the GPR analysis could have failed due to either a decay of the archaeological basin caused by ploughing activities (e.g. along the north-north-east boundary of Area A where a very high number of tiles and pottery sherds were retrieved thanks to the ultra-intensive survey, compare *figs. 18 and 21*), or noise generated by the metal fences running along the edges of the fields (e.g. along the W edge of Area A where in 2002 the Soprintendenza localized the remnants of Archaic buildings, compare *figs. 5A and 21*).
- ¹⁰⁷ It is worth emphasizing that already during Raddatz's survey in the same district at least one Final Bronze Age fragment with incised patterns was found. Unfortunately, due to Raddatz's drawing style, the same sherd could be also seen as stemming from an Early Iron Age vessel (Raddatz 1975, 12, 45-46, *fig. 8.1*, *Beilage 1*; see also di Gennaro 1986, 40, note 48).
- ¹⁰⁸ As for the vessel fragments, the reference is to BS15-D3092 with a bundle of comb incisions and large dimple at the extremity (Final Bronze Age 2B/3A (=3A1), see Barbaro 2010, 85, 87, 89, 100, patterns M41, M83, M113, *figs. 27, 29, 30, 35.D*; see also Babbi 2016a, 178, *fig. 10*); BS15-D2633 with a bundle of comb incisions with a series of small dimples on one side and one large dimple on the other (Final Bronze Age 2B/3A (=3A1), see Barbaro 2010, 85, 87, 89, 100, patterns M37, M81, M114, *figs. 27, 29, 30, 35.B*). The flat diaphragm of a cooking stand is the fragment BS15-D2676 (Final Bronze Age-Early Iron Age 1, see Delpino 1969, 316-317 *Tipo 5*, 323, *fig. 2.5*; see also Sheffer 1981, 28, 34-35, 65, *Type 1 Variant C*, Table on page 66, *figs. 2.IC, 3.IC*).
- ¹⁰⁹ A similar framework had already been canvassed by di Gennaro, who hypothesized a possible extension of the Final Bronze Age settlement at least down to the south slopes of Mount Bisenzio (Di Gennaro 1986, 39 with reference to Raddatz's *Siedlung 9*).
- ¹¹⁰ It is the case of BS15-D1642, a vessel whose rather compressed shape and neck only slightly distinguished by the carinated shoulder could suggest a high chronology within the Final Bronze Age (phase 1 see Negroni Catacchio 1998, 80-81, *fig. 1.A 3-4*, respectively from the Bagnatio cemetery near Manciano in the Grossetto district and from the grave of the funerary Mound I at Crostoleto di Lamone near Farnese in the district of Viterbo; Final Bronze Age 1-2, see Barbaro 2010, 96, 97, shape F20, *fig. 34.A*, phase Tolfa, stage A according to Pacciarelli). With reference to the possible change in function of the area, see 7.
- ¹¹¹ Material later than the Archaic period is surprisingly rare - in contrast to the situation on the Monte Bisenzio, with numerous Hellenistic (on the terrace), Medieval and modern finds.
- ¹¹² Of course, spatial displacement of the fragments due to ploughing must be taken into account, but especially the concentration of the tiles along the southern limit, which lies in the centre of the field, should indicate an *in situ*-character with only minimal spatial displacement.
- ¹¹³ Raddatz 1975, suppl. 1; see also Delpino 1977a, 457, *fig. 1*.
- ¹¹⁴ The interpretation of the marked sherd concentration along the SE of the field is difficult to judge. It is possible that these finds have been dislocated by the plough. Erosion from the steep slope of the 'Colle Palazzetta' bordering this side of the field also cannot be ruled out.
- ¹¹⁵ Although younger and made of bronze, a miniature cart found in a votive deposit from Bolsena, prov. Viterbo (Pellegrini 2015, 31), gives some idea of how the wheel from area 8 might have been used. The clay composition of the Bisenzio wheel model (orange/yellow impasto) indicates a date in the Archaic period.
- ¹¹⁶ Type 4a/b after Rasmussen (Bartoloni 2009, 42, *fig. 23, 2*). As for incised mark, see for example Bartoloni 2009, 42, *fig. 23, 13*.
- ¹¹⁷ See for instance the votive deposit found on the Comitium (Gjerstad 1960, 236, 238-239, *fig. 147, 24-50*).
- ¹¹⁸ Fieldwork was conducted by Mario Wallner, Roland Filzwieser, Hannes Schiel, Tanja Trausmuth, Immo Trinks, Klaus Löcker, Viktor Jansa, and Geert Verhoeven. Data processing was conducted by Hannes Schiel, Klaus Löcker, Mario Wallner, Roland Filzwieser, Alois Hinterleitner and Immo Trinks. Data interpretation was conducted by Hannes Schiel, with support from Klaus Löcker and Immo Trinks. Coordinate fix points were kindly provided by Kai-Christian Bruhn and Margaritha Vogt from i3mainz. This report was written by Immo Trinks with help from Hannes Schiel and Wolfgang Neubauer. Field access and permits were managed and logistics supported by Andrea Babbi. Georg Wolfgang Wallner kindly provided support on-site.
- ¹¹⁹ Conyers 2004; see also Leckebusch 2003.
- ¹²⁰ Trinks et al. 2012.
- ¹²¹ Trinks et al. 2010.
- ¹²² Neubauer 2004.
- ¹²³ Lytatsky 2004.
- ¹²⁴ Seren et al. 2013.
- ¹²⁵ Brown 2006; see also Goldberg/Macphail 2006 with references.
- ¹²⁶ In figure 25, the blue colour shows areas characterised by a 'stable' condition, i.e. a difference in height between the maps within the range of -0.5 to +0.5 m. The areas where the surface is presently mapped at a lower altitude than the one indicated on the map from 1940 are depicted in pale green (difference between 0.5 and 2 m),

light green (difference between 2 and 5 m) and dark green (difference between 5 and 10 m). The areas where the surface depicted in the current cartography is higher than that mapped in the 1940 cartography are orange (0.5 to 2 m difference), purple (2 to 5 m difference) and red in colour (5 to 10 m).

¹²⁷ Margottini/Puglisi 1994.

¹²⁸ Ward Perkins 1962; see also Judson 1963; Potter 1985.

¹²⁹ Considering that the analysis of the evidence is still ongoing, the following reflections have to be regarded as preliminary.

¹³⁰ See 2.b. In particular the so called 'Pianora' high ground directly beyond the peninsula of Capodimonte and above the 'Mergonara' site provided a rather well protected position with an excellent open sight on the lake as well.

¹³¹ The fragment quoted in note 22 can be dated to the Middle Bronze Age. As for the fragment of a bird-shape handle, see 4.b.2. For the possibly Recent Bronze Age carinated bowl from Area D, see Gallo/Metta 2018, 839, no. 12, 847, fig. 4, 12 (the authors date the sherd between the Middle Bronze Age and the Iron Age). A thorough study of the evidence from the GAR field walking activities has been planned for the second three-year phase of research (cf. note 21).

¹³² The results of the field-walking activities discussed here have always been pondered after checking the map of the altimetric variations elaborated by ISPRA (see 6.b.2, fig. 25). The geophysical prospections emphasized an apparent clear cut distinction between the urban and funerary areas (see 5.b) that could possibly date to as early as the Early Archaic Age in the light of the funerary clusters and evidence retrieved in the urban area and much likely earlier than the residential dwelling located near or above them (see below in text). In this regard, it is worth underlining that the rectangular feature submerged near the provincial road (figs 21, a061/1, 27, 6.), differently from what was asserted in 5.b, should better be seen as domestic due to some specific and informative features (partition wall and possible lateral entrance). Actually, the feature under discussion is located within district described as 'settlement' in fig. 21. Furthermore, it must be emphasized that the district where the small quadrangular buildings are located (fig. 21, a07) has never been excavated, differently from what is expressed in 5.b. Finally, the parallel drawn with the results of the research in Vulci expressed in 5.b is certainly informative, but only to a certain point. In fact, it should be wisely and carefully considered that both the orographic features as well as the historical continuous development of Vulci during the Classic, Hellenistic and Roman periods (see 1.) set Vulci quite apart from Bisenzio.

¹³³ As for Area 4, Raddatz describes the evidence from a part of this field (Siedlungsstelle 9) as 'sehr spärlich, meist nur aus einer Handvoll Scherben bestehend' and underlines, on the one hand, the occurrence of many fragments of *tegulae* and coarse ware vessels and tools (e.g. cooking stands and loom weights) as well as red slip sherds and, on the other hand, the scant occurrence of black and grey bucchero (Raddatz 1975, 45-46, illustration 8 at page 25, Beilage 1); Driehaus instead identified many pottery clusters characterised by a rather frequent occurrence of loom weights (Driehaus 1985, fig. 4). In Area 8, Raddatz localised four plots (S. 3-6), while Driehaus surprisingly failed to mention any evidence (Driehaus 1985, fig. 4). According to Raddatz's com-

ment, plots 3-5 should be interpreted as 'Gehöft[e]' due to their location and their small size (Raddatz 1975, 13, 43-45, illustration 5 at page 19, Beilage 1), and the only exception would be the wider plot 6 that is seen by the scholar as a remnant of a settlement lasting into the Roman period as hinted at by sherds 'campanischer Ware' (Raddatz 1975, 16, illustrations 5-6 at pages 19 and 21, 44, Beilage 1).

¹³⁴ See 4.c.2.a.

¹³⁵ See 4.a. To the north the defence works could have run along the cliff characterizing that side of both the Bisenzio and Palazzetta hills, while the plain between such a cliff and the Spinetto ditch could have been a suburban area with mainly a residential and/or ritual use bounded by the ditch itself, that could be seen as a possible boundary between the world of the living and the necropoleis that still existed in the Archaic Age. Instead, to the South, the slopes of the Ara della Crociata plateau, whose gentle profile probably made the construction of an *agger* necessary, marked the transition between the settlement and a suburban region which was the domain of the dead and the ancestors.

¹³⁶ Such evidence goes along with the latest discoveries in Etruscan and Italic Pre-Roman towns such as Veii (Campana 2017) and Gabii (Becker et al. 2009, 635, fig. 6).

¹³⁷ Actually, the stretch of arterial road running along those buildings seems to be coaxial to the stretches of road leading to the coast and the harbour. It is worth underlining that in the north soundings carried out by the Soprintendenza in 2002 along the W edge of Area A, therefore somehow coaxial to the above mentioned road, produced remnants of a dirt road (D'Atri 2016, 162).

¹³⁸ Some of these mounds feature a double enclosure similar to Grave 70 at Olmo Bello. As for the funerary mounds documented at Olmo Bello, see 4.a.

¹³⁹ Both these traditions are documented in cluster B of the Olmo Bello cemetery (VGA, Drawings Archive, Enrico Stefani's Olmo Bello cemetery map). At Pontecagnano circular and quadrangular stone platforms superimposed over Early Iron Age graves and enclosures running around one or more orientalisising funerary contexts have been documented (Cuozzo/Pellegrino 2015, 443-444, 448-456, figs. 5-6, 9-15).

¹⁴⁰ For instance, at Vulci the enclosures A-B, and D, dug out in the Area C in the Osteria cemetery and likely linked to the burial ritual (Carosi 2015a, 25-26, fig. 3). At Pontecagnano, quadrangular enclosures either built or shaped by the graves located all around them, named 'piazzola' (i.e. clearing) and dated to the Orientalizing period (Cuozzo/Pellegrino 2015, 453-454).

¹⁴¹ This type is illustrated by the small rectangular platform C, possibly a small 'oikos' with architectural decoration (fragments of a painted and modelled clay *sima*), located near the mound covering tomb C1 in Area C in the Osteria cemetery at Vulci dated back to the transition of the 7th-6th century BC (Carosi 2015a, 26, fig. 4; 2015b, 93, No 75; see also Moretti Sgubini/Ricciardi 2016, 83, note 23, figs. 6-7, 9), and by the quadrangular tufa foundations likely of a building with either clay or *nenfro* architectural decoration both dating to the second half of the 6th century BC located among the funerary mounds 1-3 of the Guadocinto necropolis at Tuscania, whose burial assemblages are dated between the advanced 6th-early 4th century BC (Moretti Sgubini/Ricciardi 2010, 60-69, figs. 12-22; see also Moretti Sgubini/Ricciardi 2011). Commemorative shrines with clay architectural decorations dating to

the 6th century BC occur also in the Ara del Tufo and Sasso Pizzuto cemeteries at Tuscania, see now Sgubini Moretti/Ricciardi 2004. The occurrence also at Pontecagnano of decorated ritual buildings/enclosures in cemeteries is hinted at by the architectural decoration uncovered above the funerary platforms overlapping each other between the early 6th and advanced 5th century BC, and by a bronze sliding bolt linked to a quadrangular area refined by mud and bricks walls, both from the Baldi excavation in the southern burial plot of Via Firenze (Cuozzo/Pellegrino 2015, 462-463, figs. 15-17).

¹⁴² Babbi 2016a, 176.

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Bronzo e Ambra: riflessioni su un bronzetto del Museo Archeologico di Bari e sulla circolazione di modelli e artigiani nella produzione delle ambre figurate

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Abstract

In the Archaeological Museum of Bari there is a bronze plaque realized in bas-relief depicting the image of a crouched bull with a human head looking back, identifiable with Achelous, perhaps coming from the site of Monte Sannace, an indigenous center of central Apulia, and dating back to the end of the 6th century BC. This artifact shows considerable stylistic and formal affinities, especially the softness of the lines and volumes, with an amber pendant of the British Museum which depicts the same subject made by the workshop of the 'Armento Group' and found in the eponymous site, located at about 200 km from the Apulian site. These stylistic similarities are also visible in other figured amber specimens produced in the same workshop and found at other Oenotrian sites. The comparisons with other artifacts made with other materials (ivory and bronze) lead one to think that the small bronze of Bari was made, on the specific request of an aristocratic indigenous person, by a traveling craftsman who knew models and iconographic patterns widespread during the Archaic age in Southern Italy and Etruria thanks to the contribution of the artisans of the Ionian school.

INTRODUZIONE

Nell'ambito di una ricerca sui bronzi del Museo Archeologico dell'Area Metropolitana di Bari, l'attenzione di chi scrive è stata immediatamente catturata da una placchetta figurata in bronzo completamente sconosciuta agli studiosi che ritrae l'immagine di Acheloo.¹ Tale esemplare, come si vedrà più avanti, mostra notevoli affinità stilistiche e formali con una serie di ambre figurate realizzate in area enotria, in un'officina che produce manufatti di grande raffinatezza richiesti dalle aristocrazie indigene dell'Italia meridionale. Per tali motivi e soprattutto per la problematica della circolazione di modelli e schemi iconografici che vengono utilizzati e riprodotti su diverse materie pregiate (ambra, avorio e bronzo), specialmente grazie all'apporto di artigiani itineranti, è utile presentare l'oggetto in questione. Schemi e modelli che vengono adattati di volta in volta per assecondare e soddisfare le richieste dei principi, tanto che questi manufatti assumono il carattere di vere e proprie *'special commissions'*. Ed è proprio questo lo scopo finale dell'articolo, ossia valutare fino a che punto tali modelli abbiano potuto influenzare l'artigianato e il loro grado di diffusione tra le popolazioni indigene.

IL MANUFATTO

L'oggetto in questione (figg. 1-2) (dimensioni: h. cm 6,4; lung. cm 10,9, spessore cm 2,5) raffigura su un lato un toro accovacciato di profilo verso destra con testa configurata a volto umano retrospiciente. I tratti di quest'ultima sono resi con una particolare raffinatezza e accuratezza, messi in evidenza da linee delicate e sinuose, così come dal morbido passaggio dei volumi e dei piani, sottolineato da un sapiente uso dell'incisione e del rilievo. Sulla destra è ben distinguibile un orecchio appuntito all'estremità; leggermente più in alto, verso sinistra, è raffigurato un corno. Il volto ha un profilo triangolare nel quale spicca la particolare cura nei dettagli, quali l'occhio incavato, piccolo e arrotondato, ben definito dalle palpebre tramite una sottile linea incisa, il naso piuttosto pronunciato che continua il tratto della fronte, probabilmente delimitata in alto da una benda o da una tenia resa con una banda a rilievo. Le labbra sono carnose e il mento è molto pronunciato e appuntito nell'estremità inferiore. La testa, rivolta all'indietro, mette in mostra la potente muscolatura del collo che compie lo sforzo nel voltarsi indietro, disegnata con grande maestria, tracciata da una serie di bande parallele a rilievo, così



Figg. 1-2. Placca in bronzo raffigurante un toro androprosopo con volto retrospiciente (Acheloos).
Dimensioni: h. cm 6,4; lung. cm 10,9, spessore cm 2,5. Bari, Museo Archeologico della Città metropolitana
(foto Archivio, gentilmente concessa dal Museo Archeologico della Città metropolitana di Bari).

come da striature, possibile allusione alla criniera. La creatura giace in riposo con le zampe ripiegate sotto il ventre, rese plasticamente, visibili nella parte inferiore del pezzo e nel lato posteriore. Anche la parte posteriore del corpo dell'animale è ben definita e disegnata in maniera plastica con un sapiente uso del rilievo, con le zampe ripiegate al di sotto, mentre la lunga coda si sviluppa con un movimento sinuoso ripiegata sul dorso. Al di sotto sono presenti due piccoli fori circolari, probabilmente dovuti a difetti di fusione. Il lato posteriore della placca, quasi del tutto privo di decorazione, mostra esclusivamente le zampe flesse dell'animale ottenute con un leggero rilievo e con l'incisione. L'assenza di fori passanti consente di escludere che il pregiato manufatto possa aver svolto la funzione di pendente riferibile ad un qualsiasi oggetto di ornamento personale. Pertanto, si può avanzare l'ipotesi, con buona probabilità di cogliere nel segno, che si tratti di un bronzetto configurato a placca, il quale può aver rivestito una particolare valenza simbolica e apotropaica, come si vedrà più avanti.

La placchetta (Inv. 8595) risulta priva di qualsiasi dato di rinvenimento, tuttavia sembra far parte di un unico lotto di oggetti in bronzo, inediti, comprendenti una coppia di colini con manico desinente a testa di oca (Inv. 8593-8594), una patera con manico antropomorfo configurato a kouros di stile arcaico con braccia sollevate che sostiene delle palmette e con i piedi poggianti su una testa di ariete (Inv. 8596), riferibili questi ultimi, per le caratteristiche stilistiche, alla fine del VI-inizi del V secolo a.C. e presumibilmente provenienti dal sito di Monte Sannace (figg. 3-4). Appartiene, forse, allo stesso contesto un altro gruppo di bronzi conservati nella stessa struttura museale che consiste in una coppia di ollette (Inv.

8581-8582), una coppia di oinochoai trilobate (Inv. 8579-8580), un lebete (Inv. 8575), un'olla con anse mobili e un'olla biansata (Inv. 8576, 8578); questo nutrito gruppo di manufatti metallici sono, forse, pertinenti ad uno o due corredi funerari.

Dal punto di vista iconografico, la figura sembra rappresentare, con ogni probabilità, Acheloos, una delle più importanti divinità fluviali dell'Etolia. Secondo la più antica tradizione egli appare come il fiume primordiale, il dio delle acque correnti, fertili e apportatrici di vita, e quindi connesso con il ciclo della natura e con la sua generazione/rinascita, ma al tempo stesso è considerato anche protettore dei morti. Noto già ad Omero ed Esiodo in quanto figura mitologica, Acheloos è considerato figlio di Oceano e Teti e aveva la facoltà di assumere qualunque aspetto. Secondo una delle leggende più conosciute, il dio si invaghì di Deianira e ne contese ad Eracle la mano ingaggiando una dura lotta: egli si trasformò in varie creature mostruose fino a divenire un enorme toro per cercare di sfuggire alla poderosa stretta del mitico eroe. Quest'ultimo, per nulla intimorito a quella vista, lo afferrò per le corna e lo scagliò a terra con così tanta potenza che si spezzò una delle due corna e in tal modo Acheloos rimase mutilato per sempre. A quel punto, per sfuggire a Eracle, la divinità si gettò nel fiume Toante che da allora prese il suo nome (in greco moderno è Aspropòtamo, il secondo fiume della Grecia per lunghezza). Il corno di Acheloos, spezzato da Eracle durante il cruento duello, fu raccolto dalle Ninfe che lo riempirono di fiori e frutta, consacrandolo alla dea dell'Abbondanza. In realtà, come sostengono Diodoro e Strabone che storicizzano l'episodio della lotta tra Eracle ed Acheloos, i mitografi intendevano alludere metaforicamente ai lavori eseguiti dall'eroico



Fig. 3. Colino in bronzo con manico desinente a testa di oca. Bari, Museo Archeologico della Città metropolitana (foto Archivio, gentilmente concessa dal Museo Archeologico della Città metropolitana di Bari).

semidio per restringere il letto del fiume Acheloo e per prosciugarne le rive, in modo da renderle più sane e fertili. Il corno spezzato avrebbe rappresentato, quindi, l'ansa del fiume tagliato da Eracle, mentre il corno dell'Abbondanza, ricco di fiori e frutta, avrebbe simboleggiato le conseguenze di questa meritoria impresa. Ed è certamente da questo episodio che hanno preso spunto le rappresentazioni di Acheloo nelle arti figurative specialmente in Magna Grecia ed Etruria sia in contesti sacri sia in quelli funerari, assumendo

una diversa valenza e significato. La raffigurazione iconografica più diffusa è senza dubbio quella della maschera o della protome (a partire dalla metà del VI secolo a.C.) che appare soprattutto sui rilievi di carattere sacro (si pensi a quelli di Locri) e sulle terrecotte architettoniche di area campana, esprimendo pertanto un contenuto più direttamente connesso a forme di culto ritualizzato. Ma essa appare anche sui balsamari plastici figurati greco-orientali (presenti in maniera particolare a Taranto, Locri e in Etruria), così come su altre classi di oggetti di area etrusca (vasellame, scudi, lacunari in bronzo e *appliques* varie), sulleoreficerie che la rappresentano spesso, come pendente principale delle raffinate e preziose collane, con folta barba, lunghi baffi, corna e orecchie taurine, e grandi occhi aperti.² Si tratta di manufatti che provengono soprattutto da contesti funerari e che per le prerogative e le caratteristiche mitico-simboliche prima enunciate (connessione con il ciclo della natura e con la sua generazione/rigenerazione) fanno escludere l'uso semplicemente apotropaico dell'immagine. Pertanto, è piuttosto probabile, come afferma la Ciuccarelli, data la frequenza non casuale del soggetto in monumenti legati al mondo funerario, che essa sia giustificata da un particolare aspetto della figura mitica, quella di un 'Acheloo ctonio'. Queste caratteristiche spiegherebbero la



Fig. 4. Patera in bronzo con manico antropomorfo. Bari, Museo Archeologico della Città metropolitana (foto Archivio, gentilmente concessa dal Museo Archeologico della Città metropolitana di Bari).

presenza del manufatto barese in un contesto funerario quale 'dono' per il defunto, per proteggere il suo 'lungo viaggio' nell'Oltretomba e augurargli abbondanza e felicità, ma soprattutto 'speranza di salvezza' e rinascita, secondo una concezione fortemente sentita dalle elites indigene dell'area apulo-lucana.³

Meno diffusa risulta l'iconografia che rappresenta Acheloo con i caratteri di un toro androproso, ossia la forma di raffigurazione che più ci interessa da vicino, presente specialmente a Locri, in alcuni rilievi e arule fittili (in queste ultime rappresentato in lotta con Eracle, come metafora delle opere di regimentazione e bonifica attuate dalla popolazione in età arcaica, per far fronte alle alluvioni e alle piene della fiumara locale).⁴ Ma la stessa la troviamo soprattutto in un gruppo di monete recanti la figura intera o la protome di un toro androproso, diffuse in Magna Grecia e Sicilia a partire dalla fine del VI secolo a.C., per molto tempo considerata un simbolo dei fiumi locali,⁵ che secondo un recente studio di H. Di Giuseppe simboleggiano Acheloo che personifica non semplicemente un fiume locale, ma l'acqua locale deviata, irreggimentata, regolamentata e per questo motivo rappresentata in forma di Acheloo, padre di tutti i corsi d'acqua e fiume domato per eccellenza. Inoltre, per il tipo di supporto (moneta) e per il metallo usato, ossia l'argento, dal grande valore apotropaico e beneaugurante, essa si prestava ad essere l'offerta ideale per il risarcimento delle acque deviate.⁶

A questo punto sorge spontanea una domanda, ossia in che maniera può essere giustificata la presenza di un'immagine di Acheloo a Monte Sannace, se essa può essere legata al territorio e al suo ambiente circostante e se esiste un corso d'acqua al quale il nostro manufatto in bronzo può essere riferito. Monte Sannace (posto non lontano dall'odierno centro di Gioia del Colle), come è ampiamente noto, è uno dei più ricchi ed importanti siti indigeni della Puglia centrale (odierna Provincia di Bari) abitato in età preromana, già dal IX secolo a.C., dalla popolazione dei Peucezi. Esso si trova al centro delle Murge pugliesi, ubicato su una collina in posizione strategica, ma che occupa anche una vasta zona pianeggiante ad essa circostante. La sommità della collina, dove si è sviluppata l'acropoli occupata da grandi edifici polifunzionali a carattere pubblico e privato, da un'area sacra e da tombe monumentali, è delimitata su tutti i versanti da fianchi scoscesi ed impervi che la rendevano pressoché inespugnabile e consentiva un ampio controllo visivo del territorio fino alla costa adria-

tica e a quella ionica e persino fino ai rilievi lucani. Oltre ad una complessa rete idrografica di profondità, l'area era caratterizzata dalla presenza del fiume 'Cana', un corso d'acqua navigabile, oggi estinto, che sfociava nell'Adriatico. Tale conformazione geologica della zona ha garantito la fertilità del terreno rendendo possibile la pratica dell'agricoltura, attestata da coltivazioni di tipo intensivo ed estensivo in antico nelle zone a nord e ad ovest dell'insediamento. I terreni ubicati ad est e a sud dell'abitato erano invece interessati da un'ampia e fitta vegetazione con boschi caratterizzati dalla presenza di numerosi animali selvatici che hanno permesso di praticare la pastorizia, l'allevamento del bestiame e la caccia, insieme alle attività ad esse correlate (lavorazione della lana e delle pelli, produzione di manufatti, lavorazione e commercializzazione del legname). La presenza della figura di Acheloo sembra, pertanto, essere ben giustificata dall'ambiente naturale che circondava l'importante insediamento peucezio. Tra l'altro, si tratta di una testimonianza che non sembra essere isolata come conferma il rinvenimento sull'acropoli, avvenuto nel 1936, di un tesoretto di monete d'argento, per la maggior parte coniate dalla zecca di Neapolis (stateri), raffiguranti sul retro proprio un toro androcefalo stante coronato da Nike, riferibili alla fine del IV-inizi del III secolo a.C. (fig. 5).⁷

CONFRONTI

Il bronzetto di Bari sembra trovare confronti stringenti, per le sue caratteristiche stilistiche e formali, con alcune ambre figurate di età arcaica provenienti dalla Basilicata, in particolare con quelle di Armento e di Braida di Vaglio. Infatti, esso mostra una somiglianza strettissima, che oserei dire impressionante, con il pendaglio in ambra raffigurante un toro accovacciato androproso di profilo con lunga barba e volto retrospiciente proveniente da Armento e oggi conservato nel British Museum di Londra. Esso è stato attribuito ad una delle maggiori botteghe dell'epoca dedite alla lavorazione dell'ambra, ossia il 'Gruppo di Armento' (fig. 6). I pregevoli manufatti appartenenti a tale serie, verosimilmente riferibili all'attività di due diverse officine, si distinguono per uno stile particolare, noto come 'rounded style', consistente nella resa del volto ovoidale, negli occhi a mandorla piccoli e allungati, sottolineati da una lieve incisione, e nei lineamenti sottili e minuti con volumi ben definiti plasticamente. In tali laboratori, localizzabili nel centro indigeno omonimo e forse attivi anche a

Braida di Serra di Vaglio (siti enotri dominanti, caratterizzati dalla presenza di una straordinaria quantità di ambre intagliate), operavano artigiani sia greco-orientali sia etruschi. Essi mettevano a disposizione dei committenti aristocratici indigeni, spostandosi anche nei vari centri dove era più facilmente reperibile la materia prima, la cultura, i modelli e i saperi tecnici di cui erano detentori, ampiamente apprezzati dai principi locali.⁸

Il riferimento va, in particolare, ad un artigiano estremamente raffinato, conosciuto sotto il nome di 'Maestro delle Sfingi alate', le cui ambre si distinguono per la straordinaria delicatezza del disegno e dei particolari. Le figure da lui create, in modo particolare sfingi, sirene o figure femmi-

nili alate, ma anche animali accovacciati con volto retrospiciente, appaiono caratterizzate da un modellato dai contorni più fluidi e morbidi, specialmente nel trattamento dei volti, resi con tratti ancora più fini e soavi, rispetto alle cifre stilistiche peculiari del 'Gruppo di Armento'. Elementi distintivi delle sue raffinate rappresentazioni appaiono la resa morbida del passaggio dei piani, gli occhi piccoli, delimitati da una sottile e leggera incisione, con le arcate sopracciliari corte e ben definite plasticamente, le labbra inferiori prominenti e la capigliatura a bande larghe. Per la particolare rilevanza stilistica si distinguono soprattutto alcuni esemplari, tra i quali la sfinge di Braida di Vaglio, le sirene e gli esseri femminili



Fig. 5. Tesoretto in monete d'argento (stateri) della zecca di Neapolis da Monte Sannace. Gioia del Colle, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (da Mangieri 2001, fig. 1).



Fig. 6. Pendaglio in ambra da Armento raffigurante un toro androprosopo con volto retrospiciente (Acheloo). Londra, British Museum (da Montanaro 2012, fig. 23).



Fig. 7. Pendaglio in ambra da Braida di Vaglio (tomba 102) raffigurante una sfinge alata accovacciata con volto retrospiciente. Potenza, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (da Magie d'ambra 2005, fig. a 46).

alati da Sala Consilina del Petit Palais di Parigi, la placca con *Turan* e *Atunis* dall'area picena del Metropolitan Museum di New York e quella già menzionata da Armento del British Museum con l'immagine di Acheloo, le cui affinità stilistiche e formali col bronzetto barese sono particolarmente evidenti.⁹ Anche la sfinge di Braida (fig. 7), per il trattamento delicato e raffinato dei dettagli, la posa del soggetto e l'abilità tecnica dell'artigiano, evidente nel morbido passaggio dei piani e nella resa con linee sinuose dei volumi, mostra una notevole somiglianza stilistica con l'esemplare in bronzo del Museo di Bari. Lo stesso discorso è valido anche per una coppia di sirene da Sala Consilina le quali, analogamente al manufatto in questione, sono configurate a placca e non presentano apparentemente alcun foro passante rendendo dubbia la loro funzione (fig. 8).¹⁰

Analizzando e confrontando in maniera approfondita il 'bronzetto' di Bari e l'ambra di Armento, emerge come in quest'ultima la posa del soggetto, le caratteristiche stilistiche e formali nella rappresentazione dei dettagli del volto, come la resa degli occhi piccoli e arrotondati, il corno e l'orecchio a punta indicati con un leggero rilievo, il naso grande e prominente, le labbra e il mento pronunciati, mostrino in maniera evidente la straordinaria somiglianza stilistica col manufatto in bronzo barese. Le stesse osservazioni possono essere valide per la resa della potente muscolatura del collo, evidenziata da striature parallele ottenute con l'incisione e il rilievo. Analogo è il discorso relativo alle altre parti del corpo, quali le zampe ripiegate sotto il corpo, ben visibili nel lato posteriore del pendente e rese con un rilievo appena accennato, e la coda ripiegata sul dorso, entrambi messi in luce da un morbido passaggio dei piani come nel bronzetto di Bari. L'unica

discordanza tra i due pregiati reperti è rappresentata dal dispositivo di sospensione applicato dietro il dorso del pendente in ambra, con decorazione del tipo a perle e rocchetti, che non ritroviamo nel bronzetto pugliese.¹¹ Tuttavia, oltre che con l'Acheloo in ambra del British Museum, il manufatto barese può essere accostato per le sue qualità stilistiche e formali anche ad altri esemplari in ambra realizzati nell'ambito della stessa officina. Si tratta di due placche raffiguranti entrambe un toro accovacciato con testa retrospiciente, il primo conservato al Louvre e facente parte della Collezione Campana, l'altro proveniente dalla ricchissima tomba 102 di Braida di Vaglio, pertinente alla sepoltura di una giovane principessa, accompagnata da una straordinaria parure composta da monili in oro, argento e ambra, che ha restituito anche la sfinge retrospiciente già men-



Fig. 8. Pendaglio in ambra dalla tomba "Boezio" di Sala Consilina raffigurante una sirena di profilo. Parigi, Musée du Petit Palais (© <http://parismusees-collections.paris.fr/fr/petit-palais/oeuvres/perle-d-ambre-sirene-1>, immagine modificata dall'Autore).



Fig. 9. Pendaglio in ambra (forse dalla Basilicata) raffigurante un toro accovacciato con testa retrospiciente. Parigi, Musée du Louvre (da D'Ercole 2013, cat. I.7).

zionata (figg. 9-10). Esse, infatti, presentano lo stesso modellato, realizzato con linee morbide e delicate, la medesima postura del soggetto, così come lo stesso trattamento plastico dei volumi, come è stato già sottolineato da M.C. D'Ercole.¹² Senza dubbio, merita un cenno anche il confronto stilistico, piuttosto interessante, con alcune emissioni monetali della Magna Grecia e della Sicilia, nelle quali l'assunzione di un modello iconografico è sempre frutto di una scelta consapevole volta a trasmettere dei precisi messaggi. In questi esemplari appare la figura del toro retrospiciente (si pensi agli stateri di Sibari) o del toro androproso retrospiciente, rappresentanti in alcuni casi la protome, in altri la fisionomia completa. Decisamente stringenti, per la resa stilistica dei dettagli del volto con caratteri tipici dell'arte arcaica, appaiono i confronti con i didrammi di Neapolis e di Gela che ritraggono la protome di Acheloo di profilo a destra e databili, rispettivamente, al 470 e al 490-480 a.C. Ancora più strette sono le affinità stilistiche del bronzetto barese, veramente notevoli, con lo statere di Laos, databile al 510-490 a.C., che delinea la figura intera del toro androproso di profilo a destra con testa retrospiciente (fig. 11).¹³ Le caratteristiche stilistiche sopra elencate inducono, pertanto, a collocare l'oggetto in bronzo del Museo di Bari nella



Fig. 10. Pendaglio in ambra dalla tomba 102 di Braida di Vaglio raffigurante un toro accovacciato con testa retrospiciente. Potenza, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (da Magie d'ambra 2005, fig. a 102, immagine modificata dall'Autore).

seconda metà del VI secolo a.C. o, tutt'al più, alla fine dello stesso, in analogia con il simile pendente in ambra del British Museum. In tal caso, esso potrebbe aver fatto parte di quel complesso di oggetti in bronzo, forse un unico corredo funerario, di cui si è detto precedentemente, con ogni probabilità provenienti da Monte Sannace e databili anch'essi alla fine del VI secolo.



Fig. 11. a. Didramma di Gela, 490-480 a.C.; b. Statere di Laos, 510-490 a.C. (da Di Giuseppe 2010, fig. 8).

Giunti a tal punto, si rivelano molto interessanti gli sviluppi che si possono trarre nel constatare come la presenza di ornamenti o manufatti in genere realizzati con materiali differenti, raffiguranti lo stesso soggetto, costituisca una chiara evidenza circa l'esistenza di particolari tipologie di oggetti che condividono, accanto alla funzione, modelli identici e, spesso, le medesime matrici artigiane. I due manufatti di Bari e di Armento, rinvenuti a più di 200 km di distanza l'uno dall'altro, rappresentano una chiarissima testimonianza della circolazione di modelli e artigiani, greci o etruschi che siano, che realizzano specifici ed esclusivi beni di prestigio per soddisfare l'ingente richiesta che giunge dalle aristocrazie indigene. La presenza di repertori figurativi simili, sia nella piccola plastica in bronzo, come in questo caso, sia nelle serie figurate delle ambre (quelle del 'Gruppo di Armento'), non può essere casuale ma, piuttosto, tali selezioni sembrano avere una comune matrice. Infatti, l'affinità di numerose classi di materiali, prodotte localmente o importate, restituite dai vari centri etruschi e indigeni, avvalorano ancora di più quella generale 'comunità' fra le classi dirigenti dell'Italia antica che si riconoscevano attraverso l'adozione di comuni ideologie, sia nell'abbigliamento sfarzoso sia nell'esibizione dei simboli del potere e del rango. Ed è, quindi, proprio a tale fenomeno di circolazione che devono essere rapportati i due oggetti in questione, certamente ascrivibili a comuni modelli di riferimento, se non alla stessa officina o gruppo di artigiani itineranti in grado di produrre ornamenti e oggetti di pregio esclusivi e unici utilizzando diverse materie prime.

D'altronde, recentemente, su quest'argomento è già stato posto l'accento da Faya Causey, la quale fa rilevare come alcuni lavori compositi (mobili intarsiati in avorio e ambra, fibule in bronzo con intarsi in ambra, insieme ad altri numerosi esempi esistenti) costituiscano una concreta testimonianza dell'esistenza di artigiani in grado di lavorare su più materie prime (ambra, avorio, osso, bronzo, vetro, ecc.). L'autrice evidenzia, inoltre, come molte ambre figurate, specialmente quelle cronologicamente collocabili tra VI e V secolo a.C., siano molto simili per caratteristiche stilistiche ad analoghi manufatti realizzati in altro materiale, come ad esempio i piccoli bronzi, ai quali esse sono molto affini sia per manifattura sia per il soggetto rappresentato.¹⁴ Si pensi, in tal senso, alla magnifica kore in ambra del Paul Getty Museum e alla kore da Pontecagnano,



Fig. 12. Pendaglio in ambra dalla Puglia raffigurante una kore stante. Los Angeles, Paul Getty Museum (da Causey 2011, fig. 49).

Fig. 13. Pendaglio in ambra dalla tomba 3958 di Pontecagnano raffigurante una kore stante. Pontecagnano, Museo Archeologico Nazionale degli Etruschi di frontiera (da Bonaudo et al. 2009, fig. 17).

raffigurate nel tipico atteggiamento di tenere nella mano sinistra abbassata un lembo del loro elegante e complesso panneggio, entrambe attribuibili all'officina del 'Gruppo di Armento' (figg. 12-13). La kore del Getty, proveniente da Taranto (o da un sito indigeno della vicina Peucezia), è certamente da annoverare fra i migliori esemplari della serie; essa è raffigurata con braccio destro poggiato sul petto e quello sinistro disteso lungo il fianco con la mano che stringe un lembo del vestito. Dettagli ben curati e tratti morbidi contraddistinguono anche la bella kore in ambra della tomba 3958 di Pontecagnano, riferibile alla seconda metà del VI secolo a.C., ritratta nello stesso atteggiamento, la quale per i lineamenti e le caratteristiche formali e stilistiche trova ampi confronti con le analoghe figure ritrovate ad Armento e negli altri siti enotri.¹⁵ Se da un lato, gli accostamenti con le korai marmoree della Grecia ionica o con quelle in pietra da Cipro sono piuttosto stringenti, non meno indicativi appaiono i raffronti, specialmente per la posa generale, con alcuni bronzetti etruschi rappresentanti i medesimi soggetti. A tal proposito, sembra piuttosto calzante il confronto tra la statuetta in ambra del Getty e la piccola kore in bronzo da Covignano (Rimini) al



Fig. 14. Bronzetto da Covignano (Rimini) raffigurante una kore stante. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet (da Montanaro 2016a, fig. 18).

Nationalmuseet di Copenhagen: le strette affinità stilistiche si rivelano nell'atteggiamento, nella posa generale e nella resa accurata delle pieghe del chitone, così come nei tratti del volto (fig. 14).¹⁶

Una considerazione in merito alla questione della circolazione di modelli e artigiani, nell'ambito della realizzazione di pregiati oggetti in ambra nell'Italia preromana, appare opportuna nel valutare il rapporto tra l'ambra e l'avorio. Queste due materie spesso combinate negli stessi manufatti, nella maggior parte dei casi con l'inserimento di castoni d'ambra su elementi d'avorio, testimoniano la passione e il grande interesse per le materie esotiche provenienti dai paesi più diversi e poco noti: l'ambra da un lontano e sconosciuto 'Oceano settentrionale', tramite genti dell'Europa settentrionale le cui origini sono anch'esse avvolte nell'ombra (ad esempio, gli *Hestii*); l'avorio da un continente ancora più distante, mediato dalle popolazioni del Mediterraneo orientale, la cui influenza e i cui raffinati e pregiati oggetti esportati modificavano, invece, in maniera determinante, i modelli culturali e probabilmente la vita quotidiana delle elites etrusco-italiche. La stessa combinazione di materie di così lontana provenienza sul medesimo manufatto doveva apparire come un evidente segno di potenza economica e dell'alta condizione sociale raggiunta. Il fulcro del discorso riguarda specialmente le figurine di animali intagliati a bassorilievo che sembrano evocare un determinato

schema di rappresentazione e un tipo di modello che ritroviamo su un'altra categoria di oggetti preziosi, quali gli avori scolpiti dell'arcaismo recente (seconda metà del VI secolo a.C.). L'analogia con gli avori intagliati, spesso trascurata, appare fondamentale per comprendere la circolazione dei modelli, quali i soggetti animali, delle tecniche e degli tendenze stilistiche, evidentemente ispirati dalla maniera greco-orientale, e in particolare ionica. Entrando più nello specifico, il bronzetto di Bari, così come l'ambra del British, quelle del Louvre e gli esemplari di Braida sembrano ben integrarsi nell'ambito del cosiddetto 'terzo gruppo' degli avori etruschi studiati da Marina Martelli, datato al 480-460 a.C., caratterizzato dalla ricorrenza dei soggetti animali e dalla resa 'calligrafica' dell'incisione, molto appiattita. Confronti precisi possono essere stabiliti con una placchetta proveniente dalla tomba 415 della necropoli della Certosa a Bologna, dove un quadripede accovacciato con la testa retrospiciente è stato intagliato a basso rilievo. Un altro esemplare simile proviene sempre dalla stessa necropoli della Certosa, dalla tomba 259, nel quale la coda è stata disposta nella stessa maniera del toro accovacciato in ambra del Louvre.¹⁷ Il discorso riguarda anche alcune sfingi in ambra configurate a placca con il volto retrospiciente e la grande ala in primo piano, come gli esemplari di Armento, Braida di Vaglio e quelli conservati a New York. Infatti, esse trovano i confronti più puntuali come hanno già sottolineato N. Negroni Catacchio e V. Gallo in un recentissimo studio, soprattutto per la tecnica di lavorazione, con alcune placchette in avorio che fungevano da rivestimento di scrigni portagioie: una lastrina proveniente dalla necropoli di Orvieto, databile al 540-520 a.C., presenta delle notevoli affinità stilistiche con le raffigurazioni sopra menzionate, in quanto la sfige alata rappresentata su tale manufatto mostra il corpo accovacciato e di profilo, il volto retrospiciente e l'ala in primo piano, anch'essi realizzati con linee morbide e sinuose e abilità nel trattamento dei volumi e nei passaggi dei piani (fig. 15).¹⁸



Fig. 15. Placca di rivestimento in avorio di scrigno proveniente dalla necropoli di Orvieto raffigurante una sfige alata accovacciata con testa retrospiciente (da Negroni/Gallo 2016a, fig. 26).



Figg. 16-18. Ambre figurate da Ascoli Piceno. Philadelphia, Penn Museum (da Montanaro 2016a, fig. 5).

Notevoli sono anche le testimonianze restituite dall'area picena la quale ricopre un posto di primo piano, soprattutto in seguito alla flessione delle attività e della vitalità di Verucchio, verificatasi verso la seconda metà del VII secolo a.C.; infatti, eredita il ruolo del centro villanoviano e diviene uno dei poli più importanti sull'Adriatico per l'acquisizione e lo smistamento sia dell'ambra grezza, sia per la produzione e lo distribuzione degli esemplari finiti. Per esempio, si pensi soprattutto alle ambre figurate, probabilmente realizzate da esperti intagliatori provenienti da altre aree del Mediterraneo (Etruria, Grecia orientale) e insediatesi nel Piceno.¹⁹ Le principali caratteristiche stilistiche e formali di queste figure intagliate, quali la testa larga e schiacciata, gli occhi grandi e sporgenti, il naso camuso e la resa della capigliatura, richiamano in maniera esplicita le produzioni orientali e orientalescenti dei manufatti figurati in avorio, attribuiti ad artigiani di cultura orientale o greca (genti dell'area siro-fenicia, della Grecia orientale o della regione laconica). È fuor di dubbio che le ambre figurate di questa fase siano opera di manifatture allogene eseguite in loco (nord-siriane, etrusche, o probabilmente entrambe, non escludendo la componente greco-orientale), attratte dall'ampia disponibilità della materia prima in questa zona, unita alla richiesta pressante da parte delle aristocrazie indigene di opere pregiate ed esotiche caratterizzate da un alto livello tecnico, stilistico e qualitativo.

Piuttosto significative, al riguardo, sono le ambre conservate nel Penn Museum di Philadelphia,

con ogni probabilità provenienti da Ascoli Piceno e forse appartenenti alla sepoltura di un guerriero (figg. 16-18).²⁰ Esse, infatti, per determinate caratteristiche, quali la posa generale, la capigliatura a lunghi tratti orizzontali sulla fronte, ricadenti anche ai lati della testa, e specialmente per il gesto consueto delle braccia incrociate sotto il seno (che ricorda un'iconografia orientale, di stampo assiro-babilonese, peculiarità delle rappresentazioni della dea Ishtar=Astarte) o sul petto, richiamano le figurine eburnee rinvenute a Castelbellino e Belmonte Piceno, attribuite da alcuni studiosi a importazioni orientali nord-siriane, da altri a mediazione etrusca (fig. 19). Secondo l'ipotesi più accreditata, è probabile che queste figure in ambra (così come gli esemplari in avorio) siano state realizzate in loco da artigiani orientali o greco-orientali mediatori della cultura orientalizzante, già presenti in Etruria, in grado di lavorare sia l'ambra che l'avorio. Alcuni di questi artisti si sarebbero trasferiti successivamente nel Piceno, attratti dalla committenza aristocratica indigena che deteneva il controllo del traffico della materia prima, dando vita ad una scuola locale di intagliatori e rielaborando forme e iconografie, adattandole alle caratteristiche degli ornamenti personali locali.²¹ Alla medesima officina possono essere attribuiti alcuni pendagli in ambra rappresentanti figure stanti ammantate e col capo velato, singole o a coppia unite per la schiena, conservate nel Getty Museum e nel Metropolitan Museum of Art di New York, forse attribuibili ad artigiani locali (fig. 20). A questi manufatti possono essere



Fig. 19. Figurine in avorio da Castelbellino. Ancona, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (da Montanaro 2016a, fig. 3).

accostati anche alcuni esemplari figurati rinvenuti a Pontecagnano, nel Santuario settentrionale, probabilmente assegnabili ad artigiani itineranti; appartenenti alla medesima bottega, le cui caratteristiche stilistiche e formali rimandano al 'Gruppo di Armento' (fig. 21). Essi, inoltre, trovano confronti stringenti, ad esempio, con una figura maschile tra due protomi equine realizzata in avorio e proveniente da Sarno, confermando, pertanto, l'influenza degli artigiani greco-orientali e orientali, attestata anche dalla presenza nelle sepolture di rilievo di Pontecagnano, Monte Vetrano e San Valentino Torio (recentemente studiate) di numerosi *orientalia*. Sebbene meno raffinati, i caratteri stilistici e formali, quali il taglio degli occhi, la forma della testa, la fisionomia della figura e il tipo di abbigliamento, trovano numerosi riscontri persuasivi con quelli che caratterizzano le ambre figurate di Ascoli Piceno.²²

Tuttavia, è molto utile notare come queste stesse peculiarità stilistiche e formali si ritrovino anche su alcuni oggetti di produzione etrusca e orientale: il riferimento va al tintinnabulo della Tomba degli Ori e alla situla della Certosa da Bologna (fine del VII secolo a.C.) e ad una stele funeraria tardo-hittita in pietra da Maras (sud-est della Turchia), ascrivibile all'VIII secolo. Tutti questi monumenti raffigurano una donna di elevato livello sociale indossante un ricco vestito con mantello che le copre la testa. Possono rientrare in questo discorso anche alcune statuette d'avorio



Fig. 20. Pendaglio in ambra rappresentante due figure femminili ammantate stanti di profilo unite sul dorso. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum (da Causey 2011, fig. 8).

Fig. 21. Pendaglio in ambra dal santuario settentrionale di Pontecagnano rappresentante una figura maschile stante con animali sul fianco. Pontecagnano, Museo Archeologico Nazionale degli Etruschi di frontiera (da Cinquantaquattro 2007, fig. a 31).

provenienti da Efeso che raffigurano delle donne con un ricco vestito, ornate da complesse collane con vaghi a pendenti probabilmente in ambra. D'altronde, le relazioni tra l'Italia e la Ionia nel VII e nel VI secolo sono ben documentate e i contatti vanno in entrambe le direzioni. Pertanto, è possibile che queste relazioni abbiano portato allo sviluppo di simili modelli negli ornamenti in ambra di entrambe le regioni, come ad esempio per le fibule con arco rivestito in osso e tarsie in ambra prodotte a Verucchio e diffuse anche nella Ionia e nell'Italia meridionale. Certamente, nello sviluppo di questi modelli in Italia, ha avuto un peso preminente lo spostamento di artigiani ioni, portatori e mediatori della cultura orientalizzante, i quali mantengono nel loro linguaggio figurativo tratti propri della cultura nord-siriana e di quella fenicio-cipriota. Per tali motivi, non sarebbe da escludere del tutto una componente etrusca, ma anche greco-orientale (Samo, Mileto, Efeso), nella manifattura delle ambre picene di questa fase cronologica.²³

A questo proposito, acquistano un particolare rilievo alcuni esemplari in ambra figurati ritrovati in alcune ricche sepolture dell'area apulo-lu-



Fig. 22. Pendaglio in ambra da Tolve rappresentante una figura maschile frontale con gambe rannicchiate. Policoro, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (da Magie d'ambra 2005, fig. a 114).

cana, che si ricollegano in maniera evidente, per certe caratteristiche stilistiche e formali (taglio degli occhi, resa della capigliatura e del viso, forma della testa e posa generale), alle ambre e agli avori figurati provenienti dall'area picena. Tra questi, risulta particolarmente interessante una piccola scultura in ambra da Tolve (non lontano da Matera) rappresentante una figura maschile accovacciata con torso frontale, braccia incrociate sul petto e gambe rannicchiate (fig. 22). Essa mostra il volto pieno, con lineamenti tozzi e schiacciati, fronte bassa, occhi a mandorla profilati da una solcatura, naso largo e schiacciato, labbra carnose, capelli resi con sottili incisioni verticali e parallele. Rinvenuto in un contesto sconvolto, databile tra la fine del VI e gli inizi del V secolo a.C., il manufatto, certamente più antico per i suoi caratteri stilistici, costituisce probabilmente un prezioso oggetto di famiglia tramandato durante le generazioni. Per la fisionomia generale e il trattamento del viso (occhi, naso e bocca), esso trova confronti assai stringenti con una delle ambre di Ascoli Piceno e con gli avori di Pianello di Castelbellino, specialmente con il

volto del centauro con cavaliere, con una figura maschile e con un kouros (fig. 23).²⁴ Altrettanto notevole è la figura accovacciata su una grossa testa di prospetto rinvenuta in una ricca sepoltura femminile di Minervino Murge (tomba 1/92 della necropoli in località ex Tenuta Corsi), riferibile intorno alla metà del VI secolo a.C. Essa richiama distintamente una delle figurine picene in avorio di Castelbellino, specialmente per le caratteristiche stilistiche e formali che contraddistinguono il capo, quali la testa larga e schiacciata, il taglio degli occhi, la capigliatura, il naso camuso e le labbra particolarmente carnose (fig. 24).²⁵

La presenza di tali ambre in queste aree meridionali è certamente indice di rapporti profondi con l'area medio-adriatica e quella centro-italica, come sembra testimoniare anche la presenza di numerosi vasi geometrici dauni in queste aree, inseriti in contesti funerari di prestigio, probabilmente dovuti a scambi di doni tra principi e al movimento degli artigiani itineranti che portano con sé saperi e modelli iconografici per rielaborarli a seconda delle richieste degli aristocratici indigeni, adattandoli a certe tipologie di ornamenti di gusto tipicamente locale, come è già stato sottolineato in precedenza.²⁶

CONCLUSIONI

Il bronzetto del Museo Archeologico di Bari e l'ambra del British Museum, alla luce dei confronti menzionati nel precedente paragrafo, potrebbero essere stati realizzati nel medesimo ambito culturale, da artigiani in grado di eseguire le proprie opere lavorando su diverse materie prime preziose, quali l'ambra e l'avorio, ma anche il bronzo, forse operanti all'interno della stessa officina, assecondando le richieste delle aristocrazie indigene. Officina, quest'ultima, che potrebbe essere certamente affine stilisticamente al celebre 'Gruppo di Armento', col quale forse condivideva le varie iconografie e i diversi modelli circolanti in quel periodo. Quest'ultimo, molto probabilmente, doveva comprendere almeno due botteghe (una poteva essere quella del 'Maestro delle Sfingi alate'), nella cui cerchia operavano artigiani di diverse culture, Etruschi, Greco-orientali e, in seguito, anche elementi indigeni. Si tratta di un gruppo molto eterogeneo i cui esemplari hanno avuto una grande diffusione nell'ambito della penisola italiana di età arcaica nel corso del VI secolo. Si pensi, ad esempio, al ricco repertorio di pendenti a forma di animali accovacciati e retrospicienti (sfingi alate, tori, cinghiali, leoni), le cui peculiarità stilistiche e formali risiedono nella fat-



Fig. 23. Figurina in avorio da Castelbellino rappresentante un centauro cavalcato da un cavaliere. Ancona, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (da Rocco 1999, tav. I).

tura accurata e realistica della figura. Tali qualità sono apprezzabili nei dettagli ben delineati e definiti plasticamente, con finissimi intagli e rilievi appena accennati, unitamente alla resa morbida del passaggio dei piani e nelle leggere incisioni che individuano tutti i particolari anatomici, che abbiamo già visto essere perfettamente visibili anche nell'Acheloo bronzeo del museo barese.²⁷

Peraltro, non bisogna dimenticare che siffatti pendagli configurati ad animali accovacciati e

retrospicienti costituiscono una tipologia di manufatti ben attestata, come si è già visto, anche nell'etrusca Felsina (e ancor prima a Veio e nell'Etruria vera e propria), ormai ritenuta dalla maggior parte degli studiosi uno dei principali centri di produzione di oggetti in ambra figurati nell'area settentrionale della penisola italiana in età arcaica. Inoltre, in alcuni studi è già stato rilevato come i prototipi di questi esemplari debbano essere ricercati, anche in tale circostanza, negli avori



Fig. 24. Pendaglio in ambra dalla tomba 1/92 di Minervino Murge rappresentante una figura maschile accovacciata su una grossa testa virile di prospetto. Minervino Murge, Museo Civico Archeologico (da Montanaro 2012, tav. IV,2).



Fig. 25. Pendaglio in ambra configurato a figura femminile alata con volto retrospiciente. New York, Private collection (da Negrone Catacchio 1999, fig. 4)

nord-siriani: una caratteristica, quest'ultima, che conferma ulteriormente la stretta connessione tra la produzione di oggetti in ambra e in avorio, così come la fondamentale influenza dei modelli orientali.²⁸ Certamente notevoli sono, per le qualità stilistiche e formali, le similitudini con gli analoghi intagli in ambra dalla Basilicata: è chiaro che si tratta di due produzioni distinte con comuni modelli di riferimento; tuttavia, questo non esclude la possibilità della circolazione dei motivi in entrambe le aree tramite l'apporto di artigiani itineranti. Infatti, anche l'area picena, dove continua la produzione degli avori intagliati decorati da inserti in ambra (Castellbellino e Belmonte Piceno), sembra essersi specializzata nella realizzazione di animali accovacciati: qui, infatti, si producono esclusivamente felini accovacciati o in atto di attaccare la preda, utilizzati come ornamenti di fibule peculiari della cultura picena. Le caratteristiche greco-orientali di questi manufatti suggeriscono un'esecuzione in loco da parte di esperti artigiani allogeni permeati della maniera ionica, probabilmente appartenenti all'officina del 'gruppo di Armento', poiché le affinità stilistiche e formali tra gli esemplari lucani e quelli piceni sono assolutamente rilevanti ed evidenti, come aveva già fatto rilevare N. Negrone Catacchio. Tali abili intagliatori si sarebbero spostati nel Piceno sia per la pressante richiesta da parte dei principi indigeni sia perché attratti dalla facilità di acquisizione dell'ambra grezza presso i siti piceni più importanti, il cui controllo era detenuto dalle stesse aristocrazie. La notevole quantità di ambre figurate rinvenute specialmente presso i maggiori siti costieri o dell'immediato entroterra, dove era ampiamente disponibile la materia prima, suggerisce di localizzare le botteghe proprio in questi centri, dai quali i prodotti finiti venivano smistati verso gli insediamenti

posti nelle aree più interne sfruttando le valli fluviali come vie di comunicazione. Gli artigiani allogeni crearono, pertanto, delle scuole di intaglio presso la committenza locale, per la quale realizzarono splendidi esemplari figurati, adattando le loro opere al gusto e alle esigenze delle aristocrazie indigene, modificandone anche la funzione, utilizzandoli non più come pendagli di collane, ma come corpo di fibule di tipologia locale, assecondando il gusto un po' 'barbarico' dei signori piceni. Felini di produzione picena sono noti specialmente a Sirolo (due esemplari erano presenti nella celebre Tomba della Regina), Belmonte Piceno (famosi sono soprattutto il pendaglio con leone in atto di accoppiarsi con una leonessa, quello con una leonessa che assale un vitello o, ancora, quello con doppia protome leonina).²⁹

D'altra parte, le ambre figurate sono inserite in un complesso fenomeno di scambi che fa convergere nell'ambito culturale al centro del nostro discorso, ossia la Puglia e la Basilicata (per via dei due manufatti oggetto di questo contributo), così come nelle altre aree considerate, alcune classi di 'beni di prestigio' che pongono problemi interpretativi sostanzialmente analoghi. Si vedano, ad esempio, le terrecotte architettoniche di tipo greco, prima importate e poi prodotte localmente, e specialmente i bronzi laminati, caratterizzati da una pluralità di condizioni diverse. Infatti, in aggiunta ai manufatti di produzione seriale di matrice sia greca che etrusca, testimoniati da un consistente numero di esemplari, si affianca la presenza di vasi in bronzo 'particolari', veri e propri 'unica', senza dubbio prodotti da artigiani di cultura greca o etrusca e riconducibili al genere delle 'special commissions'.³⁰ Allo stesso modo, infatti, possono essere considerate le oreficerie, attestate con articoli specifici del mondo indigeno e con manufatti che sono catalogabili in maniera analoga ai bronzi realizzati su commissione (come nel caso del bronzetto di Bari). Questi elementi suggeriscono di immaginare una condizione in cui i siti dominanti operano quali centri di acquisizione e redistribuzione in connessione con la configurazione fortemente verticistica della popolazione. Dal punto di vista produttivo, siffatti meccanismi si traducono nella capacità da parte dei principi indigeni, piuttosto diffusa nei contesti etruschi, sia di richiamare artigiani stranieri (greci ed etruschi), sia di creare botteghe locali, al principio allestite da questi ultimi insediatesi nei maggiori centri indigeni, che ne adottano tecniche e stile. Come ultimo esempio, si pensi alla raffigurazione di alcune figure femminili alate in ambra (la sfinge di Braidà, le sirene di Sala Con-



Fig. 26. Fibula in oro da Vulci con arco configurato a sfinge accovacciata alata di profilo. München, Antikensammlungen (da Wiünsche/Steinhart 2010, fig. 53).

silina o quella da una collezione privata di New York) che per i loro tratti stilistici e formali, in modo particolare il profilo del viso, la complessa acconciatura, il basso copricapo conico e il piomaggio, consentono di accostarle con alcune fibule auree di produzione etrusca. Il riferimento va, fondamentalmente, a quelle con arco configurato a sfinge o a sirena alata provenienti da Vulci, riferibili alla seconda metà del VI secolo a.C. e conservate nei musei di Villa Giulia e Monaco di Baviera (figg. 25-26). Siffatta somiglianza evidenzia come gli artigiani che hanno prodotto questi splendidi intagli in ambra rivelino sul piano formale un curioso sovrapporsi fra dipendenza da modelli acquisiti e introduzione di tratti innovativi. In conclusione, alle importazioni di beni, sia seriali sia realizzati 'su misura' si unisce quella di forza-lavoro attiva nella medesima sfera e al servizio degli stessi gruppi dominanti. Ed è in questo quadro di 'special commissions' che deve, dunque, essere considerato il bronzetto con Acheloo del Museo di Bari, quasi certamente dipendente dai modelli figurativi delle pregiate sculture in ambra in circolazione nell'area apulo-lucana.³¹

NOTE

¹ Sono particolarmente grato alla dott.ssa Roberta Giuliani, responsabile per il Museo Archeologico, che con grande liberalità mi ha consentito di consultare il database elettronico. Non ho potuto analizzare il manufatto in maniera diretta, poiché è tuttora in corso il trasferimento dei reperti in un nuovo deposito, per cui le riflessioni si basano esclusivamente sulle fotografie

digitali ad alta definizione gentilmente concesse dalla direzione del Museo.

² Per la raffigurazione della testa di Acheloo sui monumenti etruschi, si veda soprattutto Jannot 1974, 765-789; Isler 1981, 12-36; Mussini 2002, con ulteriore bibliografia. Per i confronti con i repertori di bronzi etruschi e romani si veda anche: Bini et al. 1995, con ampia bibliografia.

³ Sull'aspetto 'ctonio' della figura di Acheloo si veda l'interessante studio di M.R. Ciuccarelli al quale si rimanda per ulteriori approfondimenti bibliografici: Ciuccarelli 2006, 121-140. Sugli aspetti archeologici del concetto di 'superamento della morte' e di 'speranza di salvezza', particolarmente sentito dalle elites indigene dell'Italia meridionale tra VI e V secolo a.C., si vedano i seguenti studi su alcuni contesti di area apulo-lucana ai quali si rimanda per una bibliografia più completa: Bottini 1988, 81-88, in particolare il paragrafo dedicato al culto dei morti (*Il culto dei morti e le credenze salvifiche*); Pontrandolfo 1988, 171-196; Bottini 1992; 1996a, 545-546; Bottini/Setari 1996, 56-67; Pontrandolfo/Rouveret 1996, 243-244; Ciancio 1997, 73-89; Bottini 2005, 140-142; 2006, 114-123; Montanaro 2007, 123-128, 167-175; Ciancio 2010, 225-237; Bottini 2013b, 145-158; Montanaro 2015, 37-77; 2018, 25-38.

⁴ Mussini 2002, 105-106.

⁵ Mussini 2002, 111-118.

⁶ Si veda Di Giuseppe 2010, 69-90, con ampia bibliografia. Sull'insediamento di Monte Sannace esiste un'ampia bibliografia, per cui si ritiene opportuno segnalare solo i contributi più recenti ai quali si rimanda per ulteriori riferimenti bibliografici: Ciancio 2001, 3-18; 2008, 895-918; Ciancio et al. 2009, 307-326; Ciancio 2010, 229-231; Gargano 2011, 81-97. Per il tesoretto si veda: Mangieri 2001, 51-56.

⁸ Per le ambre del 'Gruppo di Armento' si veda soprattutto Bottini/Setari 1998, 469-471; *Magie d'ambra* 2005; Bottini 2007, 232-237; Montanaro 2016a, 51-55; 2016b, 510-514; 2016c, 380-381, ai quali si rimanda per mag-

- giori approfondimenti e ulteriori riferimenti bibliografici.
- ⁹ Per il 'Maestro delle Sfingi alate' si veda: Mastrocinque 1991, 135-137; Bottini/Setari 1998, 470-471; Negroni Catacchio 1999, 284-291; Mastrocinque 2005, 50-51; Russo 2005, 117-119; Tagliente 2005, 71-83; Bottini 2007, 236-237; Nava 2007, 28-29; Montanaro 2016a, 51-59; 2016b, 510-514; 2016c, 380-384, con ampia bibliografia.
 - ¹⁰ Per le sirene di Sala Consilina: Negroni Catacchio/Gallo 2016a, 347-350.
 - ¹¹ Per l'ambra raffigurante il toro accovacciato androcefalo da Armento, oggi al British Museum di Londra, si veda: Strong 1966, 77, n. 68, tav. XXVII; Mastrocinque 1991, 129, 135, tav. IV/8; Roberts, in *Ambre* 2007, 249, cat. III.291; Montanaro 2016a, 58; 2016b, 513-514; 2016c, 382, a cui si rimanda per la bibliografia più completa.
 - ¹² Sul toro accovacciato del Louvre si era già espresso D. Strong (1966, 77-78, n. 68) richiamandolo per le notevoli affinità stilistiche con la figura in ambra di Acheloo del British, tuttavia senza specificare il soggetto rappresentato e fornendo un numero d'inventario non corrispondente (Bj 2133 invece di Bj 2123). Interessanti sono anche i confronti proposti da M.C. D'Ercole, alla quale si rimanda per ulteriori approfondimenti (D'Ercole 2013, 50-52, cat. I.7). Per il toro accovacciato dalla tomba di Braidia: *Magie d'ambra* 2005, 101-102, fig. a 102.
 - ¹³ Per i confronti con le emissioni monetali della Magna Grecia e della Sicilia si cita soltanto l'interessante studio di H. Di Giuseppe (2010, 81-85), a cui si rimanda per ulteriori approfondimenti e per la ricca bibliografia precedente.
 - ¹⁴ Si veda Causey 2011, 111-123 e Causey 2012, con numerosi riferimenti bibliografici.
 - ¹⁵ A queste si possono aggiungere le piccole korai di Dresda e Berlino dall'Italia meridionale; le quali, pur mostrando gli stessi lineamenti stilistici, sono caratterizzate da un aspetto più rigido, con entrambe le braccia distese e parallele al corpo. Per la kore in ambra del Getty Museum, Causey 2006, 12-24; 2011, 100-103, fig. 40; 2012, cat. 8, con ampia bibliografia; Montanaro 2016a, 51-52, fig. 16. Sulla kore da Pontecagnano, D'Andrea, in Cerchiai et al. 1994, 440-441; Bonaudo et al. 2009, 203-204, fig. 17; Montanaro 2016a, 51-52, fig. 17.
 - ¹⁶ Montanaro 2016a, 51-53, con ulteriore bibliografia.
 - ¹⁷ Per i confronti con gli animali realizzati a bassorilievo in avorio, si veda: Martelli 1985, 223-231, figg. 46, 62; D'Ercole 2013, 51-52.
 - ¹⁸ Per la placchetta in avorio da Orvieto: Martelli 1985, 212, fig. 12. Per il confronto tra le sfingi in ambra e quelle in avorio etrusche: Negroni Catacchio/Gallo 2016a, 349-350, con bibliografia.
 - ¹⁹ Sul ruolo dell'area picena: Naso 2000, 88-93; Negroni Catacchio 2001, 100-103; Rocco 2001, 103-104; Negroni Catacchio 2007, 533-566; 2011, 91-92, con ulteriore bibliografia; Weidig 2014, 34-45; Montanaro 2016c, 366-367.
 - ²⁰ Per le ambre del Penn Museum di Philadelphia: Warden 1994, 134-143; Naso 2000, 132-134; Negroni Catacchio 2001, 101-103; Di Filippo Balestrazzi 2004, 62-64; Negroni Catacchio 2011, 91-92; Montanaro 2016c, 367-368, con bibliografia.
 - ²¹ Per la questione degli avori e delle ambre picene: Bisi 1992, 128-139; Rocco 1999, con ampia bibliografia; Naso 2000, 128-134, 198-200; Rocco 2001, 103-104, 229-230; Di Filippo Balestrazzi 2004, 63-67, 91-94; Negroni Catacchio 2007, 533-566, ai quali si rimanda per ulteriori approfondimenti bibliografici.
 - ²² Sulle ambre del Getty Museum: Causey 2011, 91-94, 116-118; 2012, nn. 1-4. Per le ambre del Metropolitan: Rocco 1999, 45-50, 122-125 (fig. 21); Negroni Catacchio 2001, 100-103; Rocco 2001, 103-104; Picón 2007; De Puma 2013, 278-279, nn. 7.64, 7.71, 7.76; Montanaro 2016c, 368-369. Per le ambre di Pontecagnano: Cinquantaquattro 2007, 29-32; Tocco et al. 2016, 557-570. Per gli *orientalia* provenienti dalla Valle del Sarno, Monte Vetrano e San Valentino Torio: D'Anna et al. 2011, 591-601; Iannelli 2013, 122-131; Iannelli/Scala 2013, 118-119; *Vetulonia* 2013; Cerchiai et al. 2016, 73-108; Mermati 2018 (c.s.), ai quali si rimanda per la ricca bibliografia.
 - ²³ Per il tintinnabulo della Tomba degli Ori di Bologna: Morigi Govi 1971, 211-235; Torelli 1997, 57-59; Bartoloni 2000, 274-275; Morigi Govi/Marchesi 2000, 334-335; *Principi etruschi* 2000, 278, n. 344; Bartoloni 2007, 12-24, con ampia bibliografia. Per le relazioni con la Grecia orientale e l'Etruria: Rocco 1999, 120-125 (per gli avori); Naso 2013, 272-273; Montanaro 2016c, 369-370, ai quali si rimanda per una bibliografia più approfondita. Per il ruolo di Verucchio: Malnati 2007, 123-126; von Eles et al. 2009, 210-219, con ricca bibliografia.
 - ²⁴ Per la scultura di Tolve: Russo 2005, 114-116. La studiosa suggerisce come la posa della figura sembra ricordare quella del defunto sepolto secondo il rito del rannicchiamento, attestato tra le popolazioni indigene della Puglia e della Basilicata settentrionale in età arcaica. Essa viene attribuita a produzione magno-greca, probabilmente delle officine di Metaponto, realizzata da artigiani greco-orientali, forse provenienti dalla scuola di Samo. Si pensi, infatti, alla fondazione della vicina Siris da parte degli Ioni di Colofone. Si veda anche: Bottini 2007, 236-237; Montanaro 2016a, 37-38; 2016b, 511-514; 2016c, 369-370, fig. 10, con ampia bibliografia.
 - ²⁵ Per l'esemplare in ambra da Minervino Murge: Corrente 1993, 23-24, fig. 10; Corrente/Maggio 2008, 76-77; Montanaro 2012, 60-61, 131, n. I.5, con bibliografia; 2016a, 37-38, fig. 2; 2016c, 370-371, fig. 11, con ampia bibliografia.
 - ²⁶ Sugli scambi tra Daunia e Piceno si veda soprattutto: D'Ercole 2002, 291-310; 2008, 95-102; *Potere e splendore* 2008, 94-95, cat. 102, 133-134, cat. 167; Sabbatini 2008, 230-233, cat. 306; Mazzei 2010, 148-156, ai quali si rimanda per approfondimenti e la bibliografia precedente.
 - ²⁷ Per la produzione degli animali accovacciati e retrospicienti del 'Gruppo di Armento' e del 'Maestro delle Sfingi alate': Mastrocinque 1991, 135-137; Bottini/Setari 1998, 470-471; Negroni Catacchio 1999, 286-287; Bianco 2005, 85-110; Russo 2005, 117-119; Tagliente 2005, 71-83; Bottini 2007, 236-237; Montanaro 2016a, 54-58; 2016c, 380-387, ai quali si rimanda per l'ampia bibliografia.
 - ²⁸ Si veda, a tal proposito, la figurina intagliata in avorio, di produzione nord-siriana (IX-VIII secolo a.C.), conservata al Metropolitan Museum, rappresentante un toro accovacciato con testa retrospiciente (*Glories of the Past* 1990, 79, n. 60; Montanaro 2016c, 385, fig. 25). Sulla produzione di animali accovacciati e con testa retrospiciente a Felsina e in Etruria, si veda: Negroni Catacchio 1989, 662-663, figg. 466-467; Mastrocinque 1991, 140-141; Malnati 2007, 125-126, con ampia bibliografia; Montanaro 2016c, 385-386; Negroni Catacchio/Gallo 2016b, pp. 313-336.
 - ²⁹ Analoghi manufatti di possibile produzione picena sono presenti anche in Puglia con alcuni esemplari provenienti dal sud-est barese, come il leone accovacciato del Getty Museum, forse rinvenuto in un sito della Puglia centrale, quello del Museo Archeologico di Bari,

trovato nell'importante centro peucezio di Monte Sannace, appartenente al ricco corredo di una tomba arcaica scavata nel 1929, o un altro analogo conservato nel Museo di Amburgo. Per gli avori piceni arcaici si rimanda soprattutto a Rocco 1999; Naso 2000, 199-200; Rocco 2001, 103-104. Per la produzione delle ambre figurate picene di questa fase cronologica: Negroni Catacchio 1989, 662-663; Mastrocinque 1991, 73-88; Naso 2000, 198-202; Negroni Catacchio 2001, 100-103; Landolfi 2001, 263-280, 358-360; 2004, 73-78; 2007, 171-184; Negroni Catacchio 2011, 91-95; Montanaro 2016c, 386-387, ai quali si rimanda per l'ampia bibliografia.

³⁰ Per la produzione di vasi in bronzo 'speciali' in quest'area, si veda soprattutto: Bottini 1996b, 97-101; 1999, 235-243; 2001, 252-259; 2013a, 137-143; Montanaro 2015a, 137-170; 2015b, 57-95, ai quali si rinvia per la bibliografia più completa.

³¹ Questo confronto fra le fibule auree etrusche e le figure femminili alate in ambra era già stato suggerito in passato da A. Mastrocinque (1991, 117-118, nota 365) e riproposto da chi scrive con numerosi esempi concernenti la circolazione di artigiani e modelli e alla realizzazione di prodotti specifici su commissione da parte delle aristocrazie indigene (Montanaro 2016a, 39-40, 43, 56, 59-61). Per le fibule auree etrusche menzionate, si veda: Cristofani/Martelli 1983, n. 169; Wünsche/Steinhart 2010, 95-96, n. 53, con ampia bibliografia. Per le figure femminili alate in ambra si veda anche: Negroni Catacchio/Gallo 2016a, pp. 343-367, ricco di spunti molto interessanti.

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Il Pittore degli Argonauti Nuove evidenze da Tuscania

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Abstract

*New finds from Tuscania of Argonaut Painter's oeuvre, in the geographic context of inland Etruria during the Interimperiode. Comparisons are made with other vases by the same painter, whose workshop is probably to be placed in the Orvietan-Clusine district. The significance of 'Manteljünglinge' as stock figures.**

A cavallo tra V e IV secolo a.C., nella controversa *Interimperiode*, periodo di crisi cui non mancano tratti di autentica e sorprendente, seppur discontinua, creatività, un ruolo di spicco continua a giocare la pittura vascolare e a uno dei suoi esponenti più interessanti, il Pittore degli Argonauti, dedico gli appunti che seguono.

Durante gli scavi promossi in anni recenti da A.M. Moretti e L. Ricciardi nella necropoli situata sulla terrazza di Guadocinto a Tuscania, sono stati rinvenuti alcuni grandi tumuli, purtroppo gravemente compromessi 'da spoliazioni di epoca antica, da lavori agricoli e da ripetuti scavi clandestini',¹ ma riferibili, anche per la finezza delle strutture architettoniche,² a personaggi prominenti della società tuscanese. I monumenti funerari si affacciano sulla valle del Marta e quasi la dominano da posizioni strategiche, situati come sono nelle immediate adiacenze di importanti vie di comunicazione tra costa e interno.³ Notevolissimi, non a caso, benché residuali, sono i materiali in essi recuperati 'fuori deposizione': in par-

ticolare, si segnalano nel tumulo 1 un gruppo di ceramiche attiche a figure nere e rosse di gran pregio, collocabili tra seconda metà del VI e decenni centrali del V secolo a.C.,⁴ e una *stemless cup* etrusca con un giovane ammantato tra due 'pilastrini/stele/altari',⁵ pubblicata nel 2010 in via preliminare (fig. 1).⁶ Il soggetto e lo stile di quest'ultima riconducono immediatamente, come è già stato osservato,⁷ al repertorio di *stock figures* (o loro *excerpta*, quali teste isolate) del Pittore degli Argonauti, ad esempio nelle *stemless cups* di Greifswald, Orvieto, Roma, New Haven,⁸ Bruxelles.⁹ La centralità delle figure di 'ammantato', specie se di giovane età, è stata ampiamente indagata nei suoi possibili risvolti sociali e rituali all'interno delle compagini urbane dell'epoca, tanto in Etruria che in ambito greco e magno-greco;¹⁰ ciò che colpisce, nel caso del nostro pittore, è la ricorrenza del soggetto, per di più isolato, come cifra quasi fissa all'interno dei medaglioni di coppe apode, il che può indurre a ipotizzare una destinazione 'specifica' dell'immagine a individui di età giovanile, in vita come anche (forse) nel momento della morte.¹¹ L'impressione è rafforzata dal rinvenimento, ancora nel corso di recenti scavi tuscanesi a Guadocinto, di due ulteriori *stemless cups* del Pittore degli Argonauti, che appaiono virtualmente identiche, salvo dettagli minori del panneggio, alla prima (figg. 2a-c, 3a-c). I due esemplari, pressoché identici anche tra loro per dimensioni,¹² sono stati recuperati a ridosso del tumulo 3, sul lato SSO del suo tamburo, all'interno di una tomba a blocchi di nenfro paragonata per la sua struttura alle tombe a edicola di Populonia.¹³ Tra i materiali di accompagnamento, 'rinvenuti in frammenti sparsi a causa del crollo di parti della struttura e di possibili manomissioni' si segnalano ceramiche attiche databili tra epoca severa e decenni finali del V secolo a.C., un nucleo di vasi in argilla depurata con decorazione a fasce, tra cui coppette e un piattello, e



Fig. 1. *Stemless cup* del Pittore degli Argonauti dalla necropoli di Guadocinto, Tuscania. Tuscania, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (da Moretti/Ricciardi 2010, fig. 4f).



Fig. 2a-c. Stemless cup del Pittore degli Argonauti dalla necropoli di Guadocinto, Tuscania. Tuscania, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (foto Archivio Moretti).

alcuni bucheri a superficie grigiastra, che sembrano potersi datare ancora entro la fine del V secolo a.C.¹⁴ Tali dati, pur con la cautela che lo stato della tomba al momento della scoperta impone, potrebbero indurre a collocare anche le due *stemless cups* del Pittore degli Argonauti non oltre la fine del V / primi decenni del IV secolo a.C.

Proprio mentre mi accingevo a scrivere questa breve nota, sono venuto infine a conoscenza¹⁵ delle immagini di una quarta *stemless cup* del Pittore degli Argonauti (fig. 4a-b), con il medesimo soggetto delle tre appena descritte, rinvenuta anch'essa verosimilmente in una delle necropoli di Tuscania e attualmente in possesso di un collezionista privato della zona.

Il mercato della valle del Marta sembra dunque entrare a pieno titolo, grazie a iterate richieste della clientela locale, nel novero dei consumatori di questo tipo di produzioni figurate, che, seppur di diffusione limitata, illustrano in questo caso fenomeni di ripetitività iconografica e di stabilità ideologico-funzionale non comuni in un medesimo 'contesto geografico'. La provenienza da Tuscania di vasi del Pittore degli Argonauti, che pare attivo per una clientela soprattutto tiberina e per la cui bottega ho altrove proposto una collocazione tra Orvieto e Chiusi,¹⁶ è giustificata dalla collocazione dell'abitato, quasi al centro di collaudati percorsi tra le città maggiori della costa e il lago di Bolsena, percorsi la cui buona agibilità appare confermata dalla presenza, sempre a Tuscania, di un complesso di attestazioni ceramiche di sicura matrice volsiniese.¹⁷

Un'occhiata alla geografia dell'intera area obbliga a questo punto a fare un breve cenno ad una quinta *stemless cup*, questa volta suddipinta (fig. 5), con protome di satiro, pubblicata da M. Micozzi nel 2004 e rinvenuta a Ferento. Anche questo sito, infatti, a giudicare dai caratteri della cultura materiale riconosciuti in anni recenti, risulta decisamente aperto a scambi con altri centri dell'Etruria interna, grazie alla sua dislocazione lungo un percorso viario che dalla costa sembra puntare proprio verso l'area orvietana.¹⁸ La qualità del reperto, davvero eccezionale per questo tipo di produzioni, si evince dalla cura con cui sono resi i tratti del volto, l'occhio, il naso e la bocca, che, proprio per la loro inusuale finezza, non riescono a trovare confronti puntuali nei grandi gruppi decorati con *superposed colours*. L'unico accostamento, assai parziale, mi sembra possibile proporre a uno *skyphos* di Tarquinia, che in passato avevo accostato alle esperienze del Pittore degli Argonauti, soprattutto per quanto attiene alle ciocche di capelli rese lungo il bordo del capo con brevi trattini obliqui grosso modo paralleli tra loro.¹⁹

Da creazioni di così alta qualità sembrerebbe possibile poi far discendere prodotti più modesti, ma ugualmente interessanti, come il frammento di coppa suddipinta rinvenuta in un pozzo nei pressi della Porta Ovest di Vulci:²⁰ la figura di satiro, qui raffigurata per intero nel medaglione, appare decisamente frettolosa nella articolazione delle anatomiche,²¹ ed anche la chioma è delimitata dalla consueta linea ondulata continua; si distinguono però di nuovo - per la cura del disegno e la interessante caratterizzazione 'tipologica' - i tratti del volto, la fronte corrugata, il rendimento dell'occhio, quello della barba, resa con accurate linee in vernice diluita.



Fig. 3a-c. Stemless cup del Pittore degli Argonauti dalla necropoli di Guadocinto, Tuscania. Tuscania, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (foto Archivio Moretti).

L'oggetto di questa nota, la produzione del Pittore degli Argonauti, che ho avuto modo di esaminare in dettaglio in numerose occasioni,²² è interessante documento della genesi e del potenziale della pittura vascolare etrusca dell'epoca, capace di composizioni di impegno, come quella del cratere fiorentino del pittore, che sembrano quasi tradurre con la fluidità di larghe pennellate, o anche nella tecnica dei *superposed colours*, esperienze vissute all'incirca negli stessi decenni o poco dopo anche nella *caelatura*, tra gli altri nella



Cista Ficoroni e in alcuni specchi di grande finezza come quelli del (prenestino?) Maestro di Alceste.²³ Il magistero attico, intravisto nella sostanza delle scelte stilistiche e iconografiche del pittore, che possono rinviare a ceramografi del tardo V secolo a.C., come Polion, certamente presi a modello, tra gli altri, dai pittori di piattelli spinetici, si ammanta



Fig. 4a-b. Stemless cup del Pittore degli Argonauti da Tuscania. Tuscania, collezione privata (Foto proprietario).

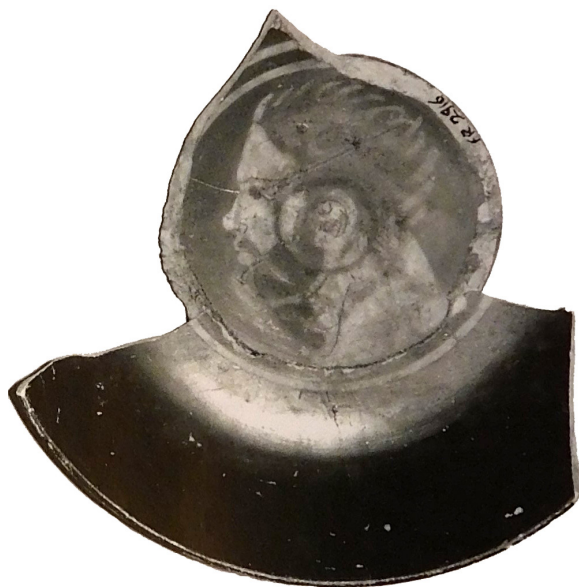


Fig. 5. Stemless cup da Ferento. Viterbo, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (da Micozzi 2004, tav. XXXVIII,1).

di inflessioni formali i cui esiti di studiata e a tratti 'sovrrabbondante' ricercatezza paiono echeggiare in particolare la produzione di capiscuola italoti, tra cui il lucano Pittore di Dolone, che non a caso in anni lontani E. Buschor pensò di identificare con il Pittore degli Argonauti.

Nonostante la sua qualità decisamente 'fuori serie', il Pittore degli Argonauti sembra collocarsi con crescente sicurezza in un ambito 'tiberino' in grado di esprimere altri artigiani di rilievo nel settore della ceramografia ad una quota cronologica prossima e/o leggermente più alta: a partire dalle kylikes apode individuate da P. Bocci e dalla bottega dello stamnos di Bologna 824 per arrivare al pittore dello stamnos Casuccini e con lui agli skyphoi di Orvieto e di Civitella Paganico, stilisticamente vicinissimi, le cui inflessioni ellenizzanti vengono accentuate e sottolineate dalla preziosità disegnativa nella maniera di rendere occhi e ciglia.²⁴

Meno incerta appare oggi la lettura di questi fenomeni di trasmissione e *Umbildung* di modelli dopo le straordinarie scoperte effettuate a Orvieto negli ultimi anni da S. Stopponi nel grande contesto santuarioale di Campo della Fiera. E' soprattutto la prontezza con cui vengono recepite fin dalla prima metà del V secolo a.C. le tendenze proto-classiche più aggiornate del mondo italota e la sensibilità con cui vengono rivissute le espressioni della plastica post-fidiaca, a rendere più strutturato e chiaro il quadro complessivo della

Interinsperiode orvietana²⁵ e in genere tiberina: la freschezza delle soluzioni stilistiche adottate consente di arricchire ulteriormente il quadro già relevantissimo delle produzioni artistiche di questo distretto delineandone una capacità di elaborazione che rende il Pittore degli Argonauti e alcuni suoi 'colleggi' di spicco meno isolati nel panorama dell'epoca.

Toscana può dunque ben essere considerata un polo - sul versante occidentale, nella valle del Marta, appunto, e non troppo distante da Vulci - di questa temperie culturale. Le assonanze stilistiche dei vasi dipinti con la Cista Ficoroni andranno del resto lette nel medesimo contesto storico, quando, proprio per i suoi consolidati rapporti con il Sud della penisola e i distretti interni dell'Italia centrale, l'artigianato prenestino della *caelatura* (ma, per la verità, non solo di quella)²⁶ esprime un linguaggio che, come hanno dimostrato per primi M. Cristofani e M. Bonamici, arriva a toccare, e a tratti quasi omologare, realtà produttive falische, orvietane, chiusine, perugine.²⁷

NOTE

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¹ Moretti/Ricciardi 2010, in partic. 51.

² Moretti/Ricciardi 2010, 57 (tamburo del tumulo), 60 (fine capitello arcaico di tipo 'tuscanico' pertinente a costruzione dell'area).

³ Sul problema, Moretti/Ricciardi 2010, con lett., e inoltre gli Atti del Convegno Nazionale di Studi Etruschi ed Italici tenutosi a Toscana nell'ottobre 2017 (in preparazione).

⁴ Moretti/Ricciardi 2010, 51-55, figg. 1,3,4.

⁵ Per questo dettaglio, cfr. Scarrone 2015, 164.

⁶ Moretti/Ricciardi 2010, 55 e 86, fig. 4f (h. cm. 5).

⁷ Moretti/Ricciardi 2010, 55.

⁸ Gilotta 1986, 9; Gilotta 1998, 142-143; Gilotta 2003, 210-214 (attr.); Scarrone 2015, 198-202.

⁹ Scarrone 2015, 198, VIII.6 (attr.).

¹⁰ Cfr., e.g., gli importanti studi di C. Isler Kerényi (1993) e di M. Torelli (2002).

¹¹ Potrebbe in teoria contenere riferimenti di carattere anche funerario, e.g., la *stemless cup* di New Haven (Beazley, *EVP*, 297; Gilotta 1986, 2, figg. 25-26) con giovane seduto su un rialzo roccioso davanti a un 'pilastrino/stele/altare' in atteggiamento di 'pensosità'. Qualche riflessione su questo tema ho proposto in Gilotta 2000a.

¹² Costantini/Ricciardi 2015, 643, ove ne vengono indicate anche le rispettive dimensioni: h. 5/5,4; diam. piede 7,1/7,6; diam. bocca 14,2/15 ca.(ric.).

¹³ Costantini/Ricciardi 2015, 640.

¹⁴ Costantini/Ricciardi 2015, 640-644.

¹⁵ Grazie alla gentilezza di S. Costantini.

¹⁶ Cfr. la bibl. cit. a nota 8.

- ¹⁷ Moretti 2005, 213-244; Costantini/Ricciardi 2005, 245-268. Sulla importanza in quest'ottica delle provenienze tuscanesi, cfr. anche Scarrone 2015, 20, 38 ss., 68, 102.
- ¹⁸ Micozzi 2004, 113-132; per la coppa, cfr. in partic. 128-129, tav. XXXVIII, 1.
- ¹⁹ Pianu 1982, 19-20, cat. n. 19, tav. XV. Ma cfr. forse anche (in parte), per quello che è possibile dedurre dalle riproduzioni fotografiche, il satiro di una raffinata coppa apoda suddipinta del Louvre (Scarrone 2015, 161, V.19 e tav. 52b).
- ²⁰ Carosi *et al.* 2017, 279-280, fig. 6.
- ²¹ Con la peculiare caratterizzazione dei pettorali, che potrebbe addirittura rinviare alla bottega del Pittore di Londra F 484 (cfr. più recentemente Gilotta 2002, 216-220; Scarrone 2015, 241-248). Sui rapporti tra le produzioni ceramiche di Vulci e quelle di area 'tiberina', cfr. Gilotta 2002, *passim*.
- ²² Cfr. nota 8.
- ²³ Gilotta 2000b.
- ²⁴ Cfr. i rimandi a nota 8. Scarrone 2015, 196-202, 220-223; F. Gilotta, Rec. a M. Scarrone, *La pittura vascolare etrusca del V secolo*, Roma 2015, 133-143, partic. 136-139.
- ²⁵ Stopponi 2012 e soprattutto 2014, 77-80 e *passim*. Cfr. anche F. Gilotta, Late Classical and Hellenistic Art, 450-250 BCE, in A. Naso (ed.), *Etruscology*, Berlin/Boston 2017, 1049-1077, partic. 1059-1062.
- ²⁶ Gilotta 2003.
- ²⁷ Cfr. Cristofani 1985 e 1992; Bonamici 2002a e 2002b; e anche una sintesi di alcuni miei interventi sull'argomento e su quello, correlato, dell'*earlier red-figure*, in CSE Villa Giulia 1 (2007), 31 (con altra lett.). Cfr. inoltre i rimandi a nota 8.
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Gesturing Emotions: Mourning and Affection on Classical Attic Funerary Reliefs

Katia Margariti

Abstract

*This paper examines gestures expressing emotion on classical Attic funerary reliefs: mourning and grief for the loss of a loved one or for one's own untimely death, tenderness and affection for the deceased or a living relative, consolation for a bereaved family member, and verbal communication, which can be used to convey a variety of meanings: a last farewell, the pain felt by the mourners, or love for the dead kin. Emotional gestures are not particularly common in funerary relief scenes. They are however important, since they create a visual bond between two persons and can often help with identifying the deceased. They also place special emphasis on the powerful ties of familial love and kinship between the deceased and his/her grief-stricken relatives.**

INTRODUCTION

For those who seek to explore and study the iconography of classical Attic grave reliefs, gestures can be a valuable source of information. They frequently play an important role in helping to identify the deceased among the figures depicted in the same scene, thus enabling scholars to overcome a major difficulty in studying and interpreting multi-figured funerary reliefs.¹ Moreover, the sculptors of grave reliefs employ gestures to emphasize certain aspects of death, according to the visual message each sculptor or the relatives of the deceased visiting his workshop have chosen to convey. For instance, gestures of mourning call attention to the bereavement of the deceased's family, focusing on the grief caused by the death of a loved one, while gestures of tenderness and unity give prominence to the strong ties of love and affection between the family members who have been separated by death.

The importance of the gestures depicted on grave reliefs has not escaped scholars, and a number of excellent studies have dealt with certain aspects of the subject or even specific gestures, with a strong emphasis on the *dexiosis*.² The purpose of this paper is to examine gestures expressing such emotions as one would expect to find in funerary relief scenes, namely mourning and affection.³ It is divided into three sections, each one dealing with a group of gestures. The first section focuses on gestures expressing grief and mourning, whether for the loss of a loved one, or for one's own (usually premature) death. The second section is dedicated to gestures of tenderness,

affection and consolation, which emphasize the strong ties of love and kinship connecting the deceased persons with their bereaved family members. The third and final section deals with speaking gestures, which can express a variety of meanings - farewell, love, grief, etc. Many of the gestures studied in this paper create a visual bond between the person performing them and the person towards whom they are directed. And even though they lack the intense *pathos* that can be found in funerary scenes of Athenian vases, they still succeed in conveying their emotional messages in the quiet reserved manner that was considered so appropriate for the scenes of classical Attic funerary reliefs.

THE GESTURES

The significance of gestures for the study and interpretation of classical Attic grave reliefs is accentuated by their frequency of depiction. Gestures appear on approximately 75 percent (1985) of the 2659 funerary reliefs included in Clairmont's extensive catalogue. The vast majority of these gestures are depicted on fourth-century reliefs showing two or more figures.

Mourning and grief

Remarkably enough, gestures of mourning, grief, and melancholy are not as common in grave relief scenes as one might expect them to be. They appear on 312 funerary reliefs, which comprise a



Fig. 1. Grave stele of a woman. Piraeus Archaeological Museum 429. 350-320 BC.

mere 11,7 percent of Clairmont's corpus, mostly dating to the 4th century BC (*table 1*). More than half of these reliefs are decorated with three-figured scenes, but such gestures are also quite popular in grave relief scenes depicting either four, or two figures. Gestures of grief and mourning are most often performed by women of all ages (female relatives of the deceased and maidservants). Mourning males are usually old/elderly, or at least of mature age, while youths and young men are more frequently shown grieving for their own premature death, rather than mourning for the death of a family member. Children are never portrayed in mourning, and interestingly, short-cropped hair, a clear sign of mourning in female figures,⁴ is rarely combined with mourning gestures.⁵

The iconography of classical Attic grave reliefs does not therefore place any special emphasis on mourning. Gestures of grief, mourning and melancholy are not very common, and mourning is always restrained and never intense. This is in great contrast to the funerary scenes of Attic vases, where mourning is particularly excessive

and passionate.⁶ On funerary reliefs, the bereaved relatives of the deceased usually express their grief by touching their face, head and neck, or supporting their head with one hand.⁷ Their faces are sad and melancholic, lacking the powerful emotions of the mourning figures painted on funerary vases. In the latter case, women are predominantly extreme in their mourning:⁸ they are depicted lamenting for their dead, expressing their pain by tearing their hair, scratching their cheeks, beating their heads and breasts.⁹ Men are more restrained than women, since they usually mourn by touching their face or head with one hand.¹⁰ However, their faces betray greater emotion than those of the bereaved male figures on grave reliefs. The iconography of Attic funerary vases fully reflects the common belief that women were by nature more prone to emotional outbursts than men, as well as the social norms dictating that Athenian men had to be restrained in expressing their pain, mourning, and sorrow.¹¹ It is obvious that the former does not apply to grave reliefs, since their scenes lack the strong emotions and extreme mourning of female figures commonly seen on vases and mentioned in ancient texts. Such a marked difference is due to the fact that the public display of funerary reliefs inevitably influenced their iconography, which therefore largely focused in promoting an ideal image of the Athenian family.¹² Given the fact that funerary legislation repeatedly targeted female mourning in Athens,¹³ with laws specifically aiming at circumscribing the excess of feminine lament, it is not surprising that grave relief scenes fully reflected what would be considered ideal by civic community standards. However, even the restrained quiet mourning of the bereaved relatives on funerary reliefs never fails to underline the powerful ties of familial love and kinship between the deceased persons and the members of their family.

However, intense mourning is not totally absent from the Attic funerary monuments of the Classical period. Whereas the bereaved relatives of the deceased are portrayed restrained in their grief, the bitter fate of the dead is occasionally lamented by the most mythical of mourners: the Sirens.¹⁴ Mourning Sirens appear on finials and pediments of fourth - century grave stelai,¹⁵ but also in the form of free-standing statues that were set over tombs.¹⁶ They are usually depicted lamenting the dead, expressing their sorrow by tearing their hair and beating their breasts,¹⁷ just like mourning women on Attic vases, but are also shown playing the flute or lyre.¹⁸

1. Hand on the head or face

The vast majority of mourning figures on classical Attic funerary reliefs express their grief for the loss of a beloved family member by placing one hand on their head or face (*table 1*). Nearly all such gestures appear on reliefs dating to the 4th century BC. They are more commonly performed by standing figures, mostly female relatives of the deceased,¹⁹ or (less frequently) maidservants. When performed by male figures, these are more often old or elderly men. The dead persons themselves, usually female figures or young males, can be also occasionally shown mourning for their own death in this manner. The gestures under consideration are mostly depicted in family scenes, but can be also found (albeit less regularly) in 'mistress and maid' scenes.²⁰

1a. Hand on the face or cheek

Placing a hand on the face or cheek is the most popular gesture of mourning, performed by almost half of the grieving figures studied here (*fig. 1, table 1*).²¹ Nearly all of these reliefs date to the 4th century, and especially to 375-320 BC. The gesture is particularly common with reliefs depicting three figures, and is usually performed by females, mostly relatives of the deceased, but also maidservants. Such mourning gestures appear more often on funerary reliefs honoring dead females. Special mention must be made of three cases in which the mourning figures are possibly depicted drying their tears.²² As expected, all three of them are female.²³

Approximately half of the figures portrayed with one hand on their face or cheek are shown with their other arm crossed over their body, and the hand supporting the elbow of the arm raised to the face.²⁴ They appear on reliefs mostly decorated with three-figured scenes and dating to 375-320 BC. These figures are nearly always female, usually relatives of the deceased and (less often) servants.²⁵ This gesture has been interpreted as 'indicating the contemplation of imminent death'.²⁶

1b. Hand on or near the chin

Placing one hand on or near the chin is the second most popular gesture of mourning on classical Attic grave reliefs (*fig. 2, table 1*).²⁷ It normally appears on reliefs decorated with multi-figured scenes (especially those depicting three figures), and dating to the first half of the 4th century BC. Most of the figures shown mourning in this man-



Fig. 2. Grave stele of Eukoline. Athens, Kerameikos Archaeological Museum P 694/I 281. 350-338 BC.

ner are female, usually relatives of the deceased and more rarely servants. However, this same gesture is most commonly employed by males, often elderly or old, when expressing their grief for the loss of a loved one. On a limited number of reliefs, the deceased persons are also portrayed with one hand on or near their chin in an attitude of pensiveness and melancholy.²⁸ The gesture can be more frequently seen on funerary reliefs commemorating dead females. Occasionally, the mourning figures are depicted with their other arm crossed over their body, while the hand supports the elbow of the arm raised to the chin.²⁹ As mentioned above, this brooding gesture indicates contemplation of death. It is mostly performed by female relatives of the deceased and more rarely by maidservants or men, usually on reliefs dating to 375-350 BC.



Fig. 3. 'Ilissos stele' (grave stele of a young man).
Athens, National Archaeological Museum 869.
350-320 BC.

Special mention must be made of eight funerary reliefs depicting old or elderly men mourning for the loss of their loved ones by placing one hand on their beard and/or mouth (fig. 3, table 1). The reliefs are decorated with three- and four-figured scenes, nearly all dating to 375-320 BC. Half of them are in mourning for the death of a youth or young man, clearly their son,³⁰ and another for the premature demise of his young maiden daughter.³¹ Prominent among these men is the old father of the famous Ilissos relief, a mournful figure immersed in restrained, but deep, sorrow as he gazes upon the son he has lost.³²

1c. Hand on the head or forehead

As mentioned above, this gesture (fig. 4) is frequently performed by mourning males in scenes of Attic pottery.³³ However, it is fairly rare on funerary reliefs (table 1), mostly appearing in

three-figured scenes dating to the 4th century BC. Even though female figures on grave reliefs may be depicted with one hand on their head or forehead as a sign of mourning,³⁴ the gesture is most popular with males. It can be seen either with old/elderly men mourning for the loss of their loved ones,³⁵ or with young males mourning for their own premature death.³⁶

2. Head resting on hand

Mourning figures on classical Attic funerary reliefs are occasionally shown supporting their head with one hand - a pose indicating deep sorrow and dejection (fig. 5). Such figures mostly appear in multi-figured family scenes dating to 420-320 BC (table 1), and can be depicted seated or (more often) standing. They are usually female relatives of the deceased, and less frequently elderly males



Fig. 4. Marble lekythos of Theophante, that copies the small painted clay oil-container regularly offered to the dead. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1055.
350-320 BC.

or maidservants. On a small number of reliefs, dead women and young men are also portrayed in this manner, deeply immersed in mourning for their own death. Some of the grieving relatives and servants are shown standing with one arm crossed over their body, while the hand supports the elbow of the arm raised to the head, thus contemplating the loss of their loved ones.³⁷

2a. Hand supporting head

Figures supporting their head with one hand can be more often seen on three- and four-figured reliefs dating to the 4th century BC (*fig. 5, table 1*).³⁸ Most of these figures are mourning female and male relatives of the deceased, the bereaved males nearly always old or elderly'. A few maidservants and a servant boy are also depicted in this pose.³⁹ Equally limited is the number of dead women and young men shown with one hand supporting their head, grieving for their own death.⁴⁰ They seem truly oblivious to the presence of their loved ones, fully detached and alienated from the world of the living. In the case of seated females portrayed in this manner, one is inevitably reminded of the mourning Penelope motif in classical art, as well as the seated Demeter of the Parthenon frieze.⁴¹

2b. Hand supporting chin

On a limited number of mostly three- and four-figured reliefs dating to 420-340 BC, the mourning figures are depicted supporting their chin with one hand (*table 1*). Nearly all of these figures are female, most of them relatives of the deceased. Only two male figures, both of them elderly, are portrayed in this pose.⁴²

3. Hand on or near the neck

This rare gesture of mourning only appears on five fourth-century grave reliefs within Clairmont's extensive corpus (*fig. 6, table 1*). Nearly all of them are decorated with three-figured family scenes. The gesture is always performed by standing figures, mostly female relatives of the deceased.⁴³

4. Drying or hiding tears

Mourning on classical Attic funerary reliefs hardly ever involves weeping. There are three certain cases of reliefs depicting mourners shedding tears over the loss of their loved ones, and five more⁴⁴ that may be portraying tearful figures (*table 1*). All of them are standing female figures, namely



Fig. 5. Grave stele of a young man. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 871. 350-320 BC.

relatives and maidservants of the deceased persons. These very few weeping figures stand apart from all the rest of the mourners (over 300 in Clairmont's corpus alone) shown on Athenian funerary reliefs, by being the most expressive and pitiful in their grief. However, their lament cannot be compared to the excessive mourning of females in scenes of Attic pottery, where they are depicted violently beating their heads and breasts, scratching their faces, tearing their hair, loudly and bitterly lamenting for the death of their beloved family members. Mourning on grave reliefs is always characterised by restraint, and these weeping fig-



Fig. 6. 'Farewell stele' (grave stele of a woman).
Athens, National Archaeological Museum 870.
350-320 BC.

ures are no exception to this rule. They are shown drying their eyes⁴⁵ or hiding their tears, sometimes even hiding their entire face behind their arm or hand.⁴⁶ Thus, the sculptors only allow a hint of something deeper and more emotional than the usual gestures of quiet restrained mourning (touching the face or head, supporting the head with one hand) to be witnessed by the viewer: the mourners weep, but their tears are not visible to the spectator.

Affection, tenderness and consolation

Gestures of tenderness and affection are more rare than mourning gestures on classical Attic funerary reliefs. They appear on 143 reliefs that comprise only 5,4 percent of Clairmont's extensive corpus, mostly dating to the 4th century BC (*table 2*). Almost half of these reliefs are decorated with three-figured scenes. Such gestures may be performed by either seated or standing figures, but are more popular with the latter. They can be divided into two categories: gestures of affection, and gestures of

consolation. The former are employed in order to express feelings of love and tenderness for a person (usually the deceased), while the latter are utilised for consoling a bereaved relative mourning the death of a loved one. Gestures of affection, tenderness and consolation create a visual bond between two figures: the person performing the gesture, and the person towards whom this gesture is directed. In that respect, the gestures under consideration perform a similar function as that of the *dexiosis* on grave reliefs. By uniting two figures, both of them members of the same *oikos*, they create a powerful image of familial love and unity. Thus, it is not surprising that nearly all the funerary reliefs on which affectionate and consolatory gestures appear are decorated with family scenes.

Gestures expressing affection and tenderness place special emphasis on family unity, love, and the strength of familial bonds that cannot be undone by death. Even though the deceased is usually the recipient of these gestures, he or she may be also depicted consoling a grieving relative. Gestures of caressing or embracing are often more expressive and intense than mourning gestures.⁴⁷ On the contrary, consolation gestures are more subtle than mourning ones, both focusing on the bereaved relatives and the grief caused by the death of a loved one. Gestures of affection and consolation on classical Attic funerary reliefs gradually become more popular as the 4th century progresses, reaching the height of their popularity during the period 350-320 BC. They are mostly performed by female figures, usually mourning relatives of the deceased, and more rarely by deceased females. This is in accordance with the belief that women were more sentimental and prone to emotional outbursts than men, but also with the traditional role of women in providing loving care for the members of their family. Male figures performing such gestures are usually bereaved relatives of the deceased. It is interesting to note that gestures of affection and consolation appear more frequently on grave reliefs honoring dead females than deceased males.

1. Holding or touching a figure's forearm

Holding, touching, or supporting a figure's forearm is the most popular of all gestures of affection on classical Attic funerary reliefs (*figs 1-2, 6-7*). Nevertheless, it only appears on 33 reliefs within Clairmont's corpus (*table 2*),⁴⁸ nearly all of them dating to the 4th century and especially to 375-320 BC. These reliefs are decorated with family scenes

depicting between two to four figures, but the gesture is more frequently shown in three-figured scenes. The gesture is more often performed by seated females, usually bereaved relatives of the deceased. It is normally combined with the *dexiosis* gesture.⁴⁹ Thus, the mourning relatives are portrayed with their free left hand⁵⁰ 'embracing', touching or supporting the deceased's forearm. When combined with the *dexiosis*, the gesture under consideration does not only express affection, but also reinforces the meaning of the handshake, which connects the two figures and gives prominence to the powerful ties of kinship uniting them.⁵¹ The recipient of this tender gesture is in most cases the deceased male or female, who is usually shown standing.⁵² It should be noted that the gesture is more frequently performed towards dead males than females. Even though it is not always easy to identify the relationship between the figures depicted on grave reliefs, it seems that this particular gesture is mostly performed by bereaved mothers and mourning wives.

The most well-known funerary relief on which the gesture studied here appears is undoubtedly the so-called 'Farewell Stele' (fig. 6).⁵³ A standing woman supports the right forearm of a seated female, at the same time tenderly touching her chin with her other hand. In the background stands a maiden figure shown with one hand against her neck in mourning, while a partridge can be seen pecking the ground underneath the stool of the seated figure. There are two similar stelai recorded by Clairmont, both of them dating to the same period as the 'Farewell Stele' (350-320 BC). On one of them the background figure is not a maiden, but an adult woman who raises one hand to her cheek in mourning, and extends her other arm in a speaking gesture (fig. 1).⁵⁴ On the other the background figure is not depicted at all,⁵⁵ and the partridge does not appear on either of them. In all three cases Clairmont identifies the standing female as the deceased, thus interpreting the scenes as depicting the deceased consoling her mourning mother (portrayed seated). In my opinion it is the seated figures that should be identified as the deceased women honored by these stelai. The presence of the partridge under the seated female's stool on the 'Farewell Stele' is I believe indicative of the deceased's identity, who is accompanied by her favourite pet bird.⁵⁶ And even though this charming detail can only be seen on this particular stele, the passivity of the seated female whose arm seems rather lifeless and frail as it is supported by the standing woman is a characteristic of all three reliefs. This



Fig. 7. Grave stele. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 4507. 375-350 BC.

detail combined with the fact that each seated figure is clearly the focus of attention as the recipient of the affectionate gestures performed by the standing female also points to the seated women as being deceased. In favour of this interpretation I point to the existence of another funerary relief depicting a scene nearly identical to that of the 'Farewell Stele'. This is a marble lekythos in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens dating to the same period as the other three reliefs.⁵⁷ The only difference in the iconography of this lekythos to the 'Farewell Stele' is (again) the absence of the partridge and the fact that the young female/maiden in the background is not shown in mourning. This is also the only one of the four reliefs discussed here that bears a name



Fig. 8. Grave stele of Myynnion. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 763. 350-330 BC.

inscription conveniently inscribed over the seated woman's head, therefore clearly designating this figure as the deceased.⁵⁸ These reliefs form a unique group among all those discussed in this section, since the standing figures on them perform two gestures of affection, one with each hand, thus creating a powerful image of tenderness and love that even death cannot conquer.

2. Hand on figure's shoulder

This gesture appears on 28 reliefs mostly dating to the 4th century (Table 2). Nearly all are decorated with multi-figured family scenes depicting between three to five figures, with the three-figured scenes being most popular. The gesture is

performed by standing female and male relatives of the deceased,⁵⁹ who place one hand on the shoulder of a seated or (less often) standing female or male figure. The recipient of this gesture is more frequently a bereaved family member,⁶⁰ but it can also be the dead male or female commemorated by the grave relief. In most cases, the gesture under consideration is used to express familial unity, tenderness, consolation and support towards someone grieving for either the loss of a loved one, or her/his own death.

3. Embrace

This is one of the most affectionate gestures depicted on classical Attic funerary reliefs (fig. 8). It appears on 19 tombstones mostly decorated with three-figured family scenes and dating to 420-320 BC (table 2), although the gesture becomes more popular after the middle of the 4th century. A full embrace is only shown once,⁶¹ since in most cases the gesture consists of a figure placing one arm around the back or shoulders of another figure.⁶² It is usually performed by standing females, more often relatives of the deceased, although dead females are occasionally portrayed embracing a loved one. Only two male figures (one of them elderly) are depicted in such a manner, embracing their offspring.⁶³ Standing dead females and living children accompanying their deceased parents are normally the recipients of this gesture.⁶⁴ It is therefore not surprising that the vast majority of the grave reliefs depicting an embrace commemorate dead females. Thus, embracing is a predominantly feminine gesture, and it is frequently performed by mothers.⁶⁵

4. Caressing figure's chin

This gesture of tenderness and affection can be seen on 17 funerary reliefs, mostly grave stelai dating to 375-320 BC and especially to the third quarter of the 4th century (figs 2, 6, 8, table 2).⁶⁶ They are all decorated with scenes depicting two to four figures, although three-figured scenes are more popular. The gesture is exclusively performed by standing female relatives of the deceased, the latter always being the recipient of this caress and portrayed either standing or seated. This caressing gesture usually appears on reliefs honoring dead females.⁶⁷ It is therefore a predominantly female gesture. Even though it is not always possible to identify the relationship of the various figures depicted on funerary reliefs, this kind of caress seems to be befitting for a mother expressing the love she feels for the offspring she has lost to death.⁶⁸

5. Hand on child's head

On a limited number of 4th-century funerary reliefs, the deceased or a bereaved family member are depicted tenderly placing one hand on a child's head (fig. 9, table 2).⁶⁹ These are mostly grave stelai bearing two- or multi-figured scenes. Both males and females perform this affectionate gesture, and are more often (but not always) portrayed standing. Several of the children under consideration are family members, but on nearly half of these reliefs the gesture is performed towards slave boys (*paides*).⁷⁰ All child figures (including slaves) are shown standing. There is an equal number of non slave boys and girls being caressed, among them one baby.⁷¹ Where family children are concerned, the caress is normally bestowed by a female's (usually a mother's) hand.⁷² The slave boys mostly appear on two-figured stelai honoring dead males and dating to the third quarter of the 4th century BC. They are always caressed by a standing male figure, usually the deceased himself, and are normally depicted naked.⁷³ Such scenes displaying tenderness towards slave children are very rare among the funerary reliefs of the Classical period. They serve to promote an idealized image of the *oikos*,⁷⁴ placing special emphasis on its unity. At the same time of course, the presence of servants is an indication of high status and wealth for the deceased persons and their family.⁷⁵

6. Hand touching figure's arm, wrist, or hand

These gestures appear on a small number of funerary reliefs, mostly fourth-century grave stelai bearing three-figured family scenes (table 2). They are more often performed by female figures, usually the deceased females themselves, or (less frequently) a mourning relative.⁷⁶ The recipients of such gestures are children or dead males, normally depicted standing.⁷⁷ In most cases, the hand gently touches the figure's arm rather than the wrist or hand. This is the most discreet of all gestures expressing emotion on classical Attic funerary reliefs.

7. Children extending one or both arms

Children do not often express their emotions on funerary reliefs. When they do so, they are depicted extending one or both arms towards the deceased or a bereaved relative, clearly trying to attract their attention. In most cases they extend only one arm, usually on multi-figured family



Fig. 9. Grave stele of Deinias. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 934. 350-320 BC.

scenes dating to 420-320 BC (fig. 10, table 2).⁷⁸ There are somewhat more boys than girls shown in this manner,⁷⁹ as well as two babies who extend one arm to their dead mothers.⁸⁰ Most of the children are portrayed standing, with only a few of them depicted in a seated, squatting, or kneeling position.⁸¹ The gesture is directed towards seated or standing female and male figures that can be either dead, or bereaved family members.⁸² While boys are portrayed gesturing towards an equal number of male and female figures, girls are more often shown extending their arms to females. The recipients of the children's gestures



Fig. 10. Grave stele of Kleomenes. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 880. 420-400 BC.



Fig. 11. Marble lekythos of Xenokrateia. Athens, Agora I 7031. 400-375 BC.

are normally their mothers or fathers, although on several occasions their arms are extended towards a grandparent, or (more rarely) an older sibling.⁸³

Children extending both arms towards another figure appear on 15 funerary reliefs dating to the 4th century, and especially to 400-375 BC (fig. 11, table 2). These are decorated with family scenes normally depicting from two to four figures. Most of the children are portrayed standing, with only a small number of them shown seated, crawling, or squatting.⁸⁴ The gesture is performed by an equal number of girls and boys, although there are a few children whose sex cannot be detected. The recipient is more often a seated or standing female figure, usually the deceased herself.⁸⁵ Boys are

depicted extending their arms towards both female and (a little less frequently) male figures, but girls are shown gesturing exclusively to females. The majority of the children under consideration extend their arms towards their mothers.

Children extending one arm towards family members are usually trying to attract their attention, often in vain. With the exception of a few cases where the children are depicted interacting with their kin,⁸⁶ on most funerary reliefs the deceased persons are portrayed shaking hands with a relative, hardly noticing the small child figures gesturing to them.⁸⁷ The most tender of such scenes is undoubtedly the stele of Kleomenes, who shakes hands with an elderly man (fig. 10).⁸⁸

A young girl is shown standing between the two males, reaching up to the deceased. The fingers of her extended right hand are gently touching her dead father's hand. According to Clairmont, the girl is eager to participate in the handshake between the two adults. In my opinion, this is not the case since the girl is turned to her father and her gesture clearly focuses on him. It is his hand she touches, showing her love and affection for the father she has lost, as well as her desire to interact with him. Even more heartbreaking are the images of children extending their arms in a fruitless attempt to attract the attention of their deceased mothers, thus expressing their need and longing for the motherly love they have lost.⁸⁹ Children extending both arms towards their mothers or (more rarely) another family member are expressing the same need, but in a more emphatic manner. On the grave stele of Asia, who lovingly interacts with her son, the boy opens his arms to embrace his dead mother.⁹⁰ On other reliefs, small children extend their arms in the familiar manner of a young child who wishes to be picked up.⁹¹ The contrast between the orphan child longing for the mother it has lost, and the mother's inability to provide the love and tender care her offspring needs is at full play here.⁹² Even though boys are depicted gesturing to both parents, girls are nearly always portrayed extending one or both arms to their mothers. This action clearly stresses the special relationship between mothers and daughters, a powerful bond that has been severed by death.⁹³

Speaking gestures

Speaking gestures appear on 123 reliefs that comprise a mere 4,6 percent of Clairmont's corpus (figs 1, 11-12, table 3). The majority of these reliefs date to the 4th century and are usually decorated with family scenes depicting from two to four figures, although three-figured scenes are more common.⁹⁴ A gesture denoting speech consists of extending one hand with open palm in the direction of another figure, and can be also seen in vase-painting.⁹⁵ On classical Attic funerary reliefs speaking gestures are mostly performed by standing female figures, usually relatives of the deceased, and less frequently by male family members.⁹⁶ In most cases, these gestures are directed to the deceased female and male figures commemorated by the grave reliefs, which are more often shown standing than seated.⁹⁷ Speaking gestures can be combined with the *dexiosis* gesture, in which case they are always performed with the left hand, since the right one is involved in the handshake.⁹⁸



Fig. 12. Grave stele of Plathane. Minneapolis Institute of Art, The Ethel Morrison Van Derlip Fund 31.4. 400-375 BC.

Just like the *dexiosis*, tenderness, and consolation gestures, speaking gestures create a visual bond between two figures: the one who speaks, and the one to whom the words are directed.⁹⁹ But what could these words actually be? Expressing love and affection for the deceased persons, pain and grief for their death, or even speaking a last farewell are the most obvious answers to this question. Sometimes the iconography of certain reliefs can actually provide an indication as to what is being said. When directed to a grieving figure, speaking gestures may be offering consolation.¹⁰⁰ When combined with gestures of affection, they could be expressing love.¹⁰¹ When the speaker

also performs a mourning gesture, then the words being uttered are more likely those of grief and mourning.¹⁰² Speaking gestures directed to women suffering in the throes of childbirth are perhaps offering courage and support to the dying female.¹⁰³ A last farewell seems very appropriate in scenes depicting a warrior accompanied by his squire and surrounded by bereaved family members, one of whom performs a speaking gesture.¹⁰⁴ It is however on funerary reliefs where the deceased is shown utterly detached and isolated, often turning away from the speaker, that the speaking gestures convey a most powerful visual message; namely that the dead are forever gone from the world of the living, and can neither hear, nor respond to the words uttered by their loved ones.¹⁰⁵

CONCLUSIONS

Gestures expressing emotion are not particularly common in classical Attic grave relief scenes, where the *dexiosis* gesture clearly dominates. The feminine gesture of *anakalypsis* is also somewhat more popular than emotional gestures in such scenes.¹⁰⁶ Gestures can often help to identify the deceased among the figures depicted in the same scene, but caution is required when interpreting such scenes. Mourning gestures are helpful in identifying living relatives lamenting the loss of a loved one, but the dead can be occasionally portrayed mourning for their own sad fate, especially if they have died prematurely. Similarly, even though the deceased persons are normally the recipients of affectionate and speaking gestures, they may be also shown performing these gestures themselves, directing them to bereaved family members. In all cases however, gestures convey meanings and perform functions that are fairly standard for each type of gesture. The *dexiosis*, affectionate, consolatory and speaking gestures connect figures. The *anakalypsis* gesture is indicative of married status in females. Gestures of mourning, affection and consolation express emotion. Children's gestures are indicative of their young age, and reveal their need for parental love. Speaking gestures indicate verbal communication. Gestures of mourning and *anakalypsis* have no recipients, so they are not connecting figures, but are instead making a statement. Moreover, not all gestures focus on death - only mourning gestures do so. With the exception of *anakalypsis*, all the other gestures mostly focus on the familial relationship and ties of love between figures.

The most frequently depicted gestures of emotion are those expressing grief and mourning for

the loss of a loved one. However, in great contrast to the funerary scenes of Attic vases, mourning on grave reliefs is never intense. It is mostly expressed by placing one hand on the head or face, although mourning figures can be occasionally shown supporting their head with one hand in deep sorrow and dejection. Mourning gestures usually appear on reliefs dating to the 4th century. They are more often performed by women of all ages, whether female relatives of the deceased, or maidservants. The former may be also portrayed with one hand on their face or head and the other arm crossed over their body while the hand supports the elbow of the arm raised to the face, in 'contemplation of imminent death'. Short-cropped hair, a sign of mourning in female figures, is rarely combined with mourning gestures. Mourning males are normally old/ elderly, or at least of mature age. Placing one hand on or near their chin, beard and mouth is the gesture most commonly employed by bereaved males expressing their grief for the death of a family member. Youths and young men are more frequently depicted grieving for their own premature death, rather than mourning for the loss of a loved one. Children do not perform mourning gestures, and weeping is hardly ever shown on classical Attic funerary reliefs.

Gestures of affection, tenderness and consolation are more rare than mourning ones. They mostly appear on fourth-century reliefs, gradually becoming more common as the 4th century progresses, and finally reaching the height of their popularity during 350-320 BC. They are most frequently performed by female figures, usually relatives of the deceased, and less often by dead females. Even though the deceased persons themselves are commonly the recipients of such gestures, they may be also depicted consoling a mourning relative. The most popular of all affectionate gestures consists of holding, touching, or supporting a figure's forearm. Normally combined with the *dexiosis*, it is more often performed by bereaved mothers and mourning wives expressing their love for their dead sons and husbands. Female and male relatives of the deceased can be portrayed placing one hand on the shoulder of a grieving figure in consolation for the loss of a loved one, or even for one's own death. Embracing someone or caressing a figure's chin are the most affectionate gestures of tenderness on classical Attic funerary reliefs. Both are predominantly feminine gestures becoming more popular after the middle of the 4th century, and are frequently performed by mothers expressing their

affection for their dead children. Occasionally, a mother may be also depicted with one hand tenderly placed on her child's head. The same gesture is performed by (usually deceased) males on grave stelai dating to the third quarter of the 4th century BC, but in these cases the recipients are slave boys. Children express their emotions by extending one or both arms towards the deceased or a bereaved relative, in an often vain attempt to attract their attention. The gesture is directed to female and (somewhat less frequently) male figures, normally their mothers or fathers, although on several occasions they are gesturing to a grandparent or even an older sibling. While boys are portrayed extending their arms towards an equal number of male and female figures, girls are more often shown gesturing to females.

Speaking gestures appear less frequently than mourning, affectionate and consolatory ones. They are more often performed by female relatives of the deceased. In most cases, these gestures are directed to the dead female and male figures. Depending on the iconography of each funerary relief scene, speaking gestures may be used to express love, tenderness, pain and grief, to offer courage, support and consolation, or even to speak a last farewell.

Gestures are a visual language that conveys meaning and is used to express love, tenderness, sorrow, mourning, consolation, etc. Combined gestures can reinforce or clarify what is being expressed. For example, when a person embraces the deceased while at the same time caressing her/his chin, this second gesture emphasizes the affection expressed by the first one.¹⁰⁷ In the case of speaking gestures, the second gesture can reveal what is being said. For instance, if a person performs a speaking gesture with one hand and a mourning gesture with the other, then she/he is clearly expressing grief for the death of a loved one, hence the words uttered are words of pain and mourning.¹⁰⁸ Various gestures performed by more than one person in the same scene may connect the figures performing them, thus presenting a powerful image of familial unity.¹⁰⁹ Different types of gestures depicted in the same funerary relief scene also explore the various emotions generated by the death of a beloved family member. On the grave stele of young Eukoline (fig. 2) for example, her mother is portrayed tenderly caressing the deceased maiden, while her father is shown in the background, mourning for her untimely death.¹¹⁰ Love and grief are here juxtaposed, the former surviving death, the latter caused by it. In scenes with more than one figure performing the

same or similar gestures, the meaning of these gestures is emphasized and reinforced.¹¹¹

All gestures studied in this paper usually appear in grave relief scenes depicting from two to four figures, but are most popular with three-figured scenes. Affectionate, consolatory and speaking gestures create a visual bond between the person performing the gesture, and the person towards whom this gesture is directed. Mourning gestures place special emphasis on the powerful ties of familial love and kinship between the deceased and her/his bereaved relatives. Besides expressing the pain and grief caused by the death of a loved one, all of these gestures promote an idealized image of the *oikos*, placing special emphasis on its unity and the strength of familial bonds that cannot be undone by death.¹¹² They are mostly performed by female figures, which is not surprising given the popular belief that women were by nature more prone to emotional outbursts than men. Among these female figures, mothers mourning for their children's death are particularly prominent. Children do not often express their emotions on funerary reliefs. When they do so, they are normally shown trying to attract their dead parents' attention, longing for the parental love they have lost. Servants frequently mourn for the death of their masters and mistresses, but they never perform affectionate gestures and are always silent. Although the deceased persons may be depicted mourning for their own death or expressing affection for a member of their *oikos*, gestures are usually performed by living family members.

It is through the gestures depicted on them that the funerary reliefs 'speak' to the spectator, both in ancient and modern times. Various sentiments are being expressed, their intensity varying. A number of reliefs focus on the pain and grief death brings to a family, others present a more positive image of familial love and unity that survives beyond death. In both cases, the message conveyed by each scene is largely determined by the type of gestures performed, and whether they express mourning or affection. Familial relationships are brought to the fore, especially where parents mourning for or caressing their dead offspring are concerned. The living are differentiated from the dead by the great variety of gestures the former employ as compared to the limited repertoire of gestures assigned to the deceased persons. The particularly tragic nature of untimely death is accentuated by the mourning gestures of the young dead who grieve for their premature demise. The power of feminine emo-

tion and the unique loving relationship between mother and child are emphasized: women predominate among the gesturing figures of funerary reliefs and they are the ones most often expressing their love for their offspring. The figures of the grave reliefs speak through their gestures, communicating with one another and expressing feelings that could not have been so successfully conveyed without the performance of gestures. For instance, a sad or melancholic countenance may indeed express sorrow and grief, but never with the intensity of a mourner drying tears and certainly never with the dejection and despair of a figure supporting his/her head, as if the sorrow is

too heavy to bear. A skillful sculptor may be successful in portraying a loving mother affectionately looking at her deceased son or daughter, but the image of a mother caressing, embracing, or gently touching her offspring will always be far more successful in expressing motherly love.

Restraint and lack of pathos are the common characteristics of all gestures on classical Attic funerary reliefs. Mourning is never intense, affectionate gestures are tender but gentle, consolation is discreet, speaking gestures are reserved. And yet, they never fail to convey the meaning they were meant to, whether it was grief, melancholy, affection, consolation, or even a last farewell.

Table 1 Mourning Gestures (numbers refer to Clairmont's catalogue)	
hand on face or cheek	6, 12, 135, 168, 200, 1.797, 1.860, 1.882, 1.894, 1.946, 2.186, 2.243, 2.256, 2.284, 2.298, 2.298a, 2.301, 2.315b, 2.337, 2.343c, 2.348d, 2.353, 2.366c, 2.380b, 2.383c, 2.384a, 2.386, 2.433, 2.438, 2.449b, 2.456a, 2.475 (?), 2.705, 2.726 (?), 2.762, 2.774, 2.843, 2.870b, 2.872, 2.878, 2.888a, 2.894a, 2.909, 2.912, 3.239, 3.240, 3.241, 3.242, 3.244, 3.252, 3.265, 3.282, 3.284, 3.289, 3.297, 3.306 (?), 3.307, 3.308, 3.309 / 3.345, 3.319, 3.325, 3.326, 3.327 (?), 3.332 (?), 3.334, 3.348, 3.350a, 3.356b, 3.359b, 3.361a, 3.366a, 3.366c (?), 3.369a, 3.370a, 3.370b, 3.371c, 3.374, 3.375a (?), 3.375c, 3.379, 3.380a (?), 3.381a (?), 3.381b, 3.382b, 3.387b, 3.388, 3.388a (?), 3.390, 3.391, 3.391a / 3.392b, 3.392c / Suppl. 382, 3.396c, 3.405a, 3.407 / 3.437a, 3.418b, 3.419, 3.422b (?), 3.425, 3.425a, 3.427 (?), 3.433a, 3.437, 3.440 (?), 3.441, 3.441a, 3.449, 3.451a, 3.454, 3.458 (?), 3.458b, 3.459 (?), 3.463, 3.465a, 3.466, 3.467 (?), 3.469, 3.471, 3.788, 3.865, 3.866, 3.878, 3.880, 3.894, 3.907, 3.910, 3.920, 3.922, 3.933, 3.970, 4.120, 4.270, 4.323, 4.325 / 4.358, 4.335, 4.367, 4.371, 4.374, 4.414, 4.415, 4.417, 4.423, 4.431, 4.433, 4.438, 4.459, 4.460, 4.467, 4.910, 4.920, 4.929, 4.930, 5.380, 7.330, Suppl. 3.382d
hand raised towards face	2.495, 3.454a
hand on chin or raised near chin	15, 132, 199, 1.353, 1.620, 1.686, 1.848, 1.852, 1.857, 2.151, 2.177, 2.202, 2.211a, 2.214, 2.228a, 2.237, 2.241a, 2.266a, 2.298, 2.300, 2.356, 2.386e, 2.390, 2.430c, 2.480, 2.724, 2.789, 2.795, 2.801a (?), 2.823, 2.825, 2.827, 2.830, 2.844b, 2.880b, 2.895, 3.075, 3.131, 3.151, 3.186, 3.234, 3.262, 3.277, 3.295, 3.317, 3.324, 3.324a, 3.325a, 3.330a, 3.335a, 3.339a, 3.341, 3.346b, 3.347b, 3.350, 3.350b, 3.360, 3.362a, 3.364, 3.367a, 3.378c, 3.379a / 3.383b, 3.382a, 3.386a, 3.388, 3.388b, 3.392, 3.396, 3.405a, 3.413a, 3.420a, 3.426, 3.495 (?), 3.681, 3.715, 3.726, 3.746, 3.823, 3.848, 3.905, 3.918, 3.956, 4.179, 4.180, 4.259, 4.323, 4.330, 4.353, 4.357, 4.380, 4.434, 4.670, 4.755, 5.450, 6.245, 6.850, 7.330, Suppl. 3.374b
hand on beard or mouth	2.950, 3.356, 3.377, 3.455, 4.190, 4.322, 4.420, 4.472
hand on head or forehead	10 (Side B), 1.456, 1.863, 2.273a, 2.278, 2.449a, 2.724 (?), 2.859 (?), 3.210, 3.221, 3.264a, 3.386b, 3.422, 3.433, 3.442, 3.450, 3.455, 3.463a, 3.735, 4.390
hand supporting head	116, 130 (?), 1.330, 1.337, 2.373, 2.764, 2.789, 2.870a, 2.954, 3.406a, 3.827, 3.881, 4.181, 4.206, 4.219, 4.439, 4.470, 4.850, Suppl. 2.260
hand against chin supporting head	15, 21, 1.341, 2.365c, 2.725, 2.850, 3.173, 3.353b, 3.363c, 4.120, 4.190 (?), 4.259, 4.422, 4.680, 4.710 (?), Suppl. 2.010
hand raised to or near neck	2.335a, 3.232, 3.371, 3.427a, 3.461
hand hiding or wiping tears	10 (Side B), 2.298, 2.917 Uncertain cases: 2.214, 3.297, 3.326, 3.386b, 4.438

Table 2 Gestures of Affection, Tenderness, Consolation (numbers refer to Clairmont's catalogue)	
holding or touching figure's forearm	1.700, 2.100, 2.291b, 2.336a, 2.378d, 2.461, 2.466, 2.754, 2.849a (?), 3.279, 3.322a, 3.340a, 3.343a, 3.351a, 3.391a / 3.392b, 3.397a, 3.409, 3.438, 3.440, 3.454, 3.461, 3.465, 3.462a, 3.466, 3.861, 3.890, 4.271, 4.415, 4.420, 4.440, 4.445 (?), 4.471, 4.472
holding figure's wrist	3.461a
supporting figure's elbow	3.436
hand on figure's shoulder	2.310, 2.957, 3.215, 3.231, 3.268, 3.279, 3.283, 3.297a, 3.323a (?), 3.349c (?), 3.351b, 3.355, 3.374c, 3.408a, 3.453a, 3.461a, 3.466 (?), 3.874, 3.905, 4.219, 4.319, 4.357, 4.414, 4.650, 4.671, 5.150, 5.290, 5.450
embracing	1.630, 1.700, 1.782, 1.943, 2.125, 2.421, 2.493, 2.650, 2.850, 2.871, 3.269a, 3.343a (?), 3.354b (?), 3.398a, 3.402, 3.417b (?), 3.461a (?), 3.466 (?), 3.921 (?)
caressing figure's chin	185, 2.421, 2.457, 2.466 (?), 3.321b, 3.354b, 3.360b, 3.433, 3.447 (?), 3.461, 3.461a, 3.465, 3.880, 3.892, 3.907, 3.921, 4.420
hand on child's head	1.878, 1.942, 2.873b, 3.746, 4.930, 5.910
hand on slave boy's head	0.930, 1.773, 1.951, 1.957
hand behind child's head	4.781
hand on figure's arm	2.871, 2.873a, 2.878, 3.462a (?), 7.330
hand on figure's hand or wrist	1.942, 3.448
fingers resting on figure's open palm	1.710
child extending arm to figure	1.878, 2.620, 2.630, 2.651, 2.718, 2.726, 2.779, 2.780, 2.797, 2.834, 2.839, 2.851a, 2.853, 2.856a, 2.857, 2.861, 2.881a, 2.890, 2.914, 2.915, 2.934, 3.681, 3.710, 3.727, 3.841, 3.843, 3.905, 3.956, 4.671, 4.782, 4.850, 4.910
child extending both arms to figure	1.700, 1.758, 1.785, 2.745, 2.748, 2.749, 2.752, 2.785, 2.835, 2.858, 2.871a, 2.941, 3.930, 4.780, 4.830

Table 3 Speaking Gestures (numbers refer to Clairmont's catalogue)
10C, 12, 15, 105, 110, 113, 199, 213, 254, 291, 337 (?), 1.687, 1.696, 1.843, 1.859 (?), 1.892, 2.053, 2.191, 2.207, 2.211, 2.214, 2.234, 2.265a, 2.269a, 2.277a, 2.277b, 2.279b, 2.282a / 2.292a, 2.288b, 2.308a, 2.310 (?), 2.320b (?), 2.324b, 2.332a, 2.334a, 2.355d, 2.361a, 2.368a, 2.373e, 2.374c, 2.375e (?), 2.380b, 2.387d, 2.422, 2.426, 2.426b, 2.430, 2.455, 2.711, 2.749, 2.806, 2.829 / 2.948, 2.868 (?), 2.868a, 2.873b, 2.878, 2.889, 3.075, 3.130, 3.160, 3.190, 3.209, 3.213, 3.214, 3.239, 3.243, 3.250, 3.264, 3.276, 3.305, 3.319a, 3.322c, 3.334, 3.345b, 3.347a, 3.356b, 3.357a, 3.357b, 3.358a, 3.359, 3.363b, 3.365b, 3.367c, 3.370d, 3.382a, 3.382c, 3.386, 3.388, 3.393a, 3.414, 3.427a, 3.432, 3.432a, 3.450 (?), 3.453a, 3.455, 3.462a (?), 3.466, 3.791, 3.842, 3.868, 3.893, 4.170, 4.205, 4.235, 4.238, 4.239, 4.309, 4.331, 4.350, 4.351, 4.356, 4.413 (?), 4.425, 4.433, 4.470, 4.781, 4.930, 5.150, 5.280, 5.290, 5.480, 6.181, 6.245, Suppl. 383

* A question mark indicates the probable but not certain cases, usually due to the fragmentary state of the reliefs.

** Suppl. stands for Clairmont's Supplementary Volume of *Classical Attic Tombstones*.

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- ¹ For the ambiguity of classical Attic grave reliefs and the problems of identifying the deceased among the figures depicted on them, see Johansen 1951, 29-48; CAT introd. vol., 119-121; Margariti 2016a, 177. Certain aspects of the iconography can be very helpful with the identification of the deceased in two- and multi-figured scenes of funerary reliefs. On this, see Margariti 2016a.
 - ² Meyer 1999. The handshake between two figures, known as *dexiosis*, is the gesture most frequently depicted on classical Attic grave reliefs. It appears on approximately 55 percent (1451) of the 2659 funerary reliefs recorded by Clairmont. The majority of these reliefs date to the 4th century. Even though it is shown on more than half of the grave reliefs with two adult figures in Clairmont's corpus, it appears much more frequently in multi-figured scenes. In the latter case, the handshake between two figures can often help to identify the deceased, as the dead person is always one of the *dexiosis* participants. On classical Attic funerary reliefs, adult figures of both sexes, but also maidens and youths, portrayed standing or seated, can be involved in a handshake. The *dexiosis* is however very rare among children. Regardless of the age or sex of the figures depicted shaking hands, the right hand is invariably used for the *dexiosis* by both of them. For the *dexiosis* gesture, see Johansen 1951, 149-151; Davies 1985; Pemberton 1989; Breuer 1995, 15-39; Lawton 1995, 36-38; Stears 1995, 126; Scholl 1996, 164-167; Bergemann 1997, 61, 62; Hoffmann 2006, 62, 71, 72; Nováková/Pagáčová 2016.
 - ³ This paper is not a complete corpus of all existing classical Attic grave reliefs on which gestures of mourning and affection are depicted. It is however based on the study of all such reliefs included in C. Clairmont's extensive corpus of *Classical Attic Tombstones*. For obvious reasons, the interpretation of these gestures was based on the examination of funerary relief scenes in which the dead persons can be identified with reasonable or absolute certainty.
 - ⁴ For short-cropped hair as a sign of mourning, see Eur. Alc. 215-217, 425-427, 512, 513; *Scholia in Euripidem (scholia vetera)* sch. Alc. 427; Xen. Hell. 1.7.8; Anth. Pal. 7.241.1-2; Eur. Supp. 971-979; Eur. El. 141-150; Eur. Or. 960-967; Eur. Hel. 1087-1089; Arist. Frgm. 1.16.101; CAT introd. vol., 35; Stears 2008, 141.
 - ⁵ Short-cropped hair combined with gestures of grief and mourning only appears on 19 funerary reliefs, most of them decorated with three-figured scenes: CAT 6, 1.620, 2.151, 2.256, 2.300, 2.780, 2.917, 3.131, 3.221, 3.324, 3.339a, 3.348, 3.413a, 3.419, 3.449, 3.461, 3.471, 4.415, 4.433. Three of these reliefs date to 420-400 BC, another three to the first quarter of the 4th century, four reliefs date to 375-350 BC, and the remaining nine to 350-320 BC. The majority of the female figures in question are relatives of the deceased, but there are also five mourning maidservants among them (CAT 6, 2.917, 3.339a, 3.471, and perhaps also CAT 1.620). It should be noted that short hair is a sign of slavery, and therefore one cannot be certain that the short-cropped hair of these maidservants is actually indicative of their mourning; Oakley 2000, 232, 235, 236, 240, 242, 246.
 - ⁶ CAT introd. vol., 110; Stears 1995, 129; Oakley 2004, 76, 77, 152, 153.
 - ⁷ CAT introd. vol., 110-112, 114; Hoffmann 2006, 62.
 - ⁸ For the special meaning and importance of female mourning, see Aesch. Cho. 429-433; Vermeule 1979, 15, 105, 106; Garland 1985, 30; Keuls 1985, 149, 150; Alexiou et al. 2002, 4, 6, 10-14; Dillon 2002, 288, 292; Stears 2008, 141, 146, 149-151; Mirto 2012, 72-81.
 - ⁹ Hom. Il. 22.405-406, 24.710-712; Soph. El. 86-95, 141-150; Eur. Tro. 626-627; Anth. Pal. 7.574.7-8; Eur. Supp. 49-51, 73-86; Eur. Andr. 1209-1211; Eur. Phoen. 1519-1529; Eur. Or. 960-967; Eur. Hel. 1087-1089; Soph. Aj. 621-634; Luc. Dial. mort. 20.12.10-12; Tübingen S 101481: CVA, Tübingen, Antikensammlung des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität 3, 19-20, fig. 8, pls. (2256-2258) 11.2-8, 12.1-4, 13.1-5; Paris, Louvre CA 453: CVA, Paris, Musée du Louvre 8, III.I.C, pls. (512-513) 56.1-4, 57.1-2; Copenhagen, National Museum 9195: CVA, Copenhagen, National Museum 8, 264, pls. (343, 344) 340.1A, 340.1B, 340.1C, 340.1D, 340.1E, 341.1; Vermeule 1979, 14, 15; Garland 1985, 31; Keuls 1985, 147-150; Loraux 1998; Alexiou et al. 2002, 6; Dillon 2002, 292; Oakley 2004, 76 (and n. 9); Stears 2008, 141, 147.
 - ¹⁰ Paris, Louvre MNB 905: Shapiro 1991, 630, fig. 1; Tübingen S 101481: see above, n. 9; Berlin, Antikensammlung F 1888: CVA, Berlin, Antikensammlung 7, 21-23, pls. (3005-3007) 12.3-4, 13.1-3, 14.1-4; Paris, Louvre CA 453: see above, n. 9.
 - ¹¹ Porph. Quaestiones Homericae 22.487.4-5; Poll. Onom. 6.202.4-5; Plut. Sol. 12.8.3-9.1; Pl. Phd. 117d.8-e.1; Eur. Hel. 991-992; Pl. Resp. 387d-388d.7, 605c.10-e.7; Eur. HF 1353-1356, 1412; Soph. Trach. 1070-1075; Eur. IA 446-453; Havelock 1981, 116; Segal 1992, 148-151; Pomeroy 1997, 134; Loraux 1998, 10, 11, 24; Van Wees 1998, 17, 18, 43, 44; McNiven 2000, 72, 75; Foley 2001, 24; Dillon 2002, 292; Brulé 2003, 51; Cawthorn 2008, 86, 87; Stears 2008, 147; Suter 2008, 156; 2009, 70, 71, 78; Mirto 2012, 71. However, it is probable that these social norms did not apply to old men mourning the untimely death of their children: McNiven 2000, 73, 74; Stears 2008, 147.
 - ¹² Bergemann 1997, 69-94; Leader 1997, 688-692; Closterman 2007, 646, 647, 651.
 - ¹³ For the Athenian funerary legislation, see Plut. Sol. 12.8.3-9.1, 21.6.1-2; Dem. 43.62.6-65.1; Soph. Ant. 1246-1250; Cic. Leg. 2.59; Ath. 6.46.18-21; Poll. Onom. 8.112.1-3; Stupperich 1977, 71-86; Garland 1989; Toher 1991, 160-164; Holst-Warhaft 1992, 26-28, 31, 32, 34; Morris 1992-93; Pomeroy 1997, 100-105; Loraux 1998, 9-28; Van Wees 1998, 31, 51 n. 49; Stears 2000, 42-50, 53, 54; Alexiou et al. 2002, 14-23.

- ¹⁴ For the Sirens as mourners and their special connection to death and the underworld, see Eur. *Hel.* 167-178; Diod. Sic. 17.115.4.6-5.1; *Anth. Pal.* 7.515; Soph. *Fr.* 861; Pollard 1977, 189-191; Vermeule 1979, 205; Harrison 1991, 201, 203, 204. For Sirens in myth, literature and the art of ancient Greece, see Roscher 1884-1937, 609 (s. v. Seirenen); Pollard 1977, 188-191; Vermeule 1979, 201-206; Hofstetter 1990; Harrison 1991, 197-207.
- ¹⁵ CAT 0.776, 0.834, 0.841, 0.855a, 0.874a, 0.878, 0.913, 1.210a, 1.326, 1.328, 1.346, 1.356, 1.370, 1.382, 1.386, 1.393, 1.440, 1.473, 1.745, 1.797, 1.814, 1.825, 1.855, 1.862, 1.932, 2.208, 2.274, 2.307a, 2.313b, 2.322b, 2.335a, 2.335d, 2.368, 2.398, 2.424b, 2.429b, 2.431, 2.848, 3.320, 3.369b, 3.389b, 3.397, 3.405a, 3.410b, 3.423a, 3.441, 3.880, 3.905, 3.932, 4.417, 5.910. Sirens appear more frequently on grave stelai dating to 375-320 BC, and are most popular during the second quarter of the 4th century. See also Cook 1969, 67, figs. 40-45. For Sirens in Greek sculpture, see Hofstetter 1990, 64-68, 139-185, 196-200, 207-209, 212-214, 218, 235-265, 279-296. For Sirens on Attic grave reliefs, see Brueckner 1886, 27-32; Woysch-Méautis 1982, 91-99; Hofstetter 1990, 151-185; Harrison 1991, 203, 204; CAT 1.355; Steinhauer 2001, 278, 279. For the meaning of funerary Sirens, see Plut. *Symp.* 745d.8-f.8; Cook 1969, 67; Pollard 1977, 189, 190; Vermeule 1979, 205, 206; Parlama/Stambolidis 2000, 385; Steinhauer 2001, 278, 279.
- ¹⁶ Comstock/Vermeule 1976, 49, no. 71; Ensoli 1987, 291-309, pl. 16; CAT 2; Parlama/Stambolidis 2000, 385, no. 445, fig. 445; Kaltsas 2002, nos. 387, 407. See also *Anth. Pal.* 7.491.3-4; Vedder 1985, 65-73, figs. 46, 49; Hofstetter 1990, 152, A 213, fig. 34.
- ¹⁷ See for example, Comstock/Vermeule 1976, 49, no. 71; Ensoli 1987, 291-309, pl. 16; CAT 1.328, 1.356, 1.393, 2.368, 2.398; Kaltsas 2002, no. 387.
- ¹⁸ See for instance, CAT 2; Steinhauer 2001, fig. 453; Kaltsas 2002, no. 407. For the songs and music of the Sirens, see Hom. *Od.* 12.39-54 and 158-200; Plut. *Symp.* 745d.8-f.8; Buschor 1944, 61-68; Vermeule 1979, 201, 205, 206.
- ¹⁹ Mourning females on classical Attic grave reliefs can be either young, or of more advanced/mature age.
- ²⁰ They also appear on a few reliefs depicting women dying in childbed: CAT 3.282, 3.442, 3.463a.
- ²¹ Two unusual cases, both of them marble loutrophoroi, should be noted: CAT 3.319 and 3.788. On the former, the mourning woman is depicted with her left hand held against her cheek, also giving some support to her inclined head, while at the same time she seems to be performing the *anakalypsis* gesture. Her right arm is crossed over her body, with the hand most likely supporting the elbow of the raised arm. On 3.788, the mourning servant girl's right hand is raised in front of and close to her face without actually touching it, while the other arm crosses over her body with the hand supporting the right elbow. There are also two grave stelai depicting mourning women who raise one hand to their face, without actually touching it, both of them mourning for dead females: CAT 2.495, 3.454a.
- ²² CAT 3.297, 3.326, 4.438.
- ²³ The mourner of 3.297 is a female relative of the deceased, while the other two are maidservants. For the belief that women were more prone to emotional outbursts than men, who were required by social norms to be restrained in their mourning, see above, n. 11.
- ²⁴ CAT 6, 200, 2.243, 2.298, 2.298a, 2.337, 2.386, 2.433, 2.705, 2.762, 2.843, 2.872, 2.888a, 2.894a, 2.912, 3.239, 3.241, 3.242, 3.244, 3.265, 3.282, 3.289, 3.307, 3.308, 3.309/3.345, 3.319, 3.325, 3.348, 3.361a, 3.366a, 3.369a, 3.370a, 3.370b, 3.371c, 3.374, 3.375c, 3.379, 3.387b, 3.390, 3.391, 3.391a/3.392b, 3.392c/Suppl. 382, 3.396c, 3.407/3.437a, 3.425, 3.433a, 3.437, 3.441, 3.441a, 3.449, 3.454, 3.469, 3.788, 3.865, 3.878, 3.907, 3.910, 3.920, 3.922, 3.970, 4.120, 4.323, 4.325/4.358, 4.335, 4.367, 4.371, 4.417, 4.431, 4.438, 5.380. Perhaps also 3.306, 3.327, 3.332, 3.356b, 3.381a, 3.427, 3.440, 3.458, 3.467.
- ²⁵ Only two males are portrayed in this manner: CAT 3.371c, 3.375c. On both reliefs the mourning gesture is performed by an elderly man shown standing. In the case of 3.371c the deceased is an elderly male, while in that of 3.375c is a (most likely young) female, possibly the mourning man's daughter.
- ²⁶ Neumann 1965, 5, 145-150; Palagia 2012, 89, 93, 94, and n. 12-16.
- ²⁷ In a few cases, only the index finger of the raised hand touches or is shown near the chin: CAT 2.202, 2.823, 3.335a, 3.396. Of particular interest is the mourning female of 2.214, who may be hiding or drying a tear. See also a white lekythos fragment from the Kerameikos Museum (inv. no. 3145), where a mourning woman performs this gesture: Shapiro 1991, 649, fig. 20.
- ²⁸ CAT 15, 1.353 (male), 1.852 (male), 2.228a, 2.298, 2.300, 2.430c, 2.480 (male), 2.844b, 2.880b, 3.681. Perhaps also CAT 1.686 (male).
- ²⁹ CAT 2.356, 2.390, 2.830, 2.895, 3.234, 3.317, 3.324, 3.339a, 3.350, 3.350b, 3.360, 3.362a, 3.367a, 3.378c, 3.379a/3.383b, 3.388, 3.420a, 3.823, 3.918, 3.956, 4.179, 4.357, 4.434, 6.245, 6.850, 7.330. Perhaps also CAT 2.724, 2.801a, and 4.380. This brooding gesture is performed by Sterope in the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, the peplos figure on south metope 19 of the Parthenon (Palagia 2012, 93) and several of the female mourners depicted on the sarcophagus of the Mourning Women.
- ³⁰ CAT 2.950, 3.377, 3.455, 4.190.
- ³¹ CAT 4.420. Of the remaining three reliefs, 3.356 is fragmentary with only the mourning man surviving. CAT 4.322 depicts the elderly man grieving for the death of a woman, perhaps his wife. The old man of 4.472 mourns the loss of a seated woman, possibly his daughter, who is shown shaking hands with her husband.
- ³² CAT 2.950. For the 'Ilissos relief', see Johansen 1951, 22, fig. 9; Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1956; Neumann 1965, 124, fig. 63; Stewart 1977, 117, 118, pl. 49a; Woysch-Méautis 1982, no. 298, pl. 45; Spivey 1996, 120, 121, fig. 86; Kaltsas 2002, no. 382.
- ³³ See for example, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 567: CVA, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 4, 66-67, fig. 67.1, pls. (520, 521) 211.1, 212.1-2; Berlin, Pergamonmuseum 31008: CVA, Berlin, Antikensammlung 15, 51-52, pls. (4624-4628) 48.1-2, 49.1-2, 50.1-5, 51.1-2, 52.1-2; Oxford, Ashmolean 1923.269: CVA, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1, 42, pl. (141) 49.1-3; London, British Museum D 62: Oakley 2003, 165, fig. 4; Berlin, Antikensammlung 1983.1: CVA, Berlin, Antikensammlung 8, 27-28, pls. (3052-3055) 11.2-3, 13.1, 14.1; London, British Museum D 67: Koch-Brinkmann 1999, figs. 21-23; Munich, Antikensammlungen 2778: CVA, Munich, Antikensammlungen 15, 106-108, fig. 42, pls. (4642-4643) 62.1-2, 63.1-5.
- ³⁴ CAT 3.386b (mourning relative), 3.442 (maidservant), 4.390, and possibly 2.859 (maidservant). Also CAT 2.449a, 2.724. In the former case, the mourning female was originally male - clearly a father lamenting the loss of his young son - subsequently converted into a figure of the opposite sex by the sculptor. It is not perfectly

- clear whether the deceased seated woman of 2.724 is holding her raised hand against her head, thus mourning for her own death, or performing the *anakalypsis* gesture.
- ³⁵ CAT 2.278, 3.210, 3.221, 3.264a, 3.422, 3.433, 3.463a, 3.735.
- ³⁶ CAT 10, 1.456, 1.863, 3.450, 3.455. See also Piraeus Archaeological Museum 5318: Steinhauer 2001, 359, no. 469. The dead young man of 3.455 is portrayed with one arm crossed over his body, the hand supporting the elbow of the arm raised to the head, contemplating his premature death.
- ³⁷ CAT 2.365c, 2.764, 3.173, 3.406a, 3.827, 3.881, 4.259, 4.439, 4.470, 4.680. Most of them are female relatives of the deceased.
- ³⁸ For examples of this mourning gesture on Attic vases, see Athens, Agora Museum P19582: Moore 1997, 176, fig. 16, pl. 35, no. 256; Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1993: Beazley Archive Pottery Database no. 216349.
- ³⁹ CAT 130, 2.764, 2.870a (servant boy), 4.850. The servants of 2.870a and 4.850 are actually shown seated on the ground.
- ⁴⁰ CAT 1.330, 2.373, 2.789, 2.954, *Suppl.* 2.260. All but 2.954 are shown seated. The female of 2.260 is a young woman, while that of 2.789 is of childbearing age, since the presence of an infant held by a standing relative indicates that she died in childbed. Hence, all four of these figures who are depicted mourning for their own death are rather young in age, and their deaths can be certainly considered untimely.
- ⁴¹ Neumann 1965, 136-145. See also Sojc 2005, 77-82. For the seated Penelope motif, see *LIMC* VII (1994), 291-294, nos. 2-8, 10, 16, 18, 33, pls. 225-230, s.v. Penelope (C. Hausmann). Also Kaeser 1998, 102-111. For the seated Demeter of the East Parthenon frieze, see *LIMC* IV Addenda (1988), 879, no. 423, pl. 595, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi). See also Mark 1984, 327.
- ⁴² CAT 3.363c, 4.422. Only one deceased person is shown in this manner: the dead seated woman of 1.341.
- ⁴³ All but one (CAT 3.371) are females of young age. Only one male figure, an elderly man, is depicted performing this gesture: CAT 3.232.
- ⁴⁴ CAT 3.297, 3.326, 4.438: the maidservant of 4.438 is using a cloth to wipe her tears, while the other two mourners are using their finger(s) to dry them. Two of these reliefs commemorate a deceased male (3.297, 4.438), and it is fairly probable that the same applies to the third one, as well. The mourning woman of 3.386b is portrayed with one hand at her head, while the palm covers the left side of her face, perhaps hiding her tears.
- ⁴⁵ Compare with the white lekythos by the Inscription Painter in Athens National Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 1958): CVA, Athènes, Musée National 1, III.J.BCD. 6-III.J.BCD.7, pl. (038) 6.3-5.
- ⁴⁶ CAT 10B, 2.917.
- ⁴⁷ As it has been mentioned earlier, mourning on classical Attic funerary reliefs is always restrained.
- ⁴⁸ To these we may add another grave stele depicting a standing female figure holding the left wrist of a seated woman, while caressing the latter's chin with her other hand: CAT 3.461a. There is also a single case of a fragmentary relief on which a seated female shakes hands with a standing male figure, supporting his elbow with her free hand: CAT 3.436. Both reliefs date to 350-320 BC.
- ⁴⁹ The gesture not combined with the *dexiosis* handshake appears on seven grave reliefs: CAT 1.700, 2.378d, 2.466, 3.461, 3.465, 3.466, 4.420. The seated dead mother of 1.700 lovingly supports the left forearm of the young boy who raises his hands towards her. The seated female on 2.378d 'embraces' with her left hand the right forearm of a male figure standing before her. The standing woman of 4.420 gently touches the raised forearm of young Eukoline, while those of 2.466, 3.461, 3.465 and 3.466 tenderly support the right forearm of the seated females. All of these gestures place special emphasis on the love and affection uniting the two figures. Mention must be also made of two marble vases (CAT 3.343a, 4.271), where the deceased is shaking hands with a family member, while a third figure in the background places a hand on the deceased's right forearm. In these rare cases, the gestures of *dexiosis* and touching the deceased's forearm connect the deceased with two bereaved relatives instead of the usual one.
- ⁵⁰ Regardless of the age or sex of the figures involved in the *dexiosis*, the right hand is invariably used for the handshake by both figures. For the auspicious use of the right hand in antiquity, see Lloyd 1973; Henning 2010.
- ⁵¹ The meaning of the *dexiosis* in grave relief scenes has been variously interpreted by scholars. It has been suggested that the handshake is either a farewell gesture, emphasizing the separation of the deceased from his family, or a gesture of reunion, implying that all family members will be some day reunited in the dark realm of Hades: Davies 1985, 629, 630, 639; Pemberton 1989, 48, 50; Stears 1995, 126. In any case however, the *dexiosis* indicates unity, since the gesture connects the two figures involved in the handshake: Davies 1985, 628-630. The most widely accepted theory regarding the meaning of the *dexiosis* has been put forth by F. Johansen, who concluded that the gesture in question gives prominence to the powerful ties of love and kinship connecting the members of the same family - ties so strong, that even death cannot dissolve. The timeless unity of the family that survives the loss of family members and extends beyond death is therefore the essence of the *dexiosis* scenes on classical Attic grave reliefs: Johansen 1951, 149-151; Davies 1985, 627-640, and esp. 628-630; Pemberton 1989; Lawton 1995, 36-38; Stears 1995, 126; Bergemann 1997, 61, 62; Hoffmann 2006, 62; Closterman 2007, 635; Nováková/Pagáčová 2016, 212.
- ⁵² On three occasions, the name inscriptions impose a different reading of the scenes than that dictated by the iconography of the reliefs: CAT 3.438, 4.415, 4.472. On all of them a seated woman is depicted holding the forearm of a standing male with whom she shakes hands. Even though the deceased figures are usually the recipients of this gesture, in these three cases the inscriptions clearly identify the seated females as the dead persons honored by the stelai.
- ⁵³ CAT 3.461; Kaltsas 2002, no 386.
- ⁵⁴ CAT 3.466. Here the standing woman is not caressing the seated one's chin, but extends her right arm to her, probably placing her hand on her shoulder or around her back (this area of the stele is damaged).
- ⁵⁵ CAT 2.466.
- ⁵⁶ Partridges are depicted more often than herons and geese on the Attic funerary reliefs of the Classical period, and are always shown with female figures, whether young or of more advanced age: CAT 246, 0.690, 0.722, 0.858, 2.185, 3.340, 3.461. For birds as pets in ancient Greece, see Gosling 1935, 111-113; Lazenby 1949a, 249, 250; 1949b, 300, 301; Pollard 1977, 87-95, 135-140; Lewis 2002, 159-166. For birds on classical Attic grave reliefs, see Woysch-Méautis 1982, 39-52. For

- birds as symbols of the human soul, see Vermeule 1979, 18; Bremmer 1983, 94 n. 61; Harrison 1991, 200, 201; CAT Vol. I, 398; Ogden 2002, 12-14; Oakley 2004, 211, 212; Beaumont 2012, 190, 191.
- ⁵⁷ CAT 3.465.
- ⁵⁸ No other figure besides the deceased Polystrate is named on this relief.
- ⁵⁹ The gesture is only once performed by the deceased herself: CAT 2.310. Here the young Eukleia, whom the inscription identifies as the deceased, places one hand on the shoulder of a seated woman, most likely her bereaved mother.
- ⁶⁰ On one occasion, the recipient is a girl standing beside her mother, the latter's hand tenderly placed on the child's shoulder: CAT 3.905.
- ⁶¹ CAT 3.269a. Here a young woman and a maiden embrace one another.
- ⁶² On a number of reliefs, the embrace is accompanied (and emphasized) by an additional gesture of affection: CAT 1.943, 2.125, 2.421, 3.354b, 3.921, and perhaps also 3.466. On the first one, the woman embraces the dead maiden with her left arm, while tenderly placing her right hand on the maiden's chest. On 2.125 Kriton embraces Timarista with her left arm, lightly placing her right hand on the latter's shoulder. On 2.421, 3.354b and 3.921 a woman embraces the deceased with her left arm, at the same time caressing her/his chin with the right hand. On 3.466 the standing female figure supports the seated female's arm with her left hand, perhaps also embracing the deceased with her missing right arm.
- ⁶³ CAT 1.630 (deceased father), 3.417b (bereaved father).
- ⁶⁴ Sometimes the children respond by embracing or holding on to their dead mothers: CAT 1.700, 2.650, 2.850, 2.871.
- ⁶⁵ CAT 1.700, 1.782, 2.125, 2.421, 2.650, 2.850, 2.871, 3.354b, 3.466, and perhaps also 1.943, 2.493, 3.398a. As it has been mentioned (n. 11), females were considered more sentimental by nature and were allowed to express their feelings more openly than males.
- ⁶⁶ All these reliefs depict family scenes, with the exception of a childbirth scene shown on CAT 2.457.
- ⁶⁷ Only four reliefs portray a deceased male being caressed by a female figure: CAT 3.321b, 3.360b, 3.447, 3.921. Those of 3.321b and 3.447 are young men.
- ⁶⁸ Mothers caressing their deceased offspring: CAT 2.421, 2.466, 3.321b, 3.354b, 3.433, 3.447, 3.461, 3.465, 3.880, 3.892, 3.907, 4.420.
- ⁶⁹ On a marble Panathenaic amphora (CAT 4.781) the seated woman actually places her hand behind the head of a girl standing close to her. Also, the deceased of 3.746 is shown extending her hand towards the girl's head.
- ⁷⁰ CAT 0.930, 1.773, 1.951, 1.957, and possibly also 5.910. See CAT introd. vol., 36, 37; Grossman 2007, 318-320; Beaumont 2012, 122-128.
- ⁷¹ CAT 4.930: the woman holding the baby tenderly and protectively places one hand on the baby's head.
- ⁷² Only once a male figure is depicted caressing a child's head: CAT 2.873b.
- ⁷³ It is interesting to note that one of the deceased males caressing their slave boy is a prepubescent boy himself: CAT 0.930.
- ⁷⁴ Slaves were members of the *oikos*: Arist. *Pol.* 1253b; Lacey 1968, 15; Pomeroy 1997, 21, 22; Oakley 2000, 246, 247; Sutton 2004, 328, 332, 344.
- ⁷⁵ Stears 1995, 124.
- ⁷⁶ Only on two occasions male figures are depicted with one hand placed on the deceased's upper arm: CAT 2.873a, 7.330.
- ⁷⁷ CAT 7.330: this is the only case in which such a gesture is directed towards a female figure.
- ⁷⁸ Children extending one arm towards the deceased or another family member appear on 33 funerary reliefs, most of which are decorated with three-figured and five-figured scenes. Thirteen of these date to the second quarter of the 4th century.
- ⁷⁹ There are 18 boys, 11 girls, and three cases in which the sex of the children cannot be identified.
- ⁸⁰ CAT 2.652, 2.780.
- ⁸¹ CAT 2.718, 2.856a, 2.890, 3.710. The babies are held by standing female figures.
- ⁸² Children are depicted extending one arm to nine dead females, eight dead male figures, seven bereaved females, and three male relatives of the deceased.
- ⁸³ Children extending one arm towards their grandfather are possibly depicted on CAT 2.630, 2.856a, 2.857, 2.934, 3.727, 3.843, 4.850. Children gesturing towards their grandmother may be portrayed on CAT 2.914, 3.905, 3.956. Children extending their arms towards older siblings are perhaps shown on CAT 2.834, 3.710.
- ⁸⁴ CAT 1.758, 2.749, 2.785, 3.930, 4.830 (child seated on female's lap).
- ⁸⁵ Only on four reliefs the recipients of such gestures are male figures, usually deceased: CAT 1.758, 2.785, 2.835, 3.930. The marble lekythos no. 2.785 is an exceptional case, since it depicts two young children, probably twins, squatting on the ground between a couple shaking hands. One of the twins extends both arms towards their mother, while the other one performs the same gesture towards their father. There are also three grave reliefs on which the children are portrayed extending their arms towards female relatives of the deceased: CAT 2.858, 2.871, 4.830.
- ⁸⁶ CAT 1.878, 2.630, 2.652. The first one depicts a particularly tender interaction between the deceased mother and her boy.
- ⁸⁷ CAT 2.620, 2.651, 2.718, 2.779, 2.797, 2.839, 2.851a, 2.853, 2.857, 2.861, 2.881, 2.914, 2.915, 2.934, 3.681, 3.727, 3.841, 3.843, 3.905, 3.956, 4.671, 4.850, 4.910.
- ⁸⁸ CAT 2.620.
- ⁸⁹ Such as CAT 2.718, 2.780, 2.915, 4.671. Also Margariti 2016b, 87, 88, 92, 93, 96, 97.
- ⁹⁰ CAT 1.700. Margariti 2016b, 94, 95, fig. 12.
- ⁹¹ CAT 2.748, 2.749, 2.785, 3.930, 4.780. See also Margariti 2016b, 92, 93.
- ⁹² Margariti 2016b, 87, 88, 92, 93, 96, 97.
- ⁹³ Foley 2003.
- ⁹⁴ A speaking gesture is performed by the deceased on a very unusual marble lekythos depicting a tomb visit scene that is very reminiscent of white lekythoi ones (CAT 3.239). Speaking gestures also appear in four childbirth scenes: CAT 3.345b, 3.357a, 4.425, 4.470.
- ⁹⁵ See for example, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1889.1016: Oakley 1997, pl. 137 C-D; Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1816: CVA, Athènes, Musée National 1, III.J.BCD.12, pls. (048, 049) 16.1-3, 17.2; Brussels, Musées royaux A 903: CVA, Brussels, Musée du Cinquantenaire 1, III.J.B.2, pl. (044) 4.1A.1B. For the speaking gestures in general, see Neumann 1965, 10, 11; CAT introd. vol., 111; Grossman 2013, 38.
- ⁹⁶ The deceased figures commemorated by the grave reliefs are rarely portrayed performing a speaking gesture, and those who do so are mostly female. There are

- also three children shown in this manner: CAT 1.687, 1.696, 2.889.
- ⁹⁷ In the rare cases where the deceased figures perform speaking gestures, these are directed to female or male members of their family. On two occasions, the recipients of such gestures are children: CAT 1.843, 1.859.
- ⁹⁸ When speaking gestures appear in scenes depicting the deceased shaking hands with a family member, they are not always combined with the *dexiosis*. They can either be performed by one of the two figures involved in the *dexiosis*, or (less frequently) by a third figure.
- ⁹⁹ However, in contrast to the *dexiosis*, affectionate, and consolatory gestures, speaking gestures do not require physical contact between the two figures.
- ¹⁰⁰ CAT 2.214, 2.279b, 3.239.
- ¹⁰¹ CAT 2.310.
- ¹⁰² CAT 3.334, 3.388, 3.427a, 3.466.
- ¹⁰³ CAT 3.345b, 3.357a, 4.425, 4.470.
- ¹⁰⁴ CAT 4.238, 4.239, 6.245.
- ¹⁰⁵ CAT 2.426b, 2.868a, 4.235.
- ¹⁰⁶ The *anakalypsis* gesture is depicted on 445 funerary reliefs, the majority of which date to the 4th century. It appears more frequently during the first half of the century. These reliefs comprise approximately 17 percent of all the Attic grave reliefs included in Clairmont's corpus. The *anakalypsis*, or unveiling, is an exclusively feminine gesture. A standing or seated female performs the *anakalypsis* by lifting the veil/himation covering her head with one hand. The gesture is very popular in Greek art from the second half of the 7th century BC onwards. It is closely related to the Athenian wedding ritual of *anakalypteria*, the ceremonial unveiling of the bride, who lifted her veil for the first time during the wedding ceremony, thus revealing her face to the groom. Being a sign of married status for females, the gesture is therefore characteristic of married women, matronly figures, and brides. For the *anakalypsis*, see Dentzer 1982, 484-489; Oakley 1982, 113-118; Stears 1995, 119, 120; Scholl 1996, 169, 170; Blundell 2002, 159-161; Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 98-110, 114.
- ¹⁰⁷ CAT 2.421.
- ¹⁰⁸ CAT 3.356b, 3.455, 4.470.
- ¹⁰⁹ CAT 3.461a is a great example. According to the inscription, all the figures depicted here are dead. They are all connected to one another through gestures of affection and consolation. Thus, the family is shown united in death, as they were in life.
- ¹¹⁰ CAT 4.420.
- ¹¹¹ CAT 3.388. On this stele, both female relatives of the deceased woman perform mourning gestures. Thus, the grief and mourning caused by her death receive special emphasis and the meaning conveyed by these gestures becomes more powerful.
- ¹¹² Depictions of the ideal family dominate the iconography of multi-figured Attic funerary reliefs during the Classical period. See Bergemann 1997, 69-94; Leader 1997, 688-692; Closterman 2007, 646, 647, 651.
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Pictorial narratives in Faliscan red figure vase painting

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Abstract

This article deals with images on Faliscan red figure vases (ca. 390/380-300 BC). It aims to define the Athenian influences and Faliscan characteristics, and explain two enigmatic images by paying attention to visual narratives: extraction, omission, paradigmata and syntagmata. By excerpting Attic figurative scenes local vase painters created symbolic combinations of different mythological scenes.

After the end of the Peloponnesian War (404 BC), or after 394 BC, when Rome had defeated the Faliscans, some Athenian vase painters emigrated to *Falerii Veteres*, henceforth *Falerii*, today Civita Castellana. Much earlier, from 565-560 BC onwards, Athenian black and red figure vases had arrived at *Falerii*, with red figure even continuing as late as 400 and 350 BC.¹ The oldest Faliscan red figure vases, made in *Falerii*, look very much like contemporary Athenian ones. There are differences, however. Recent X-ray (ED-XRF) analyses of three Athenian and two Faliscan vases seem to show that there are smaller concentrations of nickel and chromium in the clay of Faliscan vases. Then, too, unglazed surface of Faliscan vases varies from orange-yellow to yellow, less red than the Athenian ones.²

CHRONOLOGY

According to Benedetta Adembri the Del Chiaro Painter (380-370 BC) was either the first local artist who was influenced by the Athenian Jena Painter, or someone from his circle.³ His local followers were the Malibu Painter and the Nepi Group consisting of the New York GR 999, Deianeira and Nepi Painters. Around 360 BC the Nazzano Painter, one of the most original painters,⁴ the Herakles Group, the Painter of Würzburg 818, and the Diespater Painter started their production.⁵ The Aurora Painter began his career in the Diespater Group. Around 350 BC the Civita Castellana 1611, the *Kylikes*⁶ and the Villa Giulia (henceforth VG) 8238 Painters started their production.⁷ Adembri attributes all these groups and painters to workshop A. The Vienna ANSA-IV-4008 Painter of workshop B and the VG 8361 and Florence 3975 Painters of workshop C had contacts with workshop A. Before 340/330 BC the

painters made relief-lines, after that date very rarely.⁸ Around 350 BC Beazley's Fluid Style, characterized by a diluted glaze, was born, the production of large vases gradually came to a halt, and the so-called standardization, though with much variation in Dionysiac scenes, started. *Kylikes* were now produced in larger numbers, and exported outside the *Ager Faliscus*.⁹ Some vase painters moved to Caere, today Cerveteri, where they founded a Falisco-Caeretan workshop,¹⁰ probably because Rome, after a war of seven years, made an armistice of forty years with *Falerii* in 351 BC, and this eased the mobility of craftsmen and artifacts. Contacts became more frequent between the workshops in *Falerii* and those in Orvieto and Chiusi.¹¹ From then on Etruscan subject-matter was used by Faliscan vase painters.¹²

Adembri's chronology is a relative one, depending on comparisons with shape, style, ornaments, composition and subject matter of 4th century BC Athenian vases.¹³ She shows that the floral ornaments tend to become more complex through time.¹⁴ As we don't know how long vase painters were active, it is difficult to date vases more precisely between 380 and 350/340 BC. Jiří Frel even suggests that the Del Chiaro Painter spanned thirty years, from 380 to 350 BC.¹⁵ The earliest stylistic influences of Apulian, Paestan and Campanian red figure vases appeared after ca 370 BC,¹⁶ but the impact was indirect since these pots have not been found in the *Ager Faliscus*.¹⁷ What further hampers a more precise chronology is the fact that the Faliscan chamber tombs with *loculi* for inhumation were used over a very long period of time, probably by the same elite families, from the sixth towards the beginning of the 3rd century, sometimes with an interruption in the fifth century BC.¹⁸ Imported and local vases were found together in the chamber part of the tomb, rarely



Fig. 1. Faliscan calyx-krater Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 906 (from JdI 71, 1956, 76).



Fig. 2. Athenian calyx-krater Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 1514 (from JdI 71, 1956, 67).

in *loculi*, which makes dating difficult.¹⁹ Often tomb goods were robbed. Further, there are hardly any historical events that enable us to define a *terminus post quem*. The appearance of Gauls in Central Italy after ca 390 BC only gives a *terminus a quo* for Celtic war scenes on vases. The latter, however, were made forty years later.²⁰

A *stamnos* from Sovana, now in Berlin, showing Achilles slaughtering a Trojan captive, dated around 340 BC (fig. 6), may refer to the slaughter of Roman captives at Tarquinia, which was supported by Falerii, in 358 BC. As is well known, a similar scene in the François Tomb at Vulci (340-310 BC) has an anti-Roman meaning.²¹ In the following I will analyze which are typically Athenian and which local elements in Faliscan red figure vase painting.

ATHENIAN INFLUENCES

After the publication of Beazley's *Etruscan Vase Painting* (1947) little attention was paid to the iconographic aspects of Faliscan vases. The question arises whether the Faliscan vase painters continued to work in the tradition of their Athenian masters, or whether and when they transformed Greek mythological scenes. Apart from some mythological themes, frequent features illustrating a recurrent use of Athenian models, mostly in krater scenes. These are:

1. a row of gods and heroes in the upper register,
2. a god or hero placing his or her foot on a rock or another object, usually in conversation scenes,

3. Eros or a satyr playing with a bird, often a duck,²²
4. a more or less symmetric rendering of onlookers above the vase handles,
5. attributes of gods or heroes, *tainiai* (sashes), rosettes, and birds in the picture-space,
6. meetings between satyrs and maenads, an athlete and a woman (in one instance Nikè), or a youth or a woman between dressed figures on the reverses of *krateres* and *stamnoi*, and on the exterior sides of *kylikes*. In the latter case both sides may be identical.

FALISCAN FEATURES

Most scholars define Faliscan red figure vases as Etruscan. There are, however, no Etruscan artistic influences before ca 350 BC, as Deppert has pointed out.²³ As far as I know, no Etruscan red figure vases with mythological scenes from Vulci, Orvieto, Chiusi and Perugia have been found in the *Ager Faliscus* prior to ca 350 BC. This may be explained by the fact that around 20 of the approximately 400 known Faliscan pots were exported outside the *Ager Faliscus*.²⁴ Consequently, there was little interaction between workshops in Falerii and those of Etruscan red figure vases between ca 400 and 350 BC.

Was there an *interpretatio falisca* of Greek scenes? This is likely. Three vases bear inscriptions in Faliscan, a dialect of Latin.²⁵ Although no vase carries a Greek or Etruscan inscription, evidently, artists and customers understood Greek myths. One of the first authors who identified a local flavour in

mythological scenes was Hellmut Sichtermann.²⁶ Dealing with scenes showing Zeus and Ganymede on Athenian and Faliscan vases, he concludes that the latter show Dionysiac and erotic elements (Eros or Eroses), a wedding preparation, and animals, features that are absent on the Athenian ones.

As for the *modus operandi* of the painters, it should be observed that they often made one or more identical versions of a vase. Already in the seventh century BC locally produced twins of *impasto* have been found in graves.²⁷ In several tombs two identical Faliscan red figure vases were deposited like some Attic black and red figure twins in Faliscan tombs.²⁸ It is, however, unknown whether funerary rituals needed two (almost) identical vases.²⁹ Before the middle of the 4th century BC Faliscan vases were not used as ash urns. Due to Etruscan influence, their imagery refers to the after-life only after ca. 350 BC, be it very rarely.³⁰ Maybe most early vases were directly destined for deposition in tombs.³¹ The main vase shapes were *krateres*, *stamnoi*, *oinochoai* (shape VII), and *kylikes*. Typically Faliscan are the sometimes exuberant vegetal ornaments under and next to the handles of *krateres*, *stamnoi*, *skyphoi*, *oinochoai* and on the exterior sides of *kylikes*. Occasionally, the space behind calyx crater handles is undecorated.

Recently, Angela Pola, has shown that the re-functionalization of Attic schemes by substitution of one or more figures or elements is another local

feature.³² A further local phenomenon is extraction of scenes from larger Athenian compositions, as shown by a comparison of Bellerophon's fight with the Chimaera and the Amazons on side A of the Faliscan calyx-krater VG 906 (360 BC, fig. 1) from tomb 24 (LXXXI) in the necropolis of Celle at Falerii with that on side A of the Athenian calyx-krater VG 1514, dated to ca 400 BC, from a necropolis of the *Ager Faliscus* (fig. 2).³³ The presence of Dionysiac elements in a main scene is also a frequent phenomenon.³⁴ Also found in tomb 24 was a Faliscan *kylix*, VG 918, showing Bellerophon's fight with the Chimaera.³⁵ Perhaps the owner wished to identify himself with the Greek hero. Some vases representing women extinguishing the funeral pyre of Herakles, without showing his apotheosis also testify to extraction and omission,³⁶ a phenomenon that helps to explain the following two enigmatic obverse images.

ENIGMATIC IMAGES

It is difficult to explain the imagery of side A of the calyx-krater Louvre CA 7426 (formerly Zürich, Hirschmann collection) attributed to the Nazzano Painter (fig. 3).³⁷ On the ground level, from left to right, we see a naked youth with a hair ribbon seated on his mantle and white dotted chain runs across his chest; he faces Eros, who stands on a pillar base, leaning with his left hand on the pillar and holding up an *alabastron* in his extended right hand. Athena places her left foot on a pillar with base just behind a column (see below), a snake is curling upward behind her and an owl flies in front of her; in the center, covering both registers, the frontally rendered, multi-mammary Sphinx is seated on a high Ionic column, which covers part of the upper zone; a sea-horse is swimming next to Poseidon, who is walking to right but turning his head back; a frontal, standing satyr holds up a *kithara* in a challenging way.

In the upper zone, from left to right, we see a creeping satyr pointing with his left index finger to right, and Perseus holding up the head of Medusa. A seated Dionysos turns to the left but looks back to Hera. She is seated with a bird scepter, turns to the left but looks back to Herakles, seated to the right but looking to the left. Further a *tainia* and a ball or rosette are visible. A small column indicates the end of the upper frieze. Side B shows a satyr facing to right, a fallen basket, a maenad with bowl, a pillar on a base and a satyr with *tympanon*, turned to the left but looking back, and, finally, a tree. Why are different characters on



Fig. 3. Faliscan calyx-krater Louvre CA 7426 (from Martelli 1987, 196, no. 145a; courtesy Louvre, © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre).



Fig. 4 Apulian krater Naples H 3254 (courtesy Museo Archeologico Nazionale - MiBACT).

the obverse combined? Is this because they are they related?

The core scene is the contest between Athena and Poseidon vying for the patronage of Athens and Attica. According to the myth, Poseidon created a well of salt-water by driving his trident into the rock of the Acropolis of Athens, after which Athena planted an olive-tree. The Olympian gods, having heard king Kekrops, declare Athena to be the winner. Here Poseidon is the loser, since he is moving away. But in this picture he is not about to thrust his trident, as on some Athenian vases.³⁸ The satyr may be Marsyas, whose presence alludes to his future defeat in his musical contest with Apollo. Though not mentioned in literary sources, this act may hint at his second attempt to challenge Apollo, this time trying to play the *kithara*.³⁹ The contest between Apollo and Marsyas took place in Phrygia. It is, however, not impossible that the painter was influenced by Myron's bronze statue group of Athena throwing away the *auloi* and Marsyas accepting these on the Acropolis.⁴⁰

Cristofani suggests that the Sphinx represents a statue on a column,⁴¹ in spite of the fact that examples of archaic sphinxes on a votive column from the Athenian Acropolis, Aigina, Delphi, Delos and Paros, and on Athenian grave *stelai* do not have pronounced breasts. The artist may refer to the votive monument on the Acropolis as suggested by J.-P. Moret⁴² transforming it, however, into an apotropaic, highly fertile female monster, maybe under influence of frontal sphinxes with pronounced breasts depicted on Apulian red figure vases (fig. 4).⁴³ The Sphinx may hint at the story of

Oidipous who caused her death by solving the riddle. The tragic blind hero was worshipped as *heros* in Athens: his invisible tomb in the sanctuary of Poseidon at Kolonos⁴⁴ would protect the city as long as nobody visited it.⁴⁵ Interestingly, the Sphinx as apotropaic monster too, crowned the helmet of Phidias' Athena Parthenos.

The absence of the olive tree which Athena, according to myth, plants on the Acropolis, probably due to extraction, is striking, for it is present on earlier Athenian red figure vases. As for the snake, an Attic relief hydria from Kertch (350 BC) depicts it curling around the olive tree, threatening Poseidon who is pointing his trident downward;⁴⁶ on top of the tree Nikè is looking in Athena's direction. Dionysos with *thyrsos* and panther is assisting Athena. Perseus on the calyx-krater may refer to Myron's statue showing him beheading Medusa, also on the Acropolis.⁴⁷ In addition, Perseus and Herakles may be present because Athena was their protective deity. Maybe Herakles is seated next to Hera since she had adopted him as son. As on other Faliscan vases, Dionysos and a satyr have been added to complete the picture.

Cristofani does not deal with the process of extraction but presumes that the contest of Athena and Poseidon was enriched with different significant cores.⁴⁸ But who is the seated youth without clear attributes facing Eros with *alabastron*? *Alabastra* are only found in female graves and in representations of the *mundus muliebris*.⁴⁹ On three Faliscan *stamnoi* Eros applies perfume with a spatula from an *alabastron* on the hair of Ariadne who sits next to her lover Dionysos.⁵⁰ In view of the latter erotic context the youth on our vase may be Ganymede or Adonis. Adonis is a good candidate since an Apulian red figure *lekythos* (365-350 BC) shows Eros pouring perfume from an *alabastron* on to the hair of Adonis, who holds with Aphrodite seated on his lap.⁵¹

The link of the group with Eros and the youth with the rest of the program may refer to the fact that Adonis was first and foremost worshipped in Athens. Both the Sphinx and Adonis may refer to this city. This analysis makes clear that the painter was borrowing elements from various Athenian compositions, leaving out Zeus, Apollo, Aphrodite, Nikè, the olive tree, and Oidipous. Not the statue column but the goddess is the central figure of the composition,⁵² and the image has a coherent symbolic character, illustrating the victory of Athena and her heroes, and the defeat of her opponents.

Extractions of scenes are also visible on the two-level image on the obverse of calyx-krater VG

1197, also known as the Ilioupersis krater, attributed to the Nazzano Painter (fig. 5).⁵³ From left to right above, over the handle, Hebe or, (according to Beazley) Nikè offers a *tainia* and *oinochoe* to Zeus who is seated. Next to him a Trojan archer kneels on a ground-line, Neoptolemos holds up Astyanax about to smash him, and over the other handle sits a male with *lagobolon* (Paris?) towards whom (on the reverse) flies Eros with a lidded box. On ground level we see Menelaos who, opposed by Aphrodite, drops his sword, impressed by Helen who opens her mantle to show him her naked beauty. To the right, king Priam lies terrified on his back, threatened by an Oriental looking, bearded warrior with sword and shield. On the reverse Apollo with a laurel branch and a maenad with a *thyrsos* and a box with two small vases on it are striding to right. On the left a satyr and the Eros mentioned are both moving left, in the direction of side A. Above an owl, a sash and rosette fill the image.

Beazley calls side A 'if not crazy, somewhat confused.' In fact some interesting phenomena are visible, a Trojan archer without opponent, and a Trojan instead of a Greek warrior threatening Priam. These details may be explained by the process of extraction of scenes from larger Athenian compositions. According to myth, Priam was attacked by Neoptolemos. As the latter is already present in the upper register, the artist did not want to show him twice. The image is syntagmatic (see below) since it combines four scenes from the Destruction of Troy. The deeper meaning of the image is shown by the *tainia*, the sign of victory, that is offered to Zeus, and by Aphrodite and Eros who may symbolize the victory of love and beauty. This kind of paradigmatic associations are also visible on the obverse and reverse of other Faliscan vases.

PARADIGMATIC RELATIONSHIPS⁵⁴

The following vases show victory as the leading motif on sides A and B simultaneously:

- Calyx-krater VG 906 in the Villa Giulia, Rome (ca. 360 BC), mentioned above. Side A: Bellerophon fighting the Chimaera (fig. 1). Side B: Apotheosis of Herakles. The painter probably wished to compare two formidable heroes.⁵⁵
- Calyx-krater VG 6360, now in Civita Castellana (350 BC). Side A: the death of Aktaion with on-looking gods among whom Artemis. Side B: the Apotheosis of Herakles.⁵⁶
- *Stamnos* Berlin V.I. 5825 (from Sovana; 350-340 BC), mentioned above. Side A: Achilles' slaughter of a Trojan captive (fig. 6). Side B: a satyr with *thyrsos*



Fig. 5 Faliscan calyx-krater Villa Giulia 1197 (from Martelli 1987, 198, no. 146).

riding a panther and attacking a falling bearded man (a satyr?) who probably defends himself with an amphora (fig. 7).⁵⁷

Love scenes are associated on one or two sides of the following vases:

- *Stamnos* Genève HR 180, also known as *stamnos* Nordmann, attributed by Manuela Wulschleger to the Nepi Painter (380-360 BC). Side A: the Judgement of Paris. Side B: nude and dressed women standing around a laver (*louterion*). In both scenes Eros is present. As Wulschleger suggests, Eros walking on the wash basin may hint at a pre-nuptial bath,⁵⁸ since Paris' Judgement precedes his marriage with Helen. The non-married goddesses (Athena, Artemis) on the left and the married goddesses (Aphrodite and Hera) on the right of side A also suggest a paradigmatic approach.⁵⁹
- Calyx-krater in a private collection at Pavia (Nazzano Painter, 360 BC). Side A: Ganymede facing Zeus in the presence of Erotes. Side B: Hebe holding an *oinochoe* and a box with a cock on it, Dionysos seated facing Ariadne, nude and standing, in the presence of Erotes, a maenad and a heron.⁶⁰
- Volute-krater VG 2491 by the Aurora Painter (360-340 BC). Side A: nimbus-headed Eos, abducting Kephalos or Tithonos in a four-horse chariot, Eros flying in front of them. Side B: Peleus struggling with Thetis.⁶¹



Fig. 6 Faliscan stamnos Berlin V.I. 5825, side A
(© photo Johannes Laurentius; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung).



Fig. 7 Faliscan stamnos Berlin V.I. 5825, side B
(© photo Johannes Laurentius; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung).

- Calyx-krater VG 42898 attributed to the Diespater Group (380-360 BC). Side A: two love scenes. Zeus, in the guise of a swan, approaches Leda and Aphrodite tries to embrace a man, probably Adonis. Eros flies above them. In both cases a deity approaches a mortal. Side B: a satyr, a maenad, Nikè, and a seated male.⁶²
- *Stamnos* VG 3593 (360 BC). Side A: two love scenes: at left a satyr and a seated woman (Ariadne?) in the presence of Dionysos, and at right a seated woman (Ariadne again?) crowned by a flying Eros. Side B: a naked youth and a winged woman.⁶³
- *Skyphos* Göttingen J. 54 (350 BC). Side A: a naked woman seated on the lap of a youth. Side B: a satyr pursuing a woman.⁶⁴

SYNTAGMATIC RELATIONSHIPS

A syntagmatic relation means that both sides of a vase depict a unified narrative, in other words successive deeds of a protagonist, or episodes of a story divided over one or both sides.⁶⁵

- *Stamnos* Santa Barbara Museum of Art V.9 (370 BC). Side A: Zeus on a four-in-horse chariot and Eros flying above it. Side B: the destination of Zeus: Semele seated on an altar, between two satyrs. Under the handles are the head of Apollo

and a raven (hinting at his affair with Koronis?) and opposite him the head of a satyr, an altar with a bunch of grapes, and a dog.⁶⁶

- Calyx-krater Berlin F 2950 attributed to the Diespater Group (380-360 BC). Side A: Zeus between Apollo and Marsyas playing the *kithara*.⁶⁷ Side B: Zeus seated between maenad and satyr.⁶⁸
- Column-krater Berlin F 30042 (350 BC). Side A (fig. 8): Telephos threatening the infant Orestes on an altar (cf. Euripides' lost tragedy *Telephos*). Side B (fig. 9): probably Orestes meeting Elektra who is carrying a water vase on her head (Euripides' *Electra* 107-111). The vase may show indirect influences of theatrical performances.⁶⁹
- *Stamnos* Heidelberg University H II 130. Side A: Perseus; side B: Medusa.⁷⁰

CONCLUSION

Faliscan red figure vase painting was heavily influenced by the Athenian tradition. Few local elements, apart from Faliscan inscriptions, intrusion of Dionysiac and erotic elements, exuberant vegetal ornaments, and extraction and omission, can be defined. Etruscan influence is not visible before ca 350 BC. As the calyx-krater in the Louvre (fig. 3) shows, changes are wrought by the Faliscan artists: enigmatic images can be explained by the



Fig. 8 Faliscan column-krater Berlin F 30042, side A (© photo Isolde Luckert; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung).



Fig. 9 Faliscan column-krater Berlin F 30042, side B (© photo Isolde Luckert; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung).

mechanism of excerpting from Athenian compositions. The images lose their narrative character, thus becoming symbolic. The presence of paradigmatic and syntagmatic scenes on the obverse and the reverse sides of other vases shows that the painters, and probably their customers, had a profound understanding of Greek myths. And finally, the interest in victory scenes played an important role in the choice of themes and scenes.

NOTES

My thanks are due to Geralda Jurriaans-Helle, Angela Pola, Larissa Bonfante, Jean MacIntosh Turfa, the Editorial Committee of BABESCH and two anonymous peer reviewers. As for calyx-crater VG 42898, see now A. Pola, The Adonis painter. A Faliscan red-figure painter and his group, *ArchCl* 69, 2018, 635-655.

- ¹ Adembri 1990, 237 n. 14; Ambrosini 2005; 2009; De Lucia Brolli/Michetti 2017, 45, fig. 3.
- ² Ambrosini 2009, 24-25; Ambrosini et al. 2009.
- ³ Adembri 1988, 7-8; 1990, 235-237; Frel 1985, 157-158; Ambrosini 2005, 317; 2009, 97; Scarrone (2015, 273) suggests that the Del Chiaro Painter came from Athens. See further Kathariou 2016. Angela Pola (personal communication) dates the Del Chiaro Painter to 390, the Diespater Painter and his circle shortly after 380, and the Herakles Painter to 370 BC.
- ⁴ See Safran 2000.

- ⁵ Cristofani (1987, 316 no. 145) and Harari (2010, 90) date the Nazzano Painter between 380 and 360, Scarrone (2015, 274) between 390 and 380, and Pola (2017) between 370/365 and 350 BC.
- ⁶ Adembri 1991.
- ⁷ Pola (2017) derives the Painter Berkeley Genucilia and the Caeretan Painter of Villa Giulia from the Painter of Civita Castellana 8238 (above called Villa Giulia Painter 8238).
- ⁸ EVP 103. Del Chiaro 1974a, 49-50.
- ⁹ The total number of Faliscan vases from ca 380-350/340 BC is ca 400, which is very low, when, for example, compared to the ca 8000 Paestan red figure vases. Based on statistics Falerii Veteres was the production centre of Faliscan red figure vases. Before ca 350 BC some were exported to Corchiano, Vignanello, Narce, Nazzano, Nepi, Monte Cerreto and Sant'Oreste, all within the Ager Faliscus. Kylix Berlin F 2947 (ca 375 BC) was found in Chiusi. Gilotta (1987, 53) tentatively calls it Faliscan. For the export of a Faliscan painted terracotta helmet to Caere, see Ambrosini 2006 and De Lucia Brolli/Michetti 2017, 45, fig. 2; pl. III.2, IV.1.
- ¹⁰ Del Chiaro 1974b, 106-111; Pola 2017, 201.
- ¹¹ Harari 1980, 125-127 (on Chiusine-Faliscan relations); Gilotta 2010, 182-183 (who, following Cristofani, presumes a crisis around 350 BC; the truce of 351 BC, however, makes this unlikely); Adembri 1991.
- ¹² *Stamnos* Vienna ANSA-IV-3960, from Caere (Deppert 1955, pl. 65c), and *oinochoe* VG 2351 (Adembri 1991, fig. 3) both show Charun, the Etruscan deity of death. *Stamnos* VG 1660 shows Hermes defending a woman against a female underworld-deity (EVP 152, pl. 35, 6).

- ¹³ Adembri 1988; 1990. Adembri's datings are often about twenty to ten years lower than those suggested by John D. Beazley and Kurt Deppert, see *EVP* 70; Deppert 1955. Mauro Cristofani's chronology is broader than Adembri's. He dates, for example, the Nazzano Painter between 370 and 350 whilst Adembri places him between 360 and 350 BC (Cristofani 1987, 316, no. 145).
- ¹⁴ Adembri 1990, 238, 242-243.
- ¹⁵ Frel 1985; according to Adembri (1990, 236-237) the painter's career lasted from 380 to 370 BC.
- ¹⁶ Adembri 1988, 10-12; 1990, 239-241.
- ¹⁷ The way of transmission (by textiles, cartoons, *artes minores*, or itinerant artists?) is unknown.
- ¹⁸ Cristofani 1987, 316. Adembri 1988, 8.
- ¹⁹ Ambrosini 2005, 323.
- ²⁰ Adam/Jolivet 1986.
- ²¹ Andreae et al. 2004, 208 Kat. II/45 (C. Weber-Lehmann); Maggiani 1985, 208-212 n. 6 (find spot: Sovana, not Savona); *EVP* 88-92, pl. 20, 2; Deppert 1955, 60, no. 1, pl. 54a-b.
- ²² For an Athenian parallel, see Metzger 1951, pl. 17 (krater Pourtalès).
- ²³ Deppert 1955.
- ²⁴ For a list, see Pola 2017, 196-197 n. 2. Two *stamnoi* (Firenze 61974-61975, now in Orvieto; Feruglio 1982, 88-90) and a *skyphos* (Berkeley, University of California, Lowie Museum of Anthropology 8.998) are from Orvieto, one from Sovana (mentioned before), and one from Genoa (Deppert 1955, 40, pl. 40a-b; *EVP* 70). Calyx-krater Berlin 2950 is from Cerveteri (*EVP* 73-75; Deppert 1955, 6, pl. 2; *AZ* 1884, pls. 5-6).
- ²⁵ Martelli 1987, no. 143.1 (ill.), no. 143.2, no. 148 (ill.); Bakkum 2009; Rigobianco 2015.
- ²⁶ H. Sichtermann, Ganymedes/Catmite, *LIMC* IV, 1, 1988, 169-170 (nos. 2-5 are Faliscan vases).
- ²⁷ Biella 2012, 42 n. 29; 2014, 243 n. 656; 269 n. 849.
- ²⁸ Deppert 1955, passim. *Stamnoi* Florence 61974 and 61975; a stemless bowl in Leipzig and Oxford 570; *stamnoi* VG 1198 and 1199; VG 1599 (with a Faliscan inscription) and 1600 (without inscription) (from the same tomb); *stamnoi* VG 1604 and 1608 (same tomb); *stamnoi* VG 1607 and 1609 (same tomb); *kylikes* VG 1664 and 44502; *kylikes* VG 1674 and 1675 (same tomb); VG 1755 and 1756; *kylikes* VG 3594 and 3595; *stamnoi* VG 6153 and 6154; *stamnoi* VG 6365 and 6366; *stamnoi* VG 8238 and 8249; *stamnoi* VG 43794 and 43795 (same tomb); *oinochoai* VG 50604 and 50608; *kylikes* Vienna University 497 and 498. For couples of Attic vases in Etruscan tombs, see Ambrosini 2005, 318, 323, and for one in the Etruscan Funnel Group, see Del Chiaro 1974a, 37-38, pls. 36-40. For tomb contexts, see Cozza/Pasqui 1981.
- ²⁹ Boardman (1989, 239, figs. 24 and 177) suggests that *stamnoi* may have had a Dionysiac ritual function.
- ³⁰ *Stamnos* Vienna ANSA-IV-3960, from Caere (Deppert 1955, pl. 65c) shows a seated naked male playing the *kithara* between a female demon with snakes and Charun with snake and hammer; *oinochoe* VG 2351 (Adembri 1991, figs. 3-4) a deceased man attacked by griffins and Charun with his hammer. Only at the end of the 4th and beginning of the 3rd century BC *stamnoi* were also used as ossuaries.
- ³¹ As suggested by Angela Pola (personal communication). The inscriptions on two *kylikes* of the Foied Group, VG 1674 and 1675, ca 350 BC (*foied . vino . pafō . cra . carefo* ('Today I will drink wine, tomorrow I will miss it') may refer to funerary symposia. See Cristofani 1987, 317 no. 148. Attic vases in the *Ager Faliscus* were not only found in tombs but also in settlements, sanctuaries and sacred places. See Ambrosini 2005, 323.
- ³² Pola 2017, 201-203.
- ³³ For VG 906 see Schauenburg 1956, 76, fig. 17; Deppert 1955, 48, pl. 79; *EVP* 72, n. 1 and others incorrectly consider the vase as an Athenian import. For VG 1514, see Schauenburg, *ibidem* 67, fig. 10; Ambrosini 2009, 23-24, fig. 9; Ambrosini et al. 2009, 97 fig. 1.
- ³⁴ Camporeale (2015, 273) presumes that 'the popularity of Dionysiac themes and aspects was due to the interest in orgiastic scenes, the cult of Dionysos and related symposia.'
- ³⁵ De Lucia Brolli/Michetti 2005, 386, fig. 28.
- ³⁶ VG 1607: Deppert 1955, 62, nos. 1-2, pl. 54c-d; VG 1609: Deppert 1955, pl. 55a-c; VG 42898: Martelli 1987, 194, no. 143.3 (ill.). For the more detailed Athenian scenes, see Metzger 1951, pl. 22, 1 and 28, 1; Boardman 1989, fig. 311 (Kadmos Painter).
- ³⁷ Cristofani 1987, 316 no. 145. Safran 2000, 64-67; Bloesch 1982, 86-87.
- ³⁸ Marx 2011, pl. 5,1; 6, 1.
- ³⁹ For Marsyas holding a *kithara* on late fifth-century BC Athenian vases, see *EVP* 73-75; Metzger 1951, 161-162, nos. 1517; 165-166; Boardman 1989, fig. 310 (Kadmos Painter). For Apollo and Marsyas on a Faliscan *kylix*, see Deppert 1955, 84, no. 5, pl. 25, 1-3.
- ⁴⁰ Pausanias 1.24.1 (cf. also 1.24.3).
- ⁴¹ Cristofani 1987, 317 no. 145. Marion Meyer suggests (by email *de dato* 20.12.2017) that the column with Sphinx may be a substitution for the olive tree, thus evoking Athena's sanctuary.
- ⁴² Moret 1984, 101.
- ⁴³ See Moret 1984, pl. 67, 1-2 (Naples H 3254; Genève HR 4); Trendall 1989, fig. 137 (*oinochoe* by the Felton Painter, ca 370 BC); *LIMC*, Oidipous no. 67 (ill.).
- ⁴⁴ Soph., *Oed. Col.* 54-55.
- ⁴⁵ Soph., *Oed. Col.* 455-459, 1520-1524, 1760-1764.
- ⁴⁶ St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum P 1872.130. Meyer 2017, 124, fig. 8.5.
- ⁴⁷ Pausanias 1.23.7.
- ⁴⁸ Cristofani 1987, 316.
- ⁴⁹ Badinou (2003, 130-131) holds that *alabastra* were destined for women only. She does not mention Eros with *alabastron* on Faliscan red figure vases.
- ⁵⁰ For Eros holding an *alabastron* anointing with a spatula the hair of Ariadne who is seated on Dionysos' lap on two Faliscan *stamnoi* from Orvieto (Firenze 61974-61975, now in Orvieto), see Feruglio 1982, 88-90 (400-350 BC); Cristofani 1987, 316, no. 144 (380-360 BC). For a satyr with *alabastron*, see *kylix* Vienna ANSA-IV-2155 (Deppert 1955, 89, no. 15, pl. 98b). For Nikè with *alabastron* and spatula, see *stamnos* of the Fluid Group (ca 350 BC), New York, Fordham Museum inv. 4.016 (online).
- ⁵¹ London BM 1867.0508.1192 (Suckling Painter). For a colour photo, see: <http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection-online>, s.v. Adonis. Eros, *alabastron*. For another example of Apulian influence, see Van der Meer 1995, 124-126.
- ⁵² See the Athenian bell-krater by the Oinomaos Painter from S. Agata dei Goti (380 BC) for an almost central frontal statue on a column occupying two levels, in the upper zone flanked by Poseidon and Athena. Boardman 1989, fig. 351; Metzger 1951, 321-323, pl. 39, 4.
- ⁵³ Stenico 1958, pl. 101-102. Safran 2000, 63-67.

- ⁵⁴ For Greek paradigmatic relationships (based on similarity in theme or composition), see Stansbury-O'Donnell 1999, 118-119; 136-137, and passim; Miścicki 2015.
- ⁵⁵ Scenes of Bellerophon's fall on his flight to the Olympus are absent in Faliscan and Apulian red figure vase paintings.
- ⁵⁶ Helbig IV, 1972⁴, 458, no. 1807e.
- ⁵⁷ *EVP* 88,1, pl. 20, 2; Deppert 1955, 60, no. 1, pl. 54a-b; Andreae et al. 2004, 208. The reverse may have been intended as a humoristic counterpart.
- ⁵⁸ For a rare representation of Eros on a laver on an Athenian *pelike*, see Metzger 1951, 362, pl. 43, 2.
- ⁵⁹ Wulschleger 2000, 33, figs. 1-2; Stähli 2013.
- ⁶⁰ Stenico 1958, pl. 97-98.
- ⁶¹ Martelli 1987, 199, no. 147; *EVP* 80, 1, pl. 20,1; Deppert 1955, 10, no. 1, pl. 3.
- ⁶² *EVP* 85; Deppert 1955, 75, no. 1, pl. 80; Adembri 1990, pl. Va.
- ⁶³ *EVP* 77, no. 3; Deppert 1955, pl. 4b-d.
- ⁶⁴ *EVP* 106.
- ⁶⁵ For Greek syntagmatic relationships, see Stansbury-O'Donnell 1999, 118-119; 136-137, and passim; Miścicki 2015. Scenes of Dionysos on side A and Dionysiac scenes on side B are not mentioned here since the latter are very frequent on reverses.
- ⁶⁶ Del Chiaro 1964, *AJA* 68, pl. 36, 19.
- ⁶⁷ According to Massa Pairault (2008) the scene hints at the birth of Dionysos.
- ⁶⁸ Deppert 1955, pl. 2.
- ⁶⁹ Baucchens-Thüriedl 1971, 16, pl. 4, 1-2. For Telephos threatening Orestes on a *stamnos* from Corchiano, now in Civita Castellana, inv. no. 6208, see De Lucia Brolli/Michetti 2005, 386, 417, figs. 29-30. The vase stood on an octagonal pilaster of *tuffo*.
- ⁷⁰ Schauenburg 1960, pl. 22.
- vase of uncertain attribution from *Falerii Veteres*, in *Vessels: inside and outside* (Proceedings of the Conference EMAC '07. 9th European Meeting on Ancient Ceramics. 24-27 October 2007, Hungarian National Museum, Budapest), Budapest, 97-101.
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Vinum picenum and oliva picena II Further Thoughts on Wine and Oil Presses in Central Adriatic Italy

Dimitri Van Limbergen

Abstract

*This paper is a continuation of a previous article by the author on Roman wine and oil production in central Marche and northern Abruzzo, published in this journal in 2011. In essence, it reflects on what five years of complementary research have contributed to our knowledge on the wine and oil business in this area between the Late Republican and the late antique period (2nd century BC-5th century AD). Through a substantial expansion of the original press database and a fresh blend of both older and newer data, the author further stresses the importance of this sector in central Adriatic Italy, while at the same time expanding our view on how it is represented archaeologically. In doing so, he revisits and refines several key-aspects of this topic, such as the chronology and layout of the production plants, as well as their relationship with wider processes of colonisation, urbanisation and agricultural exploitation in Roman Italy.**

INTRODUCTION

In a 2011 paper published in this journal, I set out to assess the role of wine and olive oil production in the agrarian economy of the Marche region and northern Abruzzo in Late Republican and Early Imperial times (2nd century BC-2nd century AD). To this purpose, the available information from literary sources and amphora studies was integrated with a first-time systematic analysis of the archaeological record with regard to the presence of press installations in the central Adriatic countryside. This inventory resulted in the registration of 35 sites that bore clear evidence for the functioning of one or several presses in Roman times. By carefully interblending some of the chronological and architectural patterns that came out of this analysis with the textual and ceramic documentation, I was able to argue - contrary to long-standing scepticism - for the existence of a sizable wine and oil production, seemingly peaking between the mid-1st century BC and the mid-1st century AD.¹ However, many questions remained unanswered. How did this sector emerge and evolve during the long era of Late Republican colonisation? What role did local and distant markets play in its further development? What is the precise relationship between the press record and the amphora evidence herein? And how did the post-2nd century AD events in Italy affect the nature and scale of these businesses?

This paper builds on this earlier work and aims at further deepening and expanding our knowledge on the wine and oil sector in this particular area of central Italy in Roman times. Since 2011, several new production plants have come to light in the region through rescue excavations by the Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Marche, while some older data have only recently been published, or previously did not capture my attention. Furthermore, I was able to identify a number of dispersed press remains in the area through personal fieldwork during the summers of 2012, 2013 and 2014. All this has led to a significant expansion of the original press database presented in 2011, as the total number of known production sites now amounts to 55 (figs. 1-2) (appendix). In addition, in light of my research activities over the past few years, I felt the need to review more thoroughly a number of press facilities that could not be included previously due to place restrictions, but whose analysis I deem of major interest for a better understanding of the archaeological record in this area. Together then, these 'old' and 'new' sites form a good basis for revisiting and reframing some of the trends, themes and issues touched upon in my earlier work, while at the same time they help in fully capturing the diverse nature and evolution of the production plants in this region. As such, this article can be considered

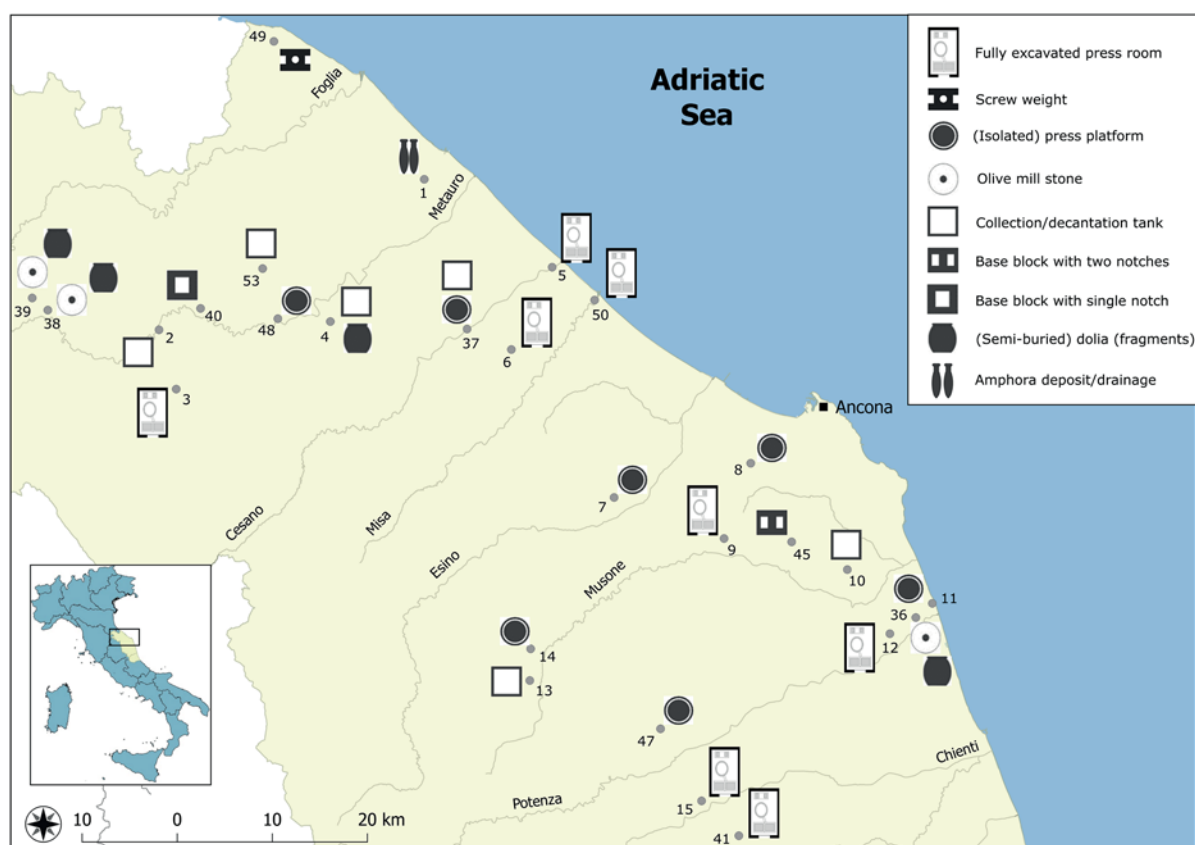


Fig. 1. Wine and/or oil production sites in northern Marche: 49. Colombarone di Pesaro; 1. Fano Contrada S. Cristina; 5. Cesano di Senigallia; 50. Senigallia-Via Cavalotti; 6. San Pellegrino di Ripe; 37. Monte Porzio; 4. Fano Sant'Ippolito; 48. Fossombrone-Forum Sempronii; 53. Isola del Piano; 40. Ca'Balduini di sopra; 2. Fermignano San Giacomo; 3. Colombara di Acqualagna; 38. Peglio Ca'Casella; 39. Peglio Ca'Boccio; 7. Jesi-Villa Romagnoli; 8. Gallignano di Ancona; 9. Monte Torto di Osimo; 45. Osimo-Auximum; 10. Castelfidardo; 11. Porto Recanati-La Pineta; 36. Montarice Villa; 12. Chiarino di Recanati; 13. Cingoli Moscosi; 14. Cingoli Piano San Martino; 47. Treia-S. Crocifisso; 15. Pollenza Santa Lucia; 41. Villamagna (map author).

the conclusion to a diptych on wine and oil production in the central Adriatic area of Italy that started several years ago.²

The core of this second article is once again formed by the appendix at the back, where the 20 'new' sites with press remains are assembled (*appendix*).³ This archaeological evidence is reviewed in a first part, together with a more comprehensive presentation of some emblematic sites from the original press database.⁴ The main aim of this section is to illustrate the archaeological situation in this area to a greater degree, to highlight some of the peculiarities of the press evidence, and to address some of its interpretative problems. This review is subdivided into sites found through survey and sites known by excavation. In a second discussion part, some thoughts are offered

on the implications of these data for the diachronic evolution of the wine and oil sector in central Adriatic Italy. In particular, renewed scientific attention for the concurrent developments in town and country now allows for integrating the ever-enlarging press database with intra- and extra-regional trade systems, as well as wider diachronic processes of colonisation, urbanisation and agricultural exploitation.⁵ In turn, this provides the opportunity to fine-tune some earlier interpretations, and to formulate a few novel research questions.

A brief outline of how wine and oil were made in antiquity is useful to fully capture the discourse. Both production processes involved a crushing phase prior to a pressing stage. Olive crushing was a preparatory treatment meant to

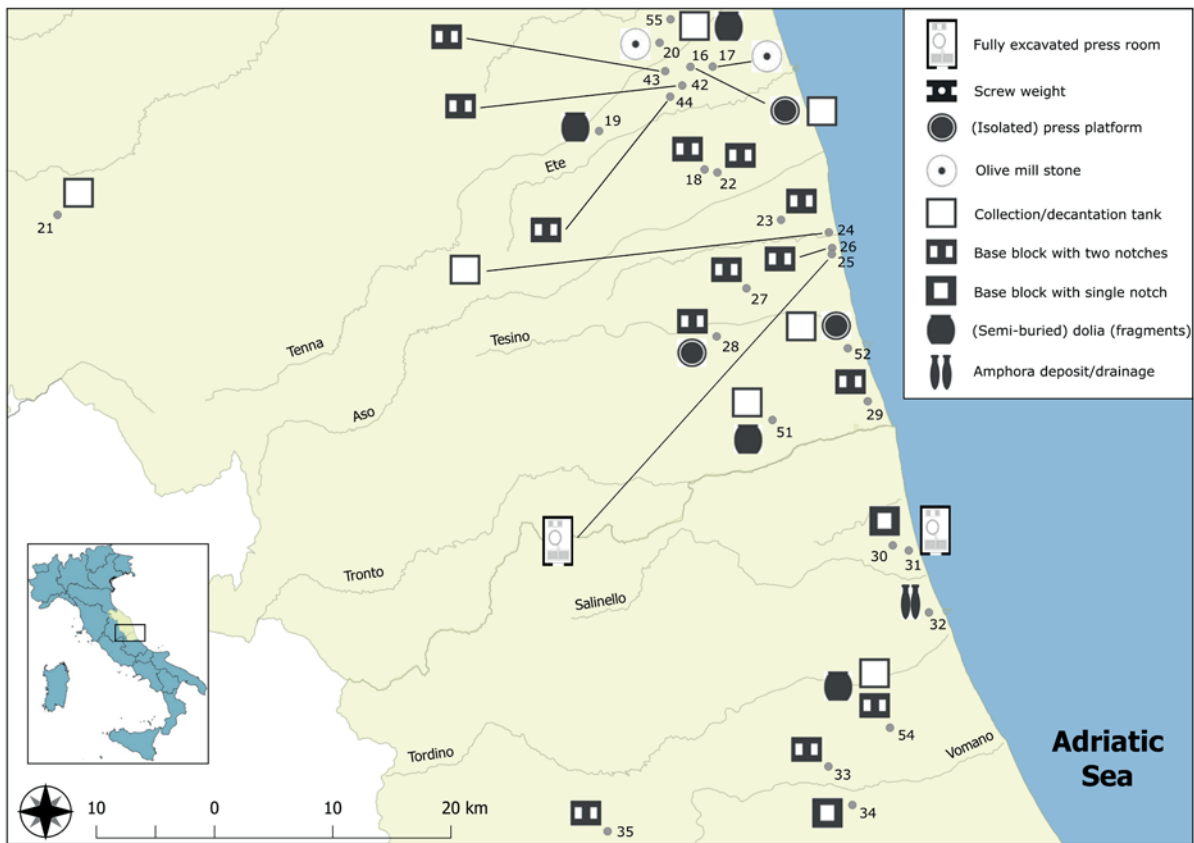


Fig. 2. Wine and/or oil production sites in southern Marche and northern Abruzzo: 55. San Lorenzo; 20. Fermo Penna San Giovanni; 16. Fermo San Salvatore; 17. Fermo Villa Vitali; 42. Fermo 1; 43. Fermo 2; 44. Fermo 3; 18. Monterubbiano San Gregorio; 19. Grottazzolina; 21. Rocca di Pieve Torina; 22. Moresco Valdaso; 23. Massignano San Giuliana; 24. Cupra Marittima Bocca Bianca; 25. Cupra Marittima San Basso; 26. Cupra Marittima San Michele; 27. Ripatransone Castelluccio; 28. Offida San Giovanni; 29. San Benedetto Porto d'Ascoli; 51. Monsampolo del Tronto; 52. San Benedetto-Paese Alto; 30. Tortoreto Case Ozzi; 31. Tortoreto Muracche; 32. Castrum Novum Via Turati; 33. Castelnuovo Vomano; 34. Piano della Monaca; 35. Montorio Brecciano; 54. Piana dei Cesari (map author)

destroy the integrity of the fruit, and thus to separate the flesh from the nut, which was essential in order to enable the subsequent efficient extraction of olive juice from the olives. Only a small amount of liquid was retrieved during this initial stage; the largest portion was extracted during the pressing of the crushed olive pulp, soaked in hot water and piled in baskets under the press beam. A widespread type of olive crusher throughout the Mediterranean was the rotary mill, most famously represented by Cato's *trapetum* (A) (RR 20.2) and Columella's *mola olearia* (B) (Rust. 12.52.6-7) (fig. 3). In grape processing, the largest amount of liquid was released during crushing - usually in the form of underfoot treading on a treading floor - and this method remained the

most dominant and effective way to collect juice from grapes throughout Antiquity. Afterwards, with the aid of a mechanical press, extra pressure could be applied to the trodden grapes for extracting the remaining juice. Both fruits could be squeezed by using the same type of press. The oldest type known in Italy (mid-2nd century BC) is Cato's 'lever-and-drum/winich' press; a simple installation that saw one end of a long wooden beam fitted between two wooden piers (*arbores*), and the other end attached to a drum or winch fixed between two uprights (*stipites*) (fig. 4, A) (Cato, RR 18-19). Around the mid-1st century BC, the more efficient 'lever-and-screw' press appeared, replacing the drum/winich with a vertical wooden screw mechanism, whose lower end was placed in either

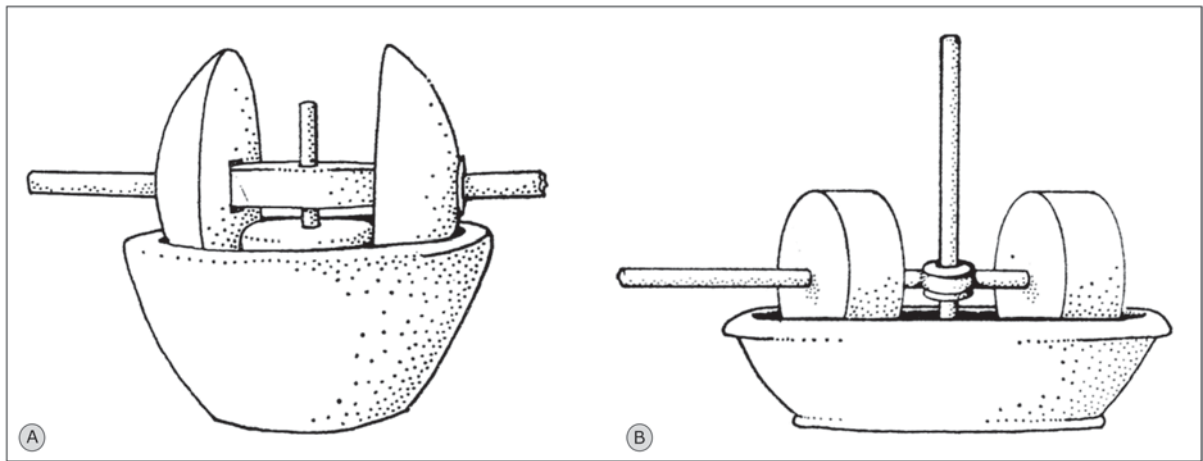


Fig. 3. Trapetum (A) and mola olearia (B) (after White 1975, figs. 56 and 58).

a stone weight or a box with stones, while its higher end pierced through the horizontal beam (fig. 4, B) (Heron, *Mech.* 3.15; Pliny, *HN* 18.317). This type was followed by various types of 'direct-pressure-screw' presses (fig. 4, C). All types remained in use until Late Antiquity. After pressing, olive oil needed to be decanted, while the grape must underwent clarification and fermentation. Both operations took place in single or multiple collecting vats.⁶

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE REVISITED

Survey- and occasional surface finds

One particular aspect that became clear throughout the first paper in 2011 was that obtaining conclusive press evidence without fully excavated contexts proved difficult. Indeed, physical remains of pressing equipment can be quite elusive in systematic survey contexts or occasional surface finds in this area - or elsewhere in Italy for that matter. For example, rural surveys and random field checks regularly list *opus spicatum* debris and/or *dolia* fragments; two elements that are associable with press installations.⁷ Systematic surveys by the University of Pisa in the territory of the Roman town of *Firmum* (Fermo) in southern Marche yielded a total of 80 *opus spicatum* tiles, with important concentrations on some 10 rural sites.⁸ These surveys also recorded a total of 264 *dolia* fragments from 123 rural sites, with six of them displaying higher numbers of these storage vessels.⁹ Field research by the University of Macerata in the upper Metauro valley attested *opus spicatum* bricks on 14 rural sites in the territory of the Roman town of *Tifernum Mataurense* (Sant'Angelo in Vado);

dolia fragments were found on 28 sites.¹⁰ Bricks of the *spicatum*-type are also known from three rural sites registered during field surveys carried out by Ghent University in the Potenza river valley in central Marche. The same surveys further attested the presence of *dolia* on 30 sites.¹¹

While these bricks and potsherds surely recall the utilitarian character of a site - or at least of one of its sectors - they cannot, however, on their own provide firm proof for the existence of a press. Press rooms in Italy were paved frequently with *opus spicatum* tiles - especially in the Early Imperial period - but these pavements were used in a wide range of utility spaces. A nice illustration of this problem is provided by the recent finding of an *opus spicatum* floor adjacent to the urban area of *Potentia*, a Roman coastal town located near modern Porto Recanati in central Marche, where the association of this brick floor with numerous animal bones with clear traces of butchery identifies the space as a late antique meat processing plant.¹² *Dolia* have a similar problem, as they were not only used for the preservation of wine and olive oil, but also for the storage of other food products, such as cereals and fruits.¹³

Still, there are instances in which the collected survey material amounts to a somewhat more coherent picture. For example, the association of lumps of *opus spicatum* and *cocciopesto* (hydraulic mortar) floorings with many fragments of *dolia*, *amphorae* and (olive) millstone scraps on the sites of **Peglio loc. Casella** (38) and **Peglio loc. Ca'Boccio** (39) in the upper Metauro valley may effectively point towards the existence of pressing equipment on these sites.¹⁴ Likewise, the finding of almost 80 *opus spicatum* tiles, a large amount of *dolia* and amphora fragments, and a small lime-

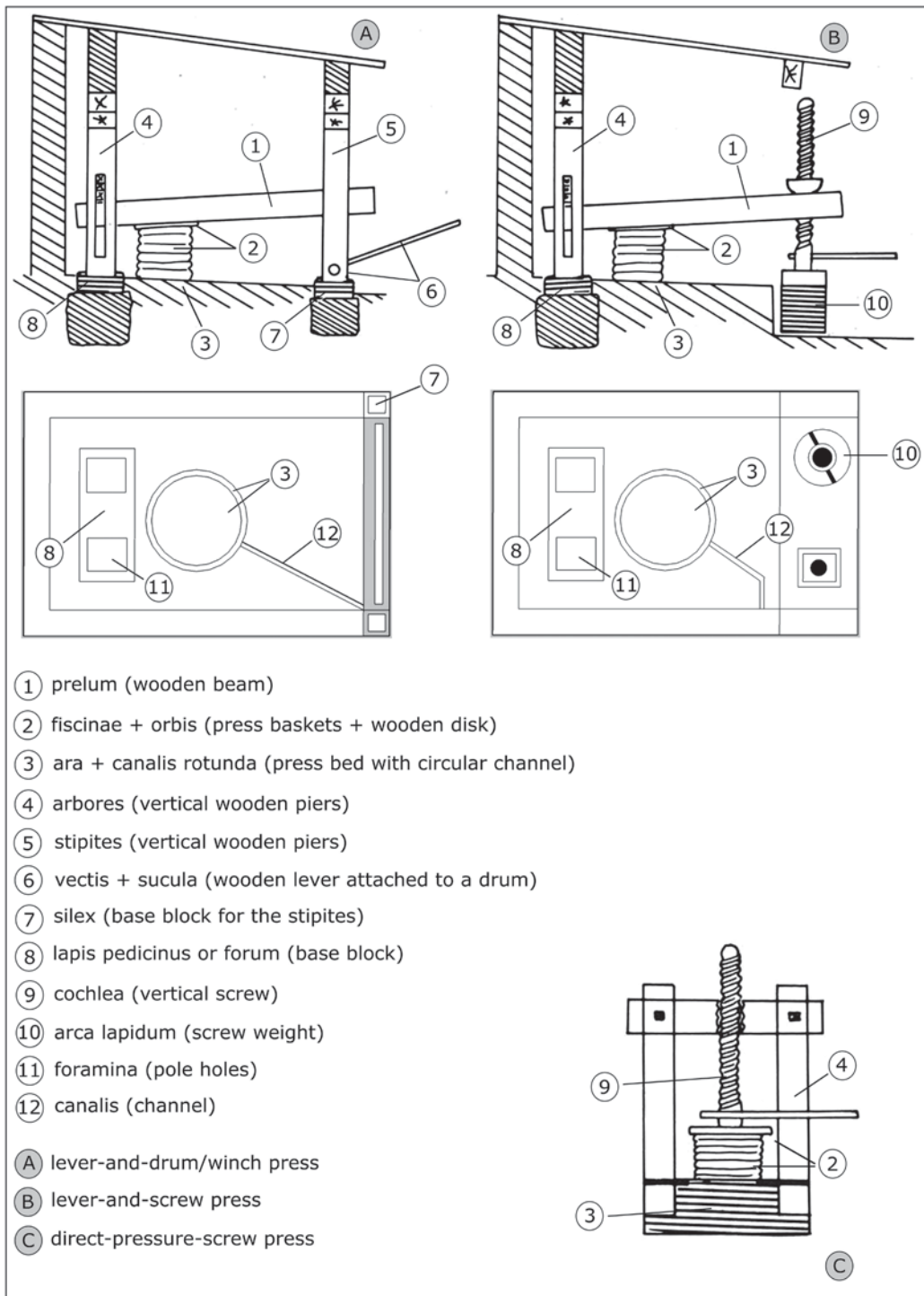


Fig. 4. Schematic reconstructions of ancient press types (A-B, after Brun 1986, 86, fig. 28; C, after Brun 1986, 125, fig. 61).

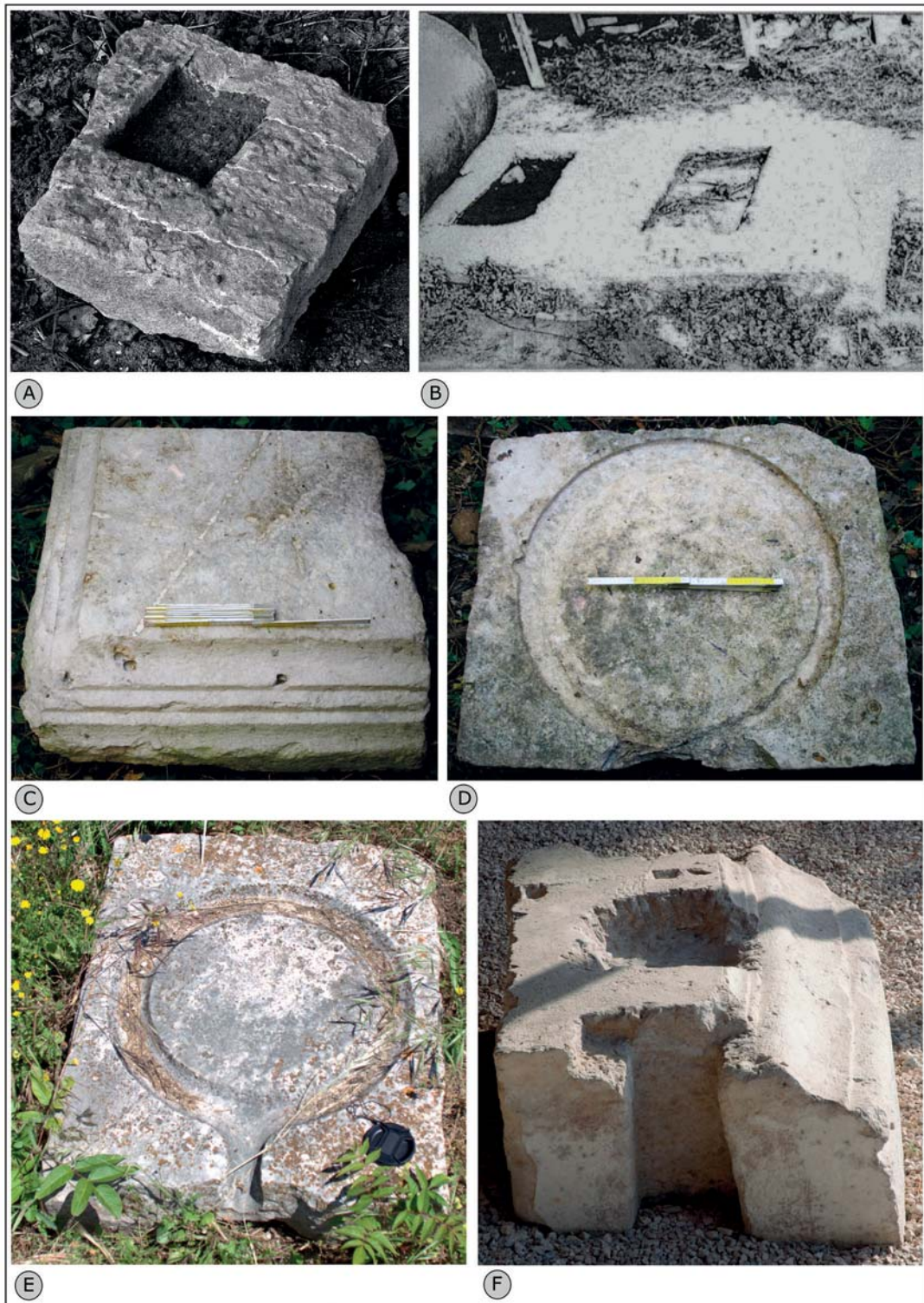


Fig. 5: Occasional surface finds of press elements (C, D, F, photo author; A, after Monacchi 2010, 187, fig.47; B, after Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Marche; E, photo D. Taelman).

stone basin in the same area on the site of **Montarice villa** (36) in the lower Potenza valley has induced the researchers from Ghent University to interpret the zone as a productive space, maybe for the manufacturing of wine or olive oil.¹⁵ A similar interpretation has been suggested by Laura Pupilli for the site of **Passo di Colle di Grottazzolina** (19) near Fermo on the basis of *dolia* sherds belonging to a minimum number of 12 exemplars and the recording of a large *opus spicatum* floor by local farmers.¹⁶ Be that as it may, definite answers on the nature of these four sites are difficult to obtain without further excavations. So while there is a big chance that these sites did contain press installations, their interpretation needs to be approached with caution.

This is not to say that presses can never be identified with certainty through surveys or other forms of field research. In fact, during surveys carried out by the University of Macerata in the upper Metauro valley, a part of a limestone base block belonging to a Roman press was found in the locality of **Ca' Balduini di sopra** (40) (fig. 5, A), where surface finds point towards the presence of a large Roman villa occupied between the 3rd century BC and the 2nd century AD.¹⁷ A number of stone blocks that could be interpreted as large base blocks were also attested by the Pisa surveys on three sites around the modern town of **Fermo** (42-44).¹⁸ Finally, I was able to identify the presence of a fragmentary base block at **Osimo** (45) close to the town walls of the Roman settlement (*Auximum*). A photograph of another base block is known from the archives of the Soprintendenza, but the precise location is unclear (46) (fig. 5, B).

A surface find of particular interest is the quadrangular stone press bed that was recently found just outside the north-western corner of the city walls of the Roman town of **Trea (Treia-S. Crocifisso)** (47) in the middle Potenza valley.¹⁹ The press bed consists of a circular surface cut into the underside of a reused limestone block, probably the base of a column belonging to a large Roman Imperial public building, such as a temple or a funerary monument (fig. 5, C). As a whole, the monolithic slab measures ca. 0.75x0.94x0.22 m. The press area is delineated by a circular channel with an internal diameter of ca. 0.62 m, and an external diameter of ca. 0.72 m. The actual press platform is slightly convex and its most central part, measuring ca. 0.52 m in diameter, is somewhat more elevated than the rest of the platform (visible on the figure by its darker greyish colour) (fig. 5, D).

Due to the off-site character of the find, it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions about the

precise functioning of the press bed. Indeed, the stone slab could have served as a pressing platform in any type of lever press, but could also have been used in a direct screw press (fig. 4, C), or even in a wedge press. Still, the latter type seems to have been used only for the production of perfumes from olive oil and this artisanal activity probably did not play a role in the Marche region in Roman times.²⁰ Be that as it may, there are indications that the press bed at **Trea** rather served as an oil press than as a wine press. First, the press area seems somewhat eroded and this could in part be the result of a repeated and frequent contact with the olives' oily acid during processing.²¹ Second, the inner diameter of the circular channel usually indicates the maximum size of the baskets (frails) that were used during pressing; that is, ca. 0.60 m in the case of the press bed at **Trea**. Interestingly, traditional frails used in olive oil production in the Marche region in pre-industrial times are ca. 0.52 m in diameter (personal observation). Moreover, with such dimensions, they are precisely the size of the darker area attested on the press platform found at **Trea**. Therefore, I would suggest that in this particular case the block formed part of an oil press.

The location of the press bed is also interesting. In fact, its discovery close to the city walls - and thus in the vicinity of the monumental centre of the Roman town - marks the fifth example in the region of a production installation placed within, or adjacent to, an urban context, next to the ones found at **Porto Recanati-La Pineta** (*Potentia*), **Fossombrone** (*Forum Sempronii*), **Senigallia-Via Cavallotti** (*Sena Gallica*) and **Osimo** (*Auximum*).²² Several examples are known from late antique contexts in the Mediterranean, where their presence has often been explained by a partial re-ruralisation of the town area in periods of urban decline and abandonment.²³ If a similar scenario should be assumed for **Trea**, this would put the dating of the press in the 3rd-4th century AD, or even later. The same could be said for the quadrangular limestone block (0.7x0.7 m) found at the intersection of two paved streets during the excavations of the Roman town of **Forum Sempronii** (48). A circular channel cut into the surface of the block indicates the latter's use as a press bed (fig. 5, E). In the vicinity of the block, somewhat more to the north, the remains of a kiln, a series of semi-buried *dolia* and at least two millstones made in volcanic rock were also registered. No precise chronological information is currently available, but the press is likely late antique.²⁴

The screw weight block of a still non-localised press installation was recently identified in the



Fig. 6. Farmhouse of Pollenza Santa Lucia (after Mercando 1980, tav. 9).

late antique layers of the excavated Roman villa of **Colombarone di Pesaro** (49).²⁵ Screw weights were large stones to which the vertical wooden screw-mechanism was anchored that was used for operating the horizontal wooden beam of the press. In this way, both leverage and pressure could be increased (see *supra*).²⁶ The screw weight of Colombarone consisted of a massive limestone block that had been recovered from an Early Imperial building, probably a funerary monument. Characteristic adjustments that ensure the identification of the block as a screw weight are the grooves cut-out at the short sides of the block - in most cases dovetailed in shape, but here more in the form of a 'T', which were cut for attaching a wooden framework that held a mechanism for raising and lowering the screw weight during pressing - and the circular cavity carved into its surface, in which the screw (fixed into the cross beam of the press) was placed and could be rotated (fig. 5, F). The recycling of large and robust building materials into monolithic press elements - such as is the case in Colombarone - especially formed a recurrent practice in late antiquity and numerous examples of reworked screw weights, base blocks and press stones are known from several sites across the Roman Mediterranean.²⁷ Based on the materials found during the excavation of the villa in the 1990's, the press may be dated somewhere between the mid-3rd century AD and the 6th century AD.²⁸

Excavated sites

Most press sites in the study area are known through excavation. In addition to the exemplary sites of **Colombara di Acqualagna** (3), **Sant'Ippolito di Fano** (4), **Tortoreto Muracche** (31), **Monte Torto di Osimo** (9) and **Cesano di Senigallia** (5) - reviewed

in the first part of this study - it is worth discussing some recently unearthed or published examples, as well as some 'older' installations that were previously not discussed in detail.²⁹

Two of such installations worth revisiting are those registered at the end of the 19th century in **Contrada San Salvatore** (16) - located at about one km from the modern town of Fermo (*Firmum*) - and the locality of **Villa Romagnola** (7) near the modern town of Jesi (*Aesis*).³⁰ At Contrada San Salvatore, the floor of the room was paved entirely with *opus spicatum* tiles placed on a layer of hydraulic mortar. The press room contained two circular press beds made out of *opus spicatum* bricks, with one of the platforms being connected to a collecting *dolium defossum* by means of a channel. The negatives of two other *dolia* hint at the presence of a storage space.³¹ Chronological information is provided by the finding of numerous tiles stamped with the name of either TI PANSIANA or A FAESONIA. The first terminology refers to the northern Adriatic tile workshop *Pansiana* and its activity under the reign of Tiberius (AD 14-37); the second stamp is an abbreviation of *Auli Faesoni Africani*; a title that has been found on Roman bricks between the end of the 1st century AD and the 3rd century AD.³² The *terminus ante quem* of the site is currently set by two coins from the 4th century AD.³³ At **Villa Romagnola**, only part of a circular press bed made in *opus spicatum* was still visible at the time. Based on the few recorded materials, the press was at least active from the end of the 1st century BC until the 1st century AD.³⁴

Another one of such sites is the rural complex recorded in February 1879 by Guglielmo Allevi - an inspector from the 'Scavi e Monumenti di Offida' - near the farmstead of Sig.ra Raffaella Desideri in Recchi, in the neighbourhood of **San Giovanni in Strada** (28). Based on the designs made by his companion Gabrielli, these remains included a floor paved in *opus spicatum*, a circular press bed (Ø 1.40 m) made out of the same material, and a rectangular base block in tuff stone (1.27x0.75 m).³⁵ The exact location of the site is unknown, but it probably coincides with a terrain near S. Giovanni in Strada that is currently the property of Sergiacomi Vincenzo, an area where the Archeoclub di Offida recently collected various Roman materials. Important finds include a loom weight, some vernice nera and sigillata, a fragment of a thin-walled cup, a tubular rim in green glass, and a bronze fibula. All these materials can be dated between the Late Republican period and the beginning of the 2nd century AD.³⁶ It is possible to propose a start date around the mid-1st century BC.³⁷

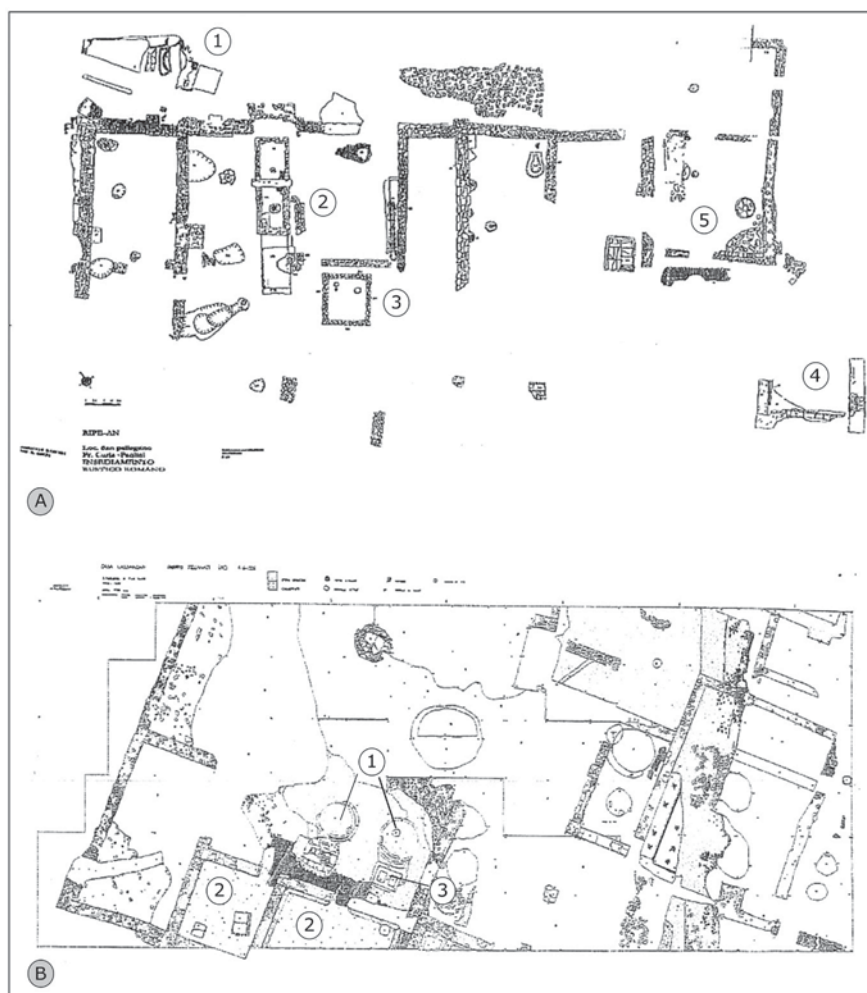


Fig. 7. The farmhouses of San Pellegrino di Ripe (A) and Chiarino di Recanati (B) (after Andrenacci 2010, 75, fig. 3 (A); and Frapiccini et al. 2006, fig. 7 (B)).

A more extensively excavated site is the Roman villa at **Santa Lucia di Pollenza** (15). This farmhouse in the middle Chienti valley was erected in the course of the 1st century BC. From the beginning of its existence, the complex was provided in its south-eastern corner with a press composed of a press floor in *opus spicatum* and a collecting tank consisting of a bowl in terracotta. During the first decades of the 2nd century AD or later, a second press floor in *opus spicatum* with a connected collecting tank (2.1 m³) was installed in the central/north-eastern section of the villa, replacing a former residential part of the villa. The presence of oil residues in the tank confirms the oil producing character of this second press. Somewhere after the 2nd century AD, the latter press was re-placed by a newer version, indicated by an incised press floor

(Ø 1.75 m) in an *opus signinum* floor (fig. 6). The whole complex was abandoned in the 4th century AD.³⁸

The rural site of **San Pellegrino di Ripe** (6) in the middle valley of the river Nevola was excavated in 1987 and 1989-1990 by the Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Marche, but only published in 2010. Despite the fact that only little stratigraphy was preserved because of modern levelling and agricultural operations, the excavations yielded the remains of an elongated complex consisting of a series of utility, working and storage spaces (fig. 7, A). In the northern corner of the building a heavily damaged press platform in *opus spicatum* (Ø 1.50 m) was found, together with a first small collecting tank connected with the platform through a covered channel (1). More in south-western direction, another room contained three badly preserved



Fig. 8. The farmhouse of Senigallia-Via Cavalotti: paved platform (A) and semi-buried dolium (B) (after Lepore et al. 2012, figs. 32 and 26).

tanks with floors in *opus spicatum*. One of the tanks was provided with a staircase in its corner and had a circular cavity in the centre of the floor (2). A fourth large and more isolated tank (13 m³) had its walls covered with some kind of impermeable substance (3). Finally, a fragment of a millstone was recovered in the south-eastern corner of the building (4), while the negatives of several semi-buried storage *dolia* were attested in other adjacent rooms (5). The presence of the millstone, together with the identification of oil residues, indicate that the production unit was involved in the manufacturing of olive oil. Based on the materials found, the site was occupied at least from the beginning of the 1st century AD until the beginning of the 6th century AD. The production unit, however, was only active until the end of the 3rd/beginning of the 4th century AD, after which the zone was converted into a graveyard.³⁹

The site of **Chiarino di Recanati** (12) near the modern town of Recanati in the lower Potenza valley was identified by the Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Marche in 1997 and subsequently briefly excavated, but has not yet received full scientific publication. Based on current knowledge, it is clear that the rural complex was provided with a porticoed space and a production unit situated to the north of it (fig. 7, B). The main room of the unit was paved in *opus spicatum* and had two badly preserved press platforms made from the same material (1). Each platform was connected to a large collecting tank by means of a channel (2). Next to one of the platforms, a base block was found still *in situ* (3). The exact chronol-

ogy of the site could not be determined, but it seems that the production plant was active over a long time period, probably from the Late Republican period until Late Antiquity.⁴⁰ Still, the combination of a base block and a round press bed - a layout typical for many installations in central Adriatic Italy - recalls a type of press labelled 'circular bed presses' by J.J. Rossiter, and refers almost certainly to Pliny's lever-and-screw press, with the screw lifting up a stone weight or a wooden box filled with stones.⁴¹ This suggests that the presses were not built before the mid-1st century BC.⁴²

Recently, an artisanal complex was excavated within the urban area of the Roman town of Sena Gallica (**Senigallia, Via Cavalotti**) (50) by the University of Bologna. In one of the rooms of the complex, a rather rudimentary production plant was unearthed. The unit consisted of an area paved with recovered tile fragments placed on their flat side, which were kept together by some kind of impermeable substance (fig. 8, A). The tiled platform has been interpreted as a processing area, or as the basis for a press. The production plant was probably much larger, as a similar platform was attested in another room of the complex. A rectangular hole in the pavement of another room has been interpreted as the negative of a base block broken out of the floor. In close connection with the platform, the negatives of several semi-buried storage *dolia* used for collecting the pressed liquid were found (fig. 8, B). A pit filled with amphora necks - almost all of the Lamboglia 2 type - was attested in an adjacent room. Archaeobotanical analysis has registered the pres-

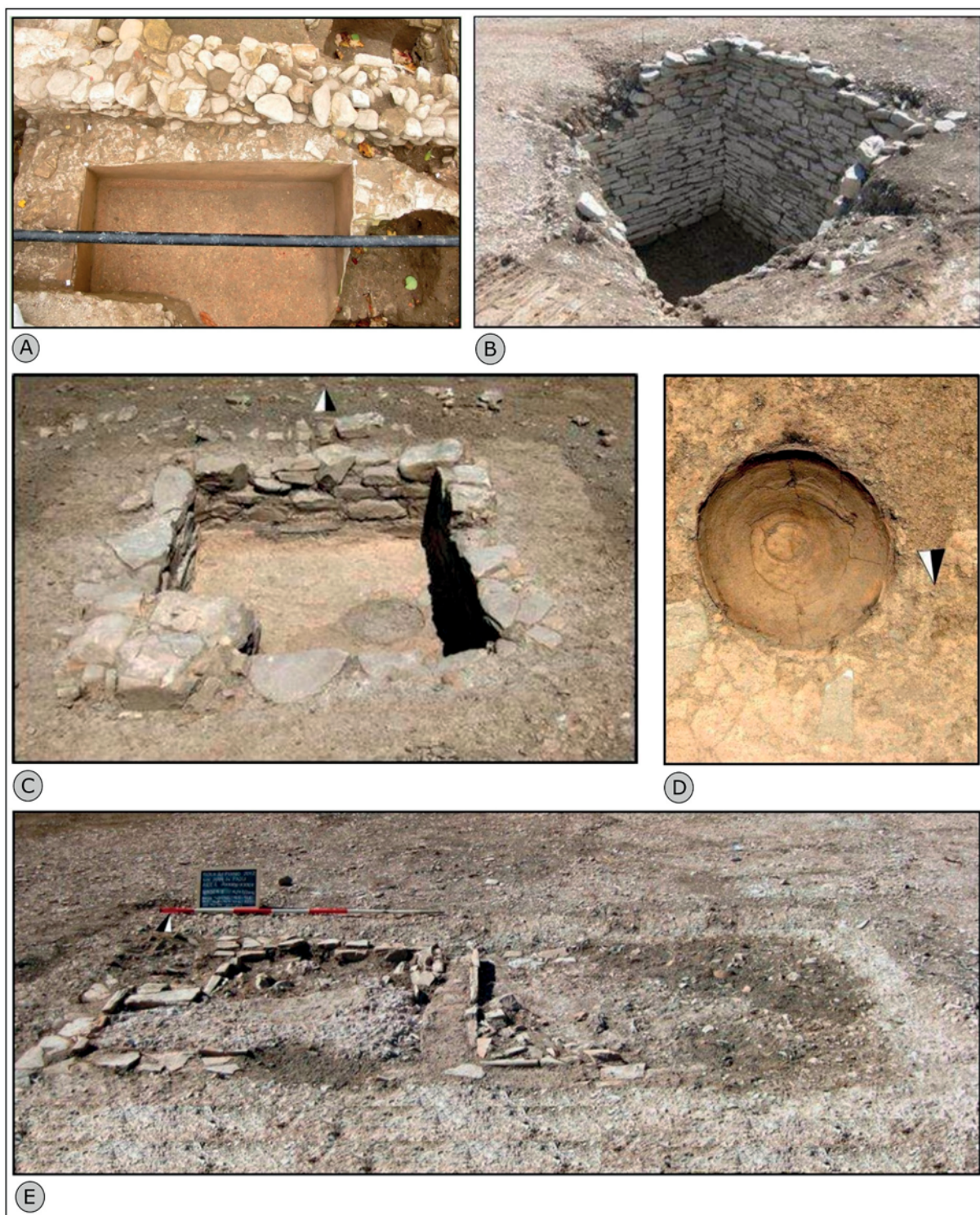


Fig. 9. The farmhouses of San Benedetto del Tronto-Paese Alto (A) and Isola del Piano (B-E) (after Lucentini et al. 2014 (A); and Bartolucci/Graziani 2014, figs. 5-8 (B-E)).

ence of a large number of grape pits; an element that suggests that the production plant was used for the processing of grapes. On the basis of the stratigraphy the production unit belongs to the third phase of the complex, which is dated between the mid-2nd century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD.⁴³

In the summer of 2011, a small rural building was excavated by the Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Marche in Contrada Fontanelle in the territory of the commune of **Monsampolo del Tronto** (51). The excavation unearthed a two-room complex whose walls were only preserved at foundation levels. The foundations of the building consisted of simple trenches filled with a mixture of small- and medium-sized river pebbles, fragments of *cocciopesto* and brick, rock scraps and some blocks of natural conglomerate, all put together without the use of a binding substance. One of the rooms was paved in *cocciopesto*; in the other room - adjacent to the first - a pit filled with tile fragments was found. This pit proved to be the negative of a removed *dolium defossum*. The paved *cocciopesto* room has been interpreted as the remainder of a collecting tank for wine or oil, while the semi-buried *dolium* may have belonged to a storage room.⁴⁴ However, the arrangement of a sloping *cocciopesto* floor (possibly for grape treading) connected to a *dolium defossum* - similar to the situation found at **Senigallia Via Cavalotti** - suggests in the first place a wine identification.

Some of the tiles from the pit were stamped with the letters Q POPPAE, a terminology that may refer to the family of the *Poppaeii*. Two members of this gens - *Quintus* and *Gaius*, *Quinti filii* - are mentioned as "*patroni municipi et coloniai*" in two inscriptions from Teramo (*Interamnina Praetut-tiorum*). On the basis of palaeographic and prosopographic arguments, these inscriptions can be dated between the awarding of colonial status to the town of *Interamnina* under Sulla (ca. 100-80 BC) and 31 BC.⁴⁵ The characters mentioned on the inscriptions are either to be identified with the brothers *Gaius* and *Quintus Poppaeii* - consuls in AD 9 - or with their father and uncle.⁴⁶ The presence of these tiles suggests that the production plant ceased its activities somewhere between the mid-1st century BC and the mid-1st century AD.

The site of **San Benedetto del Tronto-Paese Alto** (52) was excavated by the Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Marche from 2010 to 2012. The excavations revealed both residential and utilitarian structures belonging to a building erected in the course of the 1st century BC. The artisanal section of the complex was characterised by floors in

cocciopesto and *opus spicatum* - with various phases of repaving attesting their longevity - drainage structures made out of amphorae and a large tank coated with *cocciopesto* (fig. 9, A). The production-orientated character of the complex was maintained until the 4th century AD, after which the unit was abandoned and converted into a graveyard.⁴⁷

The site of **Isola del Piano** (53) - close to the *Via Flaminia* and the Roman town of *Forum Sempronii* - was first identified in 2008 through field walking and geophysical prospection and then excavated by the Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Marche. The excavations unearthed a rural complex consisting of ca. 10 rooms. In the northern/north-eastern part of the site, the remains of three tanks were uncovered. The first tank consisted of a set of two adjacent vats that were covered internally with a very compact layer made out of chalk and gravel (fig. 9, E). A second rectangular tank had its walls and floor covered with a layer of *cocciopesto*, was provided with a staircase and had a shallow circular depression in the form of a ceramic bowl placed in the floor (fig. 9, C-D). The third tank was much larger, was ca. two meters deep and had a floor in *cocciopesto* (fig. 9, B). No stratigraphic information is available, but on the basis of the collected material, the site was at least active from the 3rd-4th century AD until the 6th century AD. Geophysical prospection and field survey have registered the nearby presence of an Early Imperial (abandoned) structure.⁴⁸

Since the 1960's, occasional surface finds from an agricultural terrain in the territory of the town of Morro d'Oro hinted at the presence of an important Roman rural building in the locality of **S. Antonio-Piana dei Cesari** (54). Recent research by the Soprintendenza Archeologica dell'Abruzzo has confirmed the predominantly production-orientated character of the site. In particular, several exploration ditches have registered the presence of two large circular working and/or storage spaces bordered by walls in *opus caementicium*, a large rectangular tank with walls built in the same technique, two storage rooms with a minimum number of 33 semi-buried *dolia*, various sections of *cocciopesto* and *opus spicatum* pavements, and a large stone block (0.75x0.58 m) that probably belonged to a press installation. The recovered materials indicate that the site was occupied at least from the 2nd century BC until the 4th century AD.⁴⁹

Finally, two sites that were marked as 'possible press installations' in 2011 have in the meantime been confirmed as actual production sites. The first site is the large Roman villa at the locality of **Villamagna** (41) near the modern town of Urbis-

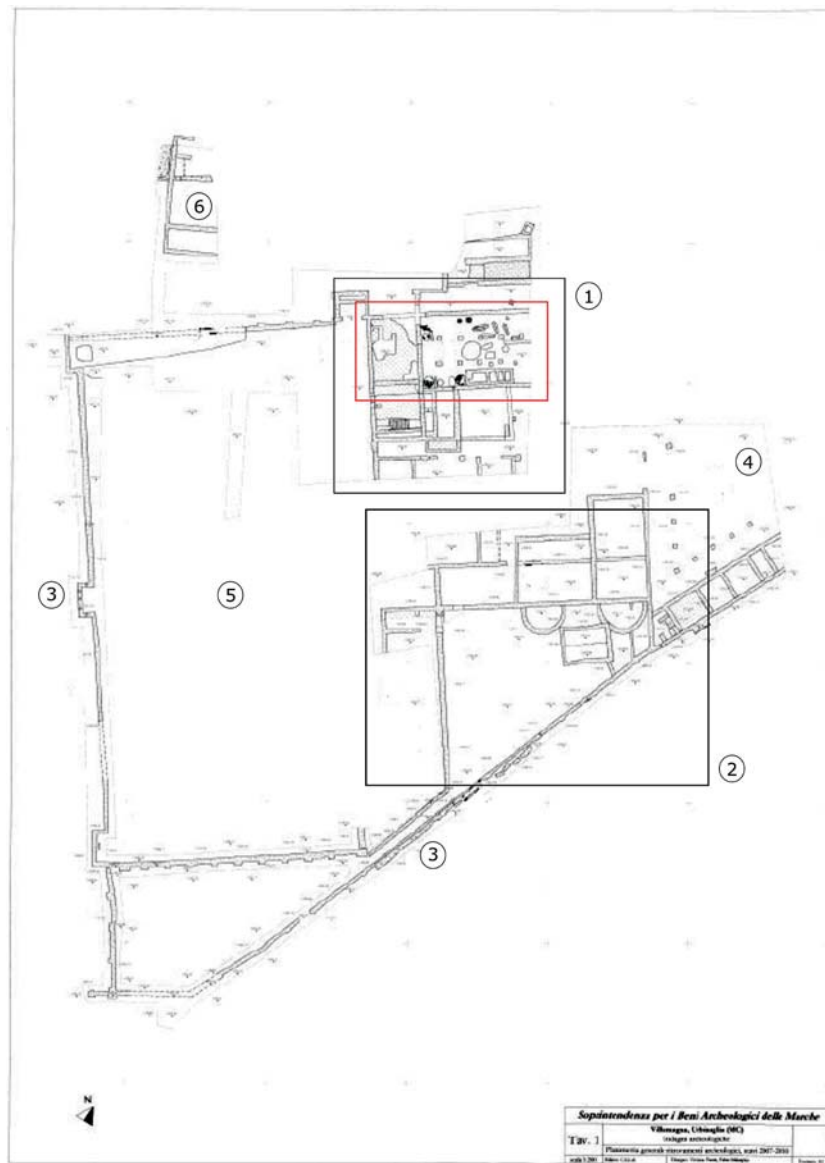


Fig. 10. Plan of the villa of Villamagna near Urbisaglia (after Paci/Perna 2016, 3, fig. 3).

aglia (*Urbs Salvia*). Earlier exploration ditches by the Soprintendenza had already stumbled upon the remains of a rich habitation unit, but it was only during the excavations by the University of Macerata between 2007 and 2010 that a very large villa revealed itself (fig. 10). The complex consisted of a *pars rustica* (1) and a *pars urbana* (2), an inner courtyard (4), and a garden area (5), all enclosed by a wall (3). An external structure was also detected to the north (6). The *pars rustica* contained a production unit - probably for olive oil - and a storage

room with numerous semi-buried *dolia* (red square on the map). The most conspicuous feature is a collecting system with four adjacent rectangular tanks (fig. 11). The largest of these tanks measures 2.5x1.4x1 m and is provided with a small staircase in one of its corners and a circular depression in the floor. An interconnecting channel placed near the bottom of the smallest tank (0.7x1.4x1 m) indicates that the decantation of the oil was carried out through underflow decantation. The structure of the unit strongly recalls the complexes of **Monte**



Fig. 11. The production unit of Villamagna (after Paci/Perna 2016, 4, fig. 6).

Torto di Osimo (9), **Cesano di Senigallia** (5), **San Pellegrino di Ripe** (6), and **Isola del Piano** (53) (see *supra*) - that is, in the combination of a large tank with stairs and a series of smaller interconnected tanks - and this layout is becoming a regular feature of press installations in central Adriatic Italy (fig. 7, A; fig. 9, C-E; fig. 12). Such a division may point to the production of oils of differing quality, or to the combined production of oil and wine.⁵⁰

With an estimated total surface area of ca. 40,000 m², the villa is one of the largest rural estates in the Marche region. Final reports have yet to appear, but it seems that the villa was occupied for a very long time, probably from the second half of the 1st century BC until the 5th-6th century AD. The production plant, however, ceased functioning somewhat earlier, as its ruins became occupied by a small cemetery after the 4th century AD.⁵¹

Several bricks stamped with the name of the *Herennii* (M. HER. DIOG, M. HERENNI REG) have been found at **Villamagna**.⁵² M. HER. PICEN(T) - a name that either refers to the suffect consul M. *Herennius Picens* (AD 1), or to his father M. *Herennius*, who occupied the same position in 34 BC - is a frequently attested stamp on Dressel 6A wine amphorae. As this cognomen probably refers to his region of origin - that is, *Picenum*, an area that covered the central and southern parts of the Marche region and the northern part of Abruzzo - the production centre of these Early Imperial amphorae (50/25 BC-25/50 AD) has since long been hypothesized in our study area.⁵³

The *Herennii* were a very large and important family with different wine estates spread out across central and northern Italy, but the attestation of one of their properties at Urbisaglia suggests that some of the Dressel 6A inscribed with their name may indeed have a Picenian origin.⁵⁴

The second and last site is situated near **Monte Porzio** (37), where the remains of a large rural complex with several rooms were registered in 1878. One building has been described as an arrangement of several rooms with floors paved in *opus spicatum* or *opus reticulatum*. One of the rooms was bordered by a rectangular tank (2.40x1.70 m) with *opus spicatum* floor and walls covered with hydraulic mortar. A lead pipe found in the vicinity probably connected the room with the tank. Another room was connected through a small staircase with an upper level, on which the remnants of a terracotta channel and an *opus spicatum* platform were found. The complex was originally interpreted as a small private bath sector, but based on the description the unit was more likely an installation for the production of wine or olive oil.⁵⁵ Not much chronological information is available, but some of the bricks used in the construction of the walls were stamped with P.TROSI, a name that refers to either *Publius Trosius* or his son. The *gens Trosia* was very active in the brick industry in the area around Aquileia between the mid-1st century BC and the 1st century AD and their products are known in the wider northern and central Adriatic area.⁵⁶ In the Marche region, bricks stamped with TROSI have been found at *Potentia* and *Cupra Marittima*.⁵⁷ Another chronological indicator is the presence of a FORTIS lamp, whose distribution is generally situated between the Augustan Age and the end of the 2nd century AD.

DISCUSSION

Rome's conquest of the central Adriatic region through a number of armed conflicts in the first half of the 3rd century BC gave way to the establishment of a series of Latin (*Ariminum*, *Firmum Picenum*, *Hatria*) and Roman (*Sena Gallica*, *Aesis*, *Castrum Novum*) colonies along the coast. This first colonisation phase was concluded with the foundation of *Pisaurum*, *Potentia* and *Auximum* in the first half of the 2nd century BC. There are reasons to believe that these towns were not created *ex novo*, but rather installed in areas that were occupied in pre-Roman times.⁵⁸ Further inland, the development of an elaborate road network towards the end of the 3rd century BC promoted the genesis and/or growth of a series of road sta-

tions and *praefecturae*, often building on pre-existing indigenous sites.⁵⁹ Throughout this landscape of transition, the typical Roman dispersed rural settlement developed in the course of the 3rd-2nd century BC. In some places, their settlers will have been colonists that had received allotments on the newly confiscated lands. Elsewhere, the recorded material culture hints at a higher degree of continuity between Italic and Roman presence. These lands may have remained occupied by the original inhabitants, now brought into the Roman cultural sphere, or become exploited by colonists that started working those parts of the landscape already used.⁶⁰ Anyway, the specifics of these early phases of Roman settling remain unclear, but archaeology does attest to a dense pattern of Late Republican farmsteads around the emerging Roman centres, often occupying the lower and higher parts of the hilly ridges that boarder the river valleys; that is, in ideal locations for profitable vine and olive growing.⁶¹

The rise of systematic wine production in this period is most noticeable in the start of wine amphora production. Late Greco-Italics were manufactured in the hinterland of *Potentia* from the second quarter of the 2nd century BC onwards, later followed by Lamboglia 2 amphorae (ca. 150/125-50/25 BC).⁶² Local Greco-Italics and Lamboglia 2 have also been found around *Sena Gallica*.⁶³ Wine amphorae were also made further to the south, around *Castrum Novum*, from the

mid-2nd century BC onwards.⁶⁴ These transport containers were made in different spots along the Adriatic coast, and especially the Lamboglia 2 became widespread throughout the Mediterranean, indicating the existence of an important market-oriented viticulture.⁶⁵ Archaeology points towards the installation of rural pressing facilities in the same period, but the evidence is frustratingly thin. Indeed, we possess little information on the size and functioning of these early production plants. The paved area of the wine press on the outskirts of *Sena Gallica* (50) was perhaps just a simple collecting floor, or served as the basis for a wooden box in which the grapes were trodden or pressed. There is currently no clear evidence for Cato-style presses, but the single-notch base blocks from **Ca' Balduini di sopra** (40), **Piano della Monaca** (34) and **Tortoreto Case Ozzi** (30) could be anchoring blocks for *stipites* of lever-and-drum presses (fig. 4, n° 7). If the case, these installations could in theory date back to the mid-2nd century BC (cf. **Villa Prato di Sperlonga**), but presses of this type were also built after the mid-1st century BC, until well in Imperial times (e.g. **Leonessa**, Italy; **Taradeau**, France).⁶⁶ A first press may have been installed at the villa of **Tortoreto Muracche** (31) in the 2nd century BC - as may have been the case at the site of **Montarice villa** (36) - but their existence remains speculative.⁶⁷ In sum, the number of presses that can be securely dated to the 3rd-2nd century BC - and even

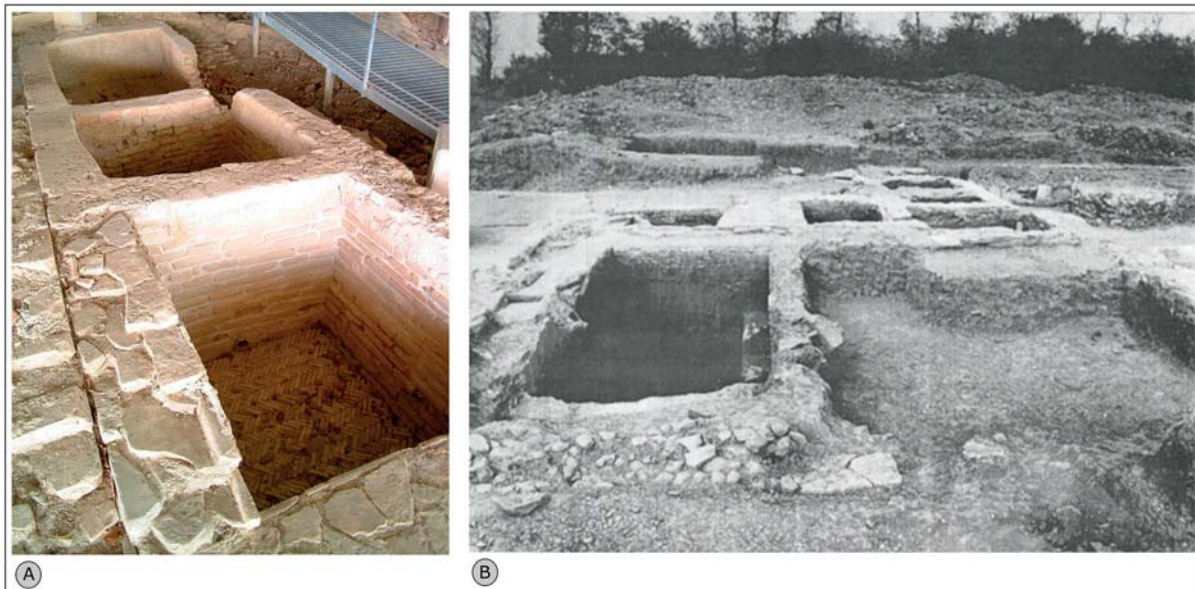


Fig. 12. The collecting systems at Monte Torto di Osimo (A) and Cesano di Senigallia (B) (photo author (A); after AS, ZA/45/15 (B)).

to the first half of the 1st century BC - remains small, while information on their layout and scale is fuzzy. This apparent contrast between the Late Republican amphora and press evidence is not unique to the Marche region, but is a recurrent phenomenon in other regions of Italy.⁶⁸ There are as yet no clear answers to this problem, but it does raise important questions about the nature and organisation of investment viticulture in this period.

The press evidence becomes much more tangible from the mid-1st century BC onwards. Indeed, many presses in the region seem to belong to what J.J. Rossiter has described as 'circular press bed' presses; that is, a type characterised in the archaeological record by the presence of a single base block for the *arbores* (fig. 4, n° 8) and a round (*opus spicatum*) press floor.⁶⁹ These installations are almost surely to be connected with the lever-and-screw press types labelled by Pliny and Heron as mid-1st century BC inventions (see *supra*).⁷⁰ It is worth reminding that such screw presses represent a technological improvement compared to lever-and-drum/winch presses. In essence, the screw is a more efficient tool for extracting juice from grapes or olives, as the beam can be operated and adjusted more easily during pressing. In addition, once the weight or box with stones is raised off the floor, extra pressure will be exerted on the frails, as such optimizing and speeding up production.⁷¹ It is also from this period onwards that we start having solid evidence for multiple presses, and for elaborate collecting and/or storage facilities (e.g. **Monte Torto di Osimo, Villamagna**).⁷² These installations were either built *ex-novo* (e.g. **Monte Torto di Osimo, Villamagna, San Pellegrino di Ripe**), or placed in previously existing rural dwellings (e.g. **Cesano di Senigallia, Colombara di Acqualagna**), perhaps sometimes upgrading an older press unit (e.g. **Tor-toreto Muracche**).⁷³ It can thus be argued that our press documentation now portrays a greater interest in commercial production. It has been stressed before how we are dealing with a very lacunose dataset in central Adriatic Italy - many (isolated) press elements cannot be precisely dated, while others are preserved only fragmentary, and this causes interpretation to be fraught with difficulties⁷⁴ - but the available stratigraphy and/or recorded artefacts suggest that many presses were active during the reign of the Julio-Claudian dynasty (44 BC-AD 68), with some surviving into the 2nd century AD or later (*Appendix*).⁷⁵

The appearance of well-equipped presses in the first decades of the Principate can be noticed archaeologically in other parts of Italy too. The

most famous example along the Tyrrhenian coast is the villa of **Settefinestre** near Orbetello (Tuscany), built in the second quarter of the 1st century BC and equipped with wine and oil presses around 40 BC.⁷⁶ It has been noted more than once how this chronology fits awkwardly with Italy's lucrative wine trade with the western province of Gaul, which started and peaked much earlier, and now showed signs of slowing down, at least in the amphora evidence.⁷⁷ Indeed, this is a time of great changes in the central Tyrrhenian wine amphora record, marking the end of the omnipresent Italian Dressel 1, now replaced by the Dressel 2-4 and its many national and international imitations; a type extremely rare in Gaul.⁷⁸ Neville Morley has suggested that Settefinestre is thus the example *par excellence* of how the Roman elite invested their profits of decades of successful wine commerce with Gaul into the construction of large villa's furnished with agricultural installations. An ill-conceived strategy as it were, as provincial competition soon caused the villa to run into problems.⁷⁹ But, as André Tchernia points out, the villa kept on making wine until the age of Trajan (AD 98-117); that is, long after the demise of the Gallic wine market.⁸⁰ There thus need not to be a causal relationship between the two processes. Similar remarks can be made for two other well-known villa sites at Francolise in northern Campania, close to the *Ager Falernus*: **San Rocco** and **Posto**. The former dates back to the 1st century BC, but only received an oil press around the mid-1st century AD; the latter has some remains of a (grape) processing installation in the first half of the 1st century BC, but the evidence for a (wine or oil) press becomes much more tangible from 30 BC onwards, and even more so around the mid-1st century AD. Both installations kept functioning until the 2nd century AD.⁸¹ The *Ager Falernus* was a big wine exporter in Republican times, but it has been argued that its activities began to decline by the time of the Dressel 2-4, and especially by the mid-1st century AD.⁸² Once again, presses and amphorae seem to tell a somewhat different story. Another example comes from the southern Adriatic coast, where the 2nd century BC villa of **Posta Crusta** was provided with an olive press in the Early Imperial period; that is, contemporary with the disappearance of Apulian oil amphorae.⁸³ Other examples may be cited⁸⁴ - and there are also presses that ceased functioning in this period (e.g. **Villa Prato di Sperlonga**) - but it is important to stress how in a time of diminishing amphora exports, presses were still being installed or enlarged in various parts of Italy.⁸⁵

A similar scenario now unfolds in central Adriatic Italy.⁸⁶ Indeed, around 50/25 BC, the highly popular Lamboglia 2 wine amphorae are gradually replaced by the Dressel 6A (50/25 BC - AD 25/50) and the Dressel 2-4 (50/25 BC - AD 150/175). The circulation of the 6A quickly becomes much more limited, with a greater focus on Northern Italy and the city of Rome. The downfall is particularly striking along the eastern Adriatic coast (modern Croatia), where the type is virtually absent, contrasting as such with the preponderance of the earlier Lamboglia 2. After the mid-first century AD, the Dressel 2-4 and the concurrent flat-bottomed amphorae (AD 50/75-225/250) remain the only wine jars associable with the central Adriatic area. The current state of research does not allow for assessing the precise quantitative role of these containers, but - considering their long lifespan - their remains give the impression of an export wine trade on an ever more limited scale and an increasing focus on close-by markets. Some wine producers may indeed have lost their target markets following the disappearance of the Lamboglia 2, as perhaps attested by the press sites of **Senigallia-Via Cavalotti**, **Montarice villa**, and **Monsampolo del Tronto**, which do not seem to have survived the Augustan Age. But, as seen above, this is also the period in which the press record starts to show greater signs of vitality - or at least visibility. Was this all the result of ill-informed financing? To me, this rather shows that - at least in the first hundred years of the Principate, and perhaps also later - there continued to be markets that stimulated investments in infrastructure and technology in the central Adriatic wine and oil sector.

The first question then that pops to mind is whether the amphora demise is real. In fact, the gradual decrease of amphorae in the archaeological record is probably in part misleading, as a coalescence of literary, iconographic and epigraphic evidence supports the increasing use of wooden barrels and other perishable containers in Early/High Imperial Italy, especially in the 2nd-3rd century AD, and perhaps already from the mid-1st century AD onwards or earlier in the Adriatic area.⁸⁷ To a certain degree, this may be why we have much less shipwrecks with Dressel 6A, Dressel 2-4 and flat-bottomed amphorae than with Greco-Italic or Lamboglia 2 in the Adriatic - ceramic containers on the sea bottom are often the only proof of such wrecks⁸⁸ - but there is currently no reason to assume a massive shift from amphorae to wooden barrels in sea transport under Julio-Claudian reign. Besides, the land finds

document a clear shift in trading routes, with the eastern Adriatic and the Eastern Mediterranean now almost completely abandoned in favour of Northern Italy and Rome.⁸⁹ The latter destination should not surprise us, as by the time of the Principate Rome had become a true metropolis that required supplies from both its hinterland and other regions of Italy; hence the regular transmarine import of wine in Dressel 6A from the Adriatic area to the desirous city.⁹⁰ For that matter, one is also reminded how the villa of **Settefines-tre** and other wine estates around Orbetello were ideally located for provisioning the capital via coastal shipping. But, as Neville Morley has pointed out, there was also serious potential in the many Italian centres that became urbanised from the 1st century BC onwards.⁹¹ The Po plain in particular now had some of the bigger towns of the peninsula, and this is precisely where many Pice-nian Dressel 6A turn up. I would thus not label these developments as a crisis of viticulture - at least not until the start of the Flavian dynasty (AD 69-96) - but rather as a sign of changing market conditions in the provinces and Italy.⁹² But if both the amphora and press record are indeed reliable reflections of historical developments, this still leaves us with a less conspicuous wine export trade at a time when press building shows no immediate signs of slowing down, on the contrary.⁹³

This brings us to the second question: what was produced in the central Adriatic presses? I have discussed elsewhere the difficulties with which wine presses can be distinguished from oil presses, especially in fragmentary archaeological contexts such as those in central Adriatic Italy.⁹⁴ In fact, for the majority of the press sites (39/55), the processed product cannot be determined. On the basis of the identification of possible grape treading floors (*calcatoria*) and wine collecting tanks, wine may have been produced on six sites: **Colombara di Acqualagna**, **Senigallia-Via Cavalotti**, **Fontanelle di Monsampolo del Tronto**, **Muracche di Tortoreto**, **Fermignano San Giacomo**, and **Sant'Ippolito di Fano**. For the remaining ten sites, the production of olive oil was considered likely on the basis of the following criteria: olive millstones (**Ripe San Pel-legrino**, **Villa Vitali di Fermo**, **Penna San Giovanni**), multiple decantation tanks (**Monte Tordo di Osimo**, **Castelfidardo**, **Villamagna**, **Isola del Piano**), erosion of the press bed caused by repeated contact with the olives' oily acid (**S. Crocifisso di Treia**), and chemical residue analysis (**Cesano di Senigallia**, **Ripe San Pellegrino**, **Pollenza Santa Lucia**).⁹⁵ Of particular interest

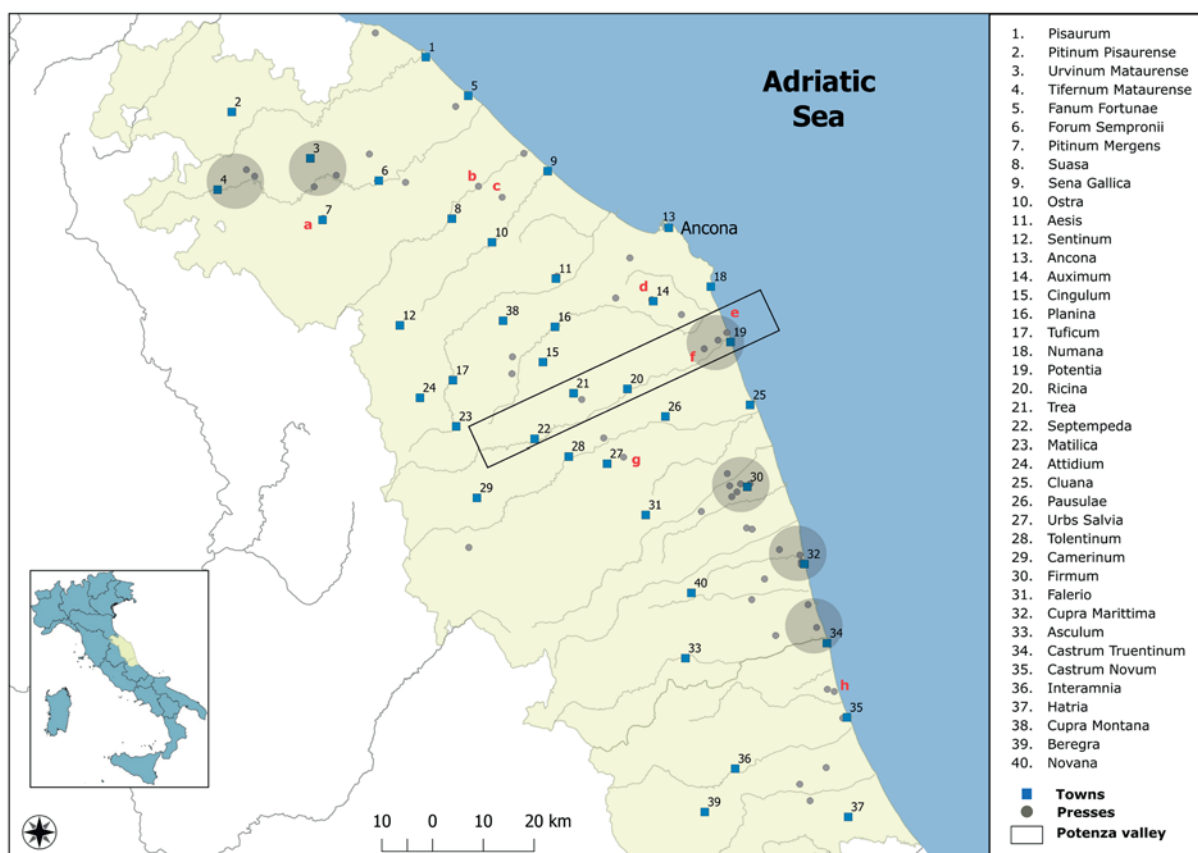


Fig. 13. Roman towns in central Adriatic Italy in the 1st-2nd century AD, with indication of the Potenza valley (rectangle) and all known presses. In detail: a. Colombara di Acqualagna; b. Monte Porzio; c. San Pellegrino di Ripe; d. Monte Torto di Osimo; e. La Pineta; f. Chiarino di Recanati; g. Villamagna; h. Tortoreto Muracche (map author).

here is the observation that some of the biggest installations erected between the mid-1st century BC and the mid-1st century AD are in fact oileries: **Monte Torto** had four presses, **Cesano** probably had two, and both **Ripe** and **Villamagna** contained elaborate olive processing facilities. Can their presence be linked to a (partial) shift from wine to oil export trade? Evidence for the local production of oil amphorae starts around the mid-1st century BC, first with the so-called ovoid amphorae (ca. 75/50-50/25 BC) and later with the Dressel 6B-first phase (ca. 50/25 BC-AD 25/50).⁹⁶ Neither type, however, seems to have gained much momentum outside the Marche region.⁹⁷ A more promising candidate are the so-called 'anfore con collo ad imbuto', bag- or egg-shaped amphorae with a long funnel-shaped mouth that started circulating at the beginning of the 1st century AD. They are found only sporadically in Tiberian-Claudian contexts, but their circulation becomes more noteworthy after the mid-1st century AD, peaking between the last quarter

of that century and the first quarter of the following. After the mid-2nd century AD, they are found only occasionally until the 3rd/4th century AD. In general, these amphorae follow a distribution pattern similar to that of the Picenian Dressel 6A in the central and northern Adriatic, but one shipwreck is also known along the Croatian coast (Skoljic).⁹⁸ Did these amphorae carry oil from *Picenum*? A question impossible to resolve for now. Most of the archaeometric analyses point towards a considerable production in the middle Adriatic area, but no workshops have been identified.⁹⁹ A firm link between these amphorae and Picenian oil production thus remains to be proven. For what it is worth, the chronology of some of the oil presses does fit the amphora data better, with **Monte Torto** being active between the end of the 1st century BC and the beginning of the 2nd century AD, and **Cesano** between the mid-1st century BC and the mid-1st century AD, but that is as far as the current evidence can bring us.¹⁰⁰ Any-

way, for some time, olive oil production was clearly substantial in central Adriatic Italy, and it is likely that some of it was sent outside the region, but never did this business become as successful as the contemporaneous oil trade in Dressel 6B amphorae from *Istria*, which operated along similar routes from the 1st to the 3rd century AD.¹⁰¹ So large scale olive oil export does not appear to provide all the answers.

This leads us to a third and final question: what was the role of local inland towns - whose provisioning had always been more reliant on perishable and thus less traceable containers - as foci of demand? This is a valid issue, as in a pre-industrial economy such as the Roman Empire satisfying local demand must always have remained one of the primary concerns.¹⁰² If the pull of these markets was strong enough, these too could perfectly incite farmers or landlords to build better and/or larger presses. I recall here the aforementioned villas of **Posto** and **San Rocco**, which lay close to the sea, but were also well connected by road with the nearby towns of *Suessa Aurunca* and *Cales*; two centres that flourished in Augustan times and later.¹⁰³ The same goes for the villa of **Posta Crusta**, which was accessible from the coast by the Carapelle River, but also lay in the territory of the important Early/High Imperial town of *Herdonia*.¹⁰⁴ Given the location and chronology of these presses, it is worth asking how big of an incentive these urban markets were for the wine and oil business in their surroundings. The same holds true for our study area. Roman urbanism in the Marche and northern Abruzzo has recently received renewed attention and these studies distinguish a clear phase of urban prosperity between the reigns of Augustus (27 BC-AD 14) and Hadrian (AD 117-138) (*fig. 13*).¹⁰⁵ Part of this boom seems to find its roots in the municipalisation process that touched the area in the decades following the end of the Social War (91-88 BC), turning many inland centres into autonomous administrative towns, especially under the reign of Caesar (49-44 BC). Another key-event is the settling of many veterans in and around these towns under the second triumvirate (43-33/32 BC) and Augustus, involving large-scale land distributions and sometimes proper colonial (re)foundations.¹⁰⁶ These two developments undoubtedly promoted the boost in public building activities that archaeology and epigraphy so clearly document in all these towns from Augustan times onwards. These actions - funded by both the emperor and local elites - more than once involved the physical restructuring of

these settlements, with new monumental infrastructure sometimes replacing former habitation quarters.¹⁰⁷ But this influx of people and resources also lead to the building of new houses, often consisting of large and rich *domus* complexes that both incorporated and enlarged pre-existing houses.¹⁰⁸ At the same time, the archaeological record now provides examples of the expansion of habitation outside the original town nucleus.¹⁰⁹ To sum up, the available documentation gives an impression of considerable urban vitality and wealth, at least until the mid-2nd century AD.

Recent field surveys by the PVS (Potenza Valley Survey project) in the central Marchegian Potenza valley (*fig. 13*) point towards a concurrent phase of flourishing rural settlement. Site numbers peak in the entire valley between the mid-1st century BC and the end of the 1st century AD - although we should be aware that this period in Roman history is archaeologically highly visible because of better datable fine wares - and some of them clearly are large and rich 'villa' estates.¹¹⁰ Coincidence or not, it is within the timeframe of these events that we can place some of our most conspicuous press evidence (*see supra*). Some of these presses were well-placed to serve both overseas and local markets (e.g. **Tortoreto Muracche** near *Castrum Novum* (h), **Chiarino di Recanati** (f) and **La Pineta** (e) near *Potentia*, **Monte Torto** (d) near *Auximum*, **Monte Porzio** (b) and **San Pellegrino** (c) near *Suasa*), but many lay in the upper and middle valley sections, where the rising inland centres were commercially and logistically more plausible consumers (*fig. 13*). In some cases, we can effectively fix their start date in the second half of the 1st century BC (e.g. **Colombara di Acqualagna** (a) in the suburbium of *Pitinum Mergens*, and **Villamagna** (g) in the surroundings of *Urbs Salvia*) (*fig. 13*). How big were these urban markets? Recent work on the topography of all 40 Roman towns suggests that the total urban surface was about 830 hectares in the Early/High Empire.¹¹¹ One demographic reconstruction based on the PVS data for the towns in the Potenza valley point towards an average occupation density of 125 p/ha; that is a total urban population of about 100,000 people.¹¹² This is an important number. There is obviously need for more and better datasets on town development and press building in Italy before we can begin formulating more explicit assumptions on the relationship between the two processes, but these first 'thinking blocks' should encourage future studies to seriously take into account the evolution of domestic urban markets when

explicating Early Imperial developments in Italian agriculture and food technology.

With the transition to the 2nd century AD, the first cracks start to appear in the press record. While most big factories remain functioning into the 3rd-4th century AD (e.g. **San Pellegrino, Colombara, La Pineta, Chiarino di Recanati, Villamagna, Paese Alto, Piana dei Cesari, Tortoreto Muracche**), **Monte Torto** now ceases production permanently (the oil unit at **Cesano** was already closed around the mid-1st century AD, but the site remained occupied until at least the 4th century AD). For other presses we do not possess chronological markers later than the 2nd century AD, but our data are insufficient for determining their fate in this period (e.g. **Monte Porzio, Offida San Giovanni, Ca' Balduini di sopra, Villa Romagnola**). At **Pollenza Santa Lucia**, an Early Imperial living room is transformed into a productive space, but no proper 'new' presses are being started up in this period. Within the same timeframe, a number of (smaller) rural sites now disappear from the radar in the PVS database, while no new sites are recorded, and this process continues into the 3rd century AD.¹¹³ Are these the first signs of real trouble for the central Adriatic viti- and oleocultural - and perhaps wider agricultural - sector? The data from our consumption markets are more complicated than one would like. There is indeed a serious diminution in the circulation of locally made amphorae after AD 150. Besides a few 'anfore con collo ad imbuto', only the smaller flat-bottomed wine amphorae survive into the 3rd century AD (AD 225/250), and they are rarely encountered outside our study area.¹¹⁴ However, the case for wooden barrels also becomes more convincing.¹¹⁵ From the reign of Hadrian onwards, monumental building programs in the central Adriatic towns seem to either stall or become confined to essential restoration works, increasingly sponsored by Imperial funds. Together with the appearance in epigraphy of the *curatores rei publicae* (Imperial offices charged with controlling local finances) and the alimentary schemes (food distribution programs for the poor) under Trajan, these trends evoke a sense of urban malfunction and decay, or at least stagnation.¹¹⁶ But the available data on domestic architecture suggest that housing continued to thrive in most towns in the 2nd century AD.¹¹⁷ There is now the important case of the *Domus dei Coiedii*, a large residential complex close to the *forum* of *Suasa*, whose most monumental and extensive phase was reached in the first decades of the 2nd century AD, and maintained at least

throughout the 3rd century AD. One notable outcome of the excavations by the University of Bologna is the massive presence in these Imperial phases of Adriatic flat-bottomed amphorae.¹¹⁸ This raises important questions about the state of local wine consumption and production.¹¹⁹

Processes of rural site stagnation, abandonment and/or transformation have been recorded in various parts of Italy to varying degrees from the 2nd century AD onwards.¹²⁰ Are they a reflection of agricultural decline, or rather of stabilisation, reorientation and reorganisation? One traditional line of scholarship has indeed linked these changes with lesser investments in Italian agriculture to the benefit of cheaper - and thus more profitable - provincial lands.¹²¹ This classical narrative is firmly embedded within the idea that the economic emancipation of the provinces from Augustus onwards was the prime driver behind the gradual decrease of Italian amphora exports in the following 150 years; an interpretation with which I do not wholly agree, particularly for the central Adriatic area (see *supra*). Others have proposed more nuanced readings, seeing in them the reflection of beginning estate accumulation in the hands of fewer landowners,¹²² possibly with small farmers now becoming tenants that lived in archaeologically poorly detectable dwellings or in the estate's main building.¹²³ I believe that definite answers have yet to be provided, but at least our data are not incompatible with the latter interpretation. Site function and status have an impact on the presence of diagnostic fine ware pottery - and thus on the site's visibility in the survey record - and this needs to be remembered when 'loosing' (smaller) sites after AD 100.¹²⁴ Likewise, the conversion of a living quarter into a productive space does not necessarily have to indicate rural decline, but may represent a deliberate choice by the (new) owner, who now preferred to keep only one building as a residential unit within a larger estate.¹²⁵ The ceasing of an oil factory as large as **Monte Torto** is of course significant, but one example does not make a pattern.¹²⁶

The historical process behind our data remains to be defined, but I have stressed elsewhere how general crisis theories should best be abandoned for 2nd century AD Italy in favour of more nuanced interpretations that take into account regional demographic developments and market reorganisations.¹²⁷ For the central Adriatic area in particular, I have argued how urban and rural population growth in the 1st-2nd century AD may have triggered a gradual and partial shift from intensive to

more extensive vine-growing strategies that combined vines with (fruit and olive) trees on arable land (the so-called '*arbustum*').¹²⁸ Comparative evidence from 15th-16th century Italy suggests that such a process could go hand in hand with the spread of tenancy.¹²⁹ Much more research needs to be done before such a scenario can outgrow its largely speculative nature, but there is no doubt that important socio-economic changes were taking place in town and country in the 2nd century AD, and that these changes led people to adapt their agricultural strategies. But these do not necessarily all have to be negative developments.

The two centuries covering the transition to Late Antiquity (ca. AD 200-400) pose more serious problems of interpretation. In recent years, the origins and nature of the so-called '3rd-century crisis' have become heavily debated issues.¹³⁰ While more likely a series of grave changes that destabilised and ultimately transformed the Roman Empire, rather than an all-encompassing and fatal doom event, its reflection in the ancient texts is often biased and confusing, which renders a straightforward interpretation of the period difficult.¹³¹ For sure, there were deep problems with the central Imperial authority, which now had to deal with strong foreign enemies and repeated military misconduct in the Empire's border regions. It would also be wrong to dismiss the demographic and socio-economic consequences of both the Antonine plague (AD 165 onwards) and the Cyprian plague (AD 249-270), and thus their impact on the stability and prosperity of (certain parts) of the Empire.¹³² But the real issue here is the extent to which these events touched (economic) life in Italy.¹³³ One contribution of archaeology to this debate - even if survey and excavation data are by no means unproblematic sources of evidence - has been the softening of text-induced ideas of massive rural depopulation and land abandonment, at the same time highlighting regional diversity and elements of continuity within a profound restructuring process in the Italian countryside in the 3rd-4th century AD.¹³⁴

Recent work by the PVS in the Potenza valley has elucidated this process for the central Adriatic area. Small rural sites now definitively disappear from the survey map, leaving mostly large farms and villas to dominate the landscape after the 4th century AD. These are not new sites, however, but all Early Imperial or even Late Republican foundations that remained occupied into Late Antiquity. Comparable to the developments in other parts of Italy, these trends provide some

grounds for a definite nucleation of settlement into larger estates; a possible outcome of the transformations started in the 2nd century AD (see *supra*).¹³⁵ Regional excavation data show how this process was accompanied by significant structural changes in many of these 'longue durée' villas. For example, a villa near the town of Falerio (fig. 13, 31) now saw its living rooms transformed into spaces with a more utilitarian character, while the press at **Cupra Marittima San Basso** was replaced by a small thermal complex in the 4th century AD.¹³⁶ Around AD 250, after a century of inactivity, **Monte Torto** was transformed into a simple rural dwelling that remained occupied until ca. AD 320. It then became a rudimentary artisanal unit between the mid-4th century AD and the mid-6th century AD, after which the site was converted into a graveyard.¹³⁷ Other buildings were completely restructured and transformed into large luxurious residencies, such as the 3rd-4th century AD complex at **Colombarone** near Pesaro (fig. 1, 49).¹³⁸ This re-organisation of rural space is a wider phenomenon in late antique Italy and the West.¹³⁹ It is now generally agreed that it reflects fundamental changes in the size and management of landholdings, controlled by a rural land class that lived and worked within a renewed - if radically different - socio-economic climate.¹⁴⁰

This process went hand in hand with a deep transformation of urban space. Indeed, from the 3rd century AD onwards, many central Adriatic townhouses were (partially) abandoned, restructured and/or reformed into buildings with a more artisanal or utilitarian character.¹⁴¹ Both public and private quarters show signs of impoverishment and ruralisation, while survey and excavation data support the contraction of habitation in some of the towns.¹⁴² The presence of (reused) press beds near the monumental sectors of *Trea* and *Forum Sempronii* should be considered part of this process, attesting as such to shifting accents in the use of public space (see *supra*). This profound metamorphosis of Roman townscapes in Italy - which would eventually lead to the abandonment and the disappearance of many of them - was undoubtedly triggered by instability and population shifts, perhaps in part to large and more convenient estates in the countryside.¹⁴³ But it was also an adaptation to changing economic needs and trajectories, with an increasingly functional focus in places where the old splendour was steadily fading away.¹⁴⁴

Local wine and oil production must surely have been affected by these changes, but the contemporary developments in the sector remain difficult to grasp. It is telling that all 'longue durée'

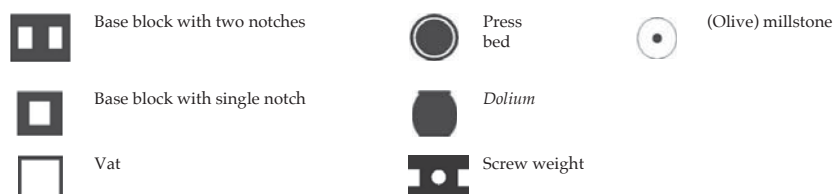
presses - that is, those active since Late Republican or Early Imperial times - either stop functioning permanently (e.g. **Villamagna, San Pellegrino, Colombara di Acqualagna, La Pineta, Chiarino di Recanati, Piana dei Cesari, Paese Alto**) or are reduced to smaller-scale factories (e.g. **Tortoreto Muracche**). Some of them become occupied by graveyards during or shortly after the 4th century AD (e.g. **San Pellegrino, Villamagna, Paese Alto**). The newly built site of **Isola del Piano**, however, reminds us of how late antique productive infrastructure could be erected in the vicinity of older abandoned rural buildings. There is also no straightforward interpretation for the aforementioned examples of late antique reuse (**Treia, Colombarone** and possibly **Fossombrone**). Reworking large unused blocks into stone press components was clearly cheaper than investing in newly produced blocks, and this reasoning can provide an impression of financial difficulties. But reuse and recycling were common practice in the Roman world long before the start of Late Antiquity.¹⁴⁵ It can be argued, however, that 3rd-4th century AD Italy was a place that fostered its increased occurrence: disrupted supply networks led to a lower availability of new raw materials, while centuries-old buildings in town and country provided an excellent alternative.¹⁴⁶ Rather than pure stagnation, frequent reuse and recycling were thus probably more an expression of an acquired sense of economic rationality: many blocks were ideally fitted for turning into press elements with only minimal adjustments, while the use of abandoned but still functioning or eas-

















































































































































ily repairable pressing equipment could be maximised, as such minimising expenses.¹⁴⁷ Many of these late antique presses were probably smaller in size, but they were not necessarily inferior machines. Vertical or direct screw presses - of which **Treia** and **Fossombrone** may be examples (see *supra*) - mostly used (portable) stone press beds, were smaller than lever-and-screw presses, and thus required less materials and space. But they could also exert greater pressure and were more efficient pressing tools.¹⁴⁸ These presses were made almost entirely out of wood, thus leaving isolated press beds as their only physical trace in the archaeological record. After all, literary sources firmly attest to the lasting quality and popularity of Picenian wines. 'Picenum' wine is listed in Diocletian's Edict on Maximum Prices in AD 301 (2.1), and is referred to as a costly luxury product by Saint Ambrose in the 4th century AD (*De Tobia* 14.50). 'Hadrianum' - that is, wine from the territory of *Hatria* (fig. 13, 37) - is mentioned several times in Egyptian papyri in the 3rd century AD¹⁴⁹, while Athenaeus describes it around the same time as a wine with a pleasant odour, easily assimilated and good for one's health (*Ath. E.* 33a). Its therapeutic qualities are highlighted on several occasions by Galen (AD 129-ca. 210), who refers to it as a white thin and watery wine (e.g. *Meth. Med.* 12.4.833K; *Meth. Med. Glauc.* 2.87K; *ST* 6.275, 6.334-5). Alexander of Tralles mentions the wine for the same reasons in the 6th century AD.¹⁵⁰ Even if the physical evidence remains elusive, wine continued to be made in central Adriatic Italy during and after the 3rd century AD.

APPENDIX

Wine and olive oil productions sites (2, 6, 15, 28, 36-55)

Legenda



Location	P	Press elements						Dating	Bibliography
Colombara di Acqualagna (3)	1							mid-1 st c. BC–?	Luni/Uttoveggio 2002, 33-34
Ripe San Pellegrino (6)	1							beg. 1 st c. AD – end 3 rd c. AD	Andrenacci 2010
Pollenza Santa Lucia (15)	2							1 st c. BC–4 th c. AD	Frapiccini et al. 2006, 344-310
Offida San Giovanni (28)	1							mid-1 st c. BC–beg. 2 nd c. AD	Pignocchi 1998, 207-218
Montarice villa (MC) (36)	1							2 nd c. BC– mid-1 st c. AD	Vermeulen et al. 2013, 608
Monte Porzio (PU) (37)	1							mid-1 st c. BC – 1 st c. AD	Cerquetti/Pasquini 2015, 401-402
Peglio Casella (PU) (38)	1							⊥	Monacchi 2010b, 358-362
Peglio Boccio (PU) (39)	1							⊥	Monacchi 2010b, 370-375
Ca' Balduini di sopra (PU) (40)	1							3 rd c. BC–2 nd c. AD	Monacchi 2010a, 187
Villamagna (MC) (41)	1							end 1 st c. BC–4 th c. AD	Paci/Perna 2016
Fermo 1 (AP) (42)	3							⊥	Menchelli 2012
Fermo 2 (AP) (43)	2							⊥	Menchelli 2012
Fermo 3 (AP) (44)	1							⊥	Menchelli 2012
Osimo (AN) (45)	1							⊥	Personal observation 2014
UL (46)	1							⊥	AS, ZA
Treia-S. Crocif. (MC) (47)	1							Late Antique	Van Limbergen 2014
Fossombrone (PU) (48)	1							Late Antique	Luni 2007
Col. di Pesaro (PU) (49)	1							3–6 th c. AD	Dall'Aglio 1996; 1997; 2001
Senigallia-Via Cavalotti (AN) (50)	2							mid-2 nd c. BC–first half 1 st c. AD	Lepore et al. 2012; Van Limbergen 2014
Monsampolo del Tronto (AP) (51)	1							?-mid-1 st c. BC/mid-1 st c. AD	Cicala/Speranza 2012, 146-147
San Ben.-Paese A. (AP) (52)	1							1 st c. BC–4 th c. AD	Lucentini et al. 2014
Isola del Piano (PU) (53)	1							3 rd c.–6 th c. AD	Bartolucci/Graziani 2014
Pian. dei Cesari (TE) (54)	1							2 nd c. BC–4 th c. AD	Formicone/Neroni 2010
Monte Urano – San Lorenzo (FM) (55)	1							⊥	Profumo 2016, 271-272

NOTES

* This article is derived in part from the author's PhD research, carried out at the Universities of Pisa and Ghent (2011-2015) under the supervision of Maria Letizia Gualandi (Pisa) and Frank Vermeulen (Ghent) (Van Limbergen 2015). This research was funded by Pisa University and the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin. Work on this article continued while being a postdoctoral research assistant at Ghent University, and it was finalised during a stay as Visiting Scholar at Columbia University (NYC) in 2017. This stay was made possible by the Belgian American Educational Foundation (BAEF), the Research Foundation - Flanders (FWO) and Ghent University (Mobility Fund). The author would like to thank Frank Vermeulen, Patrick Monsieur, Simonetta Menchelli and Maria Rafaella Ciuccarelli for their helpful comments during the redaction of this work. Thanks also go to the two anonymous readers for BABesch, whose remarks greatly improved this work. All imperfections remain, of course, the responsibility of the author.

¹ Van Limbergen 2011.

² While this article can perfectly be read as a standalone, the reader is advised to consult the 2011 paper for the sites that were discussed there - in particular Appendix 1 - and for a better understanding of some of the issues touched upon in the discussion part of this paper.

³ Their numbering follows the one redacted in the previous paper; that is, as the last secure press site in the original database was n° 35, these 'new' presses are listed here as n° 36-55 (Van Limbergen 2011, 73, fig. 1; and Appendix 1, 87-88). Press sites from the original database whose chronological information could be updated, were also included in this new appendix. These include: Colombara di Acquialagna (3), Ripe San Pellegrino (6), Pollenza Santa Lucia (15), and Offida San Giovanni (28).

⁴ These latter sites are referred to by their original number in the 2011 database (Van Limbergen 2011, 87-88).

⁵ E.g. Van Limbergen 2015; Van Limbergen et al. 2017a; 2017b; Vermeulen 2017.

⁶ Van Limbergen 2011, 75, 81, 82-84 provides further clarification; for in-depth reading, see Frankel 1999; and Brun 2003; 2004; 2005.

⁷ Opus spicatum pavements are floorings made out of small rectangular bricks placed on their flat side and arranged according to a so-called 'herringbone' pattern. For a first, preliminary overview of Roman rural sites with such tiles in the Marche region, see Mercando/Brecciaroli Taborelli/Paci 1981, 311-519, n° 43, 51, 71, 77, 84, 89, 99, 109, 116, 136, 160, 205, 214, 215, 223, 226, 228, 254, 265, 266, 280, 290, 371, 426, 434, 444, 453, 464, 490 (29 sites). For opus spicatum remnants from northern Marche in particular, see Ferretti 2002, 213-261, n° 46, 54, 55, 65, 70, 73, 82, 85, 88, 96, 101, 107, 121, 131 (14 sites). These bricks are also known from a few sites in the territory of Serra de'Conti (AN), see Ceresani/Villani 2003, n. 1 (Ponte della Rota), 5 (San Martino), 7 (Molino), 10 (Cone), 12 (Granelli), 13 (Granelli 1), 14 (Farneto) (7 sites).

⁸ Menchelli 2012, sites n°: 165/Psg4, 150/Fe 167; idigis 431/Fe43; id 232/Fe24; id 257/Fe69; id 552/Mr; id 663/Cl 3; id 622/MonLun64; ; id 113/Svar1 (OS); id 596/Latro 1 (OS); and id 666/Sva12. For site n° id 552/Mr (Monte Rinaldo), see also Pupilli 1994, 82.

⁹ Menchelli 2012, sites n°: 200/Fe 96 (7 examples); 165/Psg4 (several, number not specified); 150/Fe 167 (16 ex.); id 232/Fe24 (4 ex.); id 257/Fe69 (4+ ex.); and id 43/Ca6 (10 ex.).

¹⁰ For the sites with opus spicatum, see Monacchi 2010b, 266-399, sites n°: 39, 44, 55, 58, 59, 65, 87, 95, 99, 100, 105, 106, 108, 109. For the sites with dolia, see again Monacchi 2010b, 266-399, sites n°: 3, 15, 16, 39, 40, 56, 61, 65, 66, 68, 72, 75, 76, 87, 89, 90, 95, 100, 101, 104, 105, 106, 108, 109, 111, 114, 129, 132.

¹¹ For opus spicatum, see Vermeulen et al. 2006, sites n°: 094, 102, 101. For site 094 (Passo di Treia) in particular, see also Vermeulen et al. 2002, 65, where the researchers from Ghent University propose in fact the identification of a press room on the site. For dolia, see again Vermeulen et al. 2006, sites n°: 035, 038, 045, 054, 058, 059, 062, 063, 065, 066, 069, 074, 075, 077, 081, 082, 085, 099, 100, 101, 104, 108, 113, 119, 120, 126, 127, 128, 130, 131.

¹² http://www.archeologia.beniculturali.it/index.php?it/-142/scavi/scaviarcheologici_4e048966cfa3a/296 (last visited on 02/09/2016).

¹³ A dolium filled with carbonized cereals was discovered in the Roman town of Falerio (Bonvicini 1991, 144, n. 59, fig. LVI; Maraldi 2002).

¹⁴ For Peglio loc. Casella and Peglio Loc. Ca' Boccio, see Monacchi 2010b, 358-362; and 370-375.

¹⁵ Vermeulen et al. 2013, 608.

¹⁶ Pupilli 1994, 69-70; Busana et al. 2009; Menchelli 2012; see also Van Limbergen 2011, 88, n° 19.

¹⁷ Agnati 1999, 34; and Monacchi 2010a, 187, fig. 147. The 'base blocks' referred to in this paper all belong to Frankel's 'Tivoli Pier Base' (Frankel 1999, 92).

¹⁸ The finding of opus spicatum bricks in the vicinity of these blocks on the sites of 'id 663/Cl 3' and 'id 622/MonLun64' seems to indicate the presence of press floors (Menchelli 2012).

¹⁹ The press bed was identified by the author during the summer campaign of the PVS (Potenza Valley Survey Project) in Treia in 2013; see Van Limbergen 2014.

²⁰ Mattingly 1990.

²¹ Brun 2004.

²² For Potentia, see Mercando 1979; Forum Sempronii (Luni 2007); Senigallia (Lepore et al. 2012).

²³ Brun 2004.

²⁴ Personal communication with Prof. Mario Luni (†), e-mail of 15/01/2014; Luni 2007; Luni/Mei 2012.

²⁵ The screw weight block was identified by the author during his visit of the Colombarone site in 2014.

²⁶ Mattingly/Hitchner 1993, 438-462.

²⁷ Brun 2004. For an example from Verona, see Liverani 1987, 16, fig. 4.

²⁸ Dall'Aglio 1996; 1997; and 2001.

²⁹ For the original discussion of these sites, see Van Limbergen 2011, 80-84. For further elaborations, see Van Limbergen 2015.

³⁰ For the original listing of these sites, see Van Limbergen 2011, 87-88.

³¹ Rafaelli 1891.

³² For the stamp of TI PANSIANA, see Matijašić 1983, 969-973; and Pellicioni 2012, 52; for A FAESONIA, see Ilakovac 2008, 153.

³³ Mercando et al. 1981, 343, n° 419.

³⁴ Annibaldi 1895; Mercando et al. 1981.

³⁵ Vannicola 1996; see also Van Limbergen 2011, 87-88.

³⁶ Pignocchi 1998.

³⁷ See infra, site of Chiarino di Recanati, notes 40, 41.

- ³⁸ Mercando 1980; Percossi 2005; Frapiccini et al. 2006, 233-310; Van Limbergen 2011, 87-88.
- ³⁹ Andrenacci 2010; see also Van Limbergen 2011, 87-99; 2014.
- ⁴⁰ Percossi Serenelli 1999; Frapiccini et al. 2006; see also Van Limbergen 2014.
- ⁴¹ Rossiter 1981, 350-351; Frankel 1999, 91-93.
- ⁴² As may be derived from the testimonies of Pliny (*HN*, 18.317) and Heron (2.1-4) in the 1st century AD, who describe the mechanism as being a century old (cf. Drachmann 1963, 125-132; White 1975, 229-232; Frankel 1999, 107).
- ⁴³ Lepore et al. 2012, in particular p. 10, 12, notes 42, 43; and p. 15-16.
- ⁴⁴ Cicala/Speranza 2012, 146-147.
- ⁴⁵ CIL 5074 and 5075; see Cancrini et al. 2001, 49-52.
- ⁴⁶ Gasperini/Paci 1982, 212; Cancrini et al. 2001, 51; Wiseman 1971, 254, n° 340-341.
- ⁴⁷ Lucentini et al. 2014.
- ⁴⁸ Bartolucci/Graziani 2014.
- ⁴⁹ Formicone/Neroni 2010.
- ⁵⁰ Van Limbergen 2011, 82-84, with references; 2014.
- ⁵¹ Paci /Perna 2016.
- ⁵² Paci/Perna 2016, 9-10.
- ⁵³ Carre 1985, 216-217. For a discussion of the stamps with M. HER PICEN, see Buora 1995; see also Van Limbergen 2011, 74, with references.
- ⁵⁴ Dressel 6A stamped by other members of the Herennii family - like e.g. M. Herennius Phaedimus (M. HER PHAE), M. Herennius Priscus (M. HER PRISC) and M. Herennius Ren(-) (M. HER REN) - have also been brought in relation with this line of production (Van Limbergen 2018, note 7, with references).
- ⁵⁵ Van Limbergen 2011, 91, note 91; Cerquetti/Pasquini 2015, 401-402, with reference to NSc 1878, 312-314.
- ⁵⁶ Magnani 2014.
- ⁵⁷ Paci 2010, with references.
- ⁵⁸ E.g. Guidobaldi 1995 (Hatria, Castrum Novum); Di Cocco 2004a (Pisaurum); Lepore 2013 (Sena Gallica); Vermeulen 2014 (Potentia).
- ⁵⁹ Vermeulen 2017a.
- ⁶⁰ Sisani 2007; Vermeulen 2017, 70.
- ⁶¹ Van Limbergen et al. 2017b, 130-157. For recent discussions on the nature of Republican colonisation in Italy, see the collection of papers in Stek/Pelgrom 2014.
- ⁶² Vermeulen/Monsieur 2012; Vermeulen et al. 2013; Van Limbergen et al. 2017a, 348-351; Van Limbergen et al. 2017b, 148-149.
- ⁶³ The local production of these amphorae is supposed on the basis of archaeometric data (Lepore et al. 2013). The same goes for Firmum (Menchelli/Picchi 2014) and Suasa (Esquillini 2011).
- ⁶⁴ The kiln at loc. Colle Castelluccio-Fornace produced late Greco-Italics, Lamboglia 2, Dressel 2-4 and flat-bottomed amphorae between the mid-2nd century BC and the 1st century AD (Staffa 2002, 58, note 208).
- ⁶⁵ Carre et al. 2014; Van Limbergen 2018.
- ⁶⁶ Van Limbergen 2011, 88, Appendix 1; Broise/Lafon 2001; Brun 1986, 204-212; Volpe 1990, 142-144.
- ⁶⁷ The Tortoreto press, in its currently visible form, is a mid-1st century BC installation, possibly replacing a 2nd-century BC example (Lapenna 2006). For my earlier discussion of Tortoreto Muracche, see Van Limbergen 2011, 81-82, with references. The sites of Fermignano San Giacomo (2) and Piana dei Cesari (54) are two other (badly preserved) 2nd century BC presses (Cf. Baratta 2005, 159).
- ⁶⁸ Cf. Kay 2014, 172.
- ⁶⁹ Rossiter 1981. Examples are: Colombara di Acqualagna (3), Cesano di Senigallia (base block removed) (5), San Pellegrino di Ripe (installation destroyed) (6), Monte Torto di Osimo (9), Porto Recanati-La Pineta (installation destroyed) (11), Chiarino di Recanati (12), Pollenza Santa Lucia (base block removed) (15), Cupra Marittima San Basso (25), Offida San Giovanni (28), and Tortoreto Muracche (31); see Van Limbergen 2011.
- ⁷⁰ Frankel 1999, 91-93. Many screw presses in Italy seem to date to the 1st-2nd century AD (Rossiter 1981; Brun 2004).
- ⁷¹ Curtis 2001, 390-393; 2008; Brun 2003, 60-61.
- ⁷² See Van Limbergen 2011.
- ⁷³ Based on the 1967 excavations, the site of Cesano di Senigallia (5) long seemed to consist of an isolated production unit, without any indications for nearby living quarters. Between 2009 and 2010, a second rescue excavation by the Soprintendenza uncovered a series of rooms to the west of the previously unearthed structures. The presence of mosaic fragments and painted stucco suggests that this section of the complex indeed belonged to the residential part of the site, covering as such ca. 2,800 m². More importantly, these new excavations have allowed to push back the original construction of the settlement from 50-30 BC to the mid-3rd century BC. Still, it seems that the press room was only built around the mid-1st century BC (Ciuccarelli 2014).
- ⁷⁴ Van Limbergen 2011, 75-77, 84-85.
- ⁷⁵ For dating information on sites previously discussed, see Van Limbergen 2011, Appendix 1.
- ⁷⁶ Rathbone 1981; Carandini/Ricci 1985.
- ⁷⁷ Tchernia 2006; Kay 2014; 144.
- ⁷⁸ Tchernia 1986.
- ⁷⁹ Morley 1996, 130-142.
- ⁸⁰ Tchernia 2006; 2016, 304.
- ⁸¹ Cotton 1979; Cotton/Métraux 1985; Brun 2004, 24-27.
- ⁸² Arthur 1982.
- ⁸³ Brun 2004, 29.
- ⁸⁴ Cf. the site catalogue in Marzano 2007 for Latium, Tuscany and Umbria.
- ⁸⁵ The chronology of the Villa Prato presses - ca. end 2nd century BC-60/40 BC - seemingly fits better the evolution of the Late Republican export trade in wine and oil amphorae from the plain of Fondi in southern Latium (Fentress 2003, 547), but also here one should be careful to establish a direct link between the end of the villa and regional amphora production (Marzano 2007, 37).
- ⁸⁶ The following comments on the amphora evidence are discussed in more depth in Van Limbergen et al. 2017a; and Van Limbergen 2018, with the latter also providing an updated overview of production centres and distribution patterns; cf. Carre et al. 2014.
- ⁸⁷ Most of the evidence has been reviewed by André Tchernia and Elise Marlière (Tchernia 1986, 285-292; Marlière 2002). For central Adriatic Italy in particular, see Marengo 2003; Profumo 2005; Paci 2010. See also Bevan 2014.
- ⁸⁸ Wilson 2011, who also discusses the potential influence of changing shipbuilding- and harbour technology, as well as sailing practices, on A.J. Parker's famous shipwreck graph.
- ⁸⁹ Van Limbergen 2018, figs. 3-4.
- ⁹⁰ Cafini/D'Alessandro 2010; Marzano 2013.
- ⁹¹ Morley 1996, 71.
- ⁹² Cf. Launaro 2011 for central Tyrrhenian Italy; see also Van Limbergen 2018; Van Limbergen et al. 2017a.

- ⁹³ For example, this is the period in which the large winery at Tortoreto Muracche doubled its production capacities (Lapenna 1996; Van Limbergen 2011, 81).
- ⁹⁴ Van Limbergen 2011, 75, 81-83; Van Limbergen 2016, 172-173; Van Limbergen 2017.
- ⁹⁵ For a discussion of some of these sites, see Van Limbergen 2011; 2014.
- ⁹⁶ Known workshops are Cologna Marina (only ovoid) (Cipriano/Carre 1989) and Acquabona-Porto Potenza Picena (Monsieur 2009; Carre et al. 2014).
- ⁹⁷ Extra-regional land finds are minimal and only one shipwreck with (local) ovoid amphorae is known from Ancona (Mercando 1975-1981).
- ⁹⁸ The diffusion pattern of these amphorae has been well studied by Stefania Mazzocchin (Mazzocchin 2009); for the shipwreck near Skoljic, see Jurišić 2000, 22; see also Van Limbergen 2016, 176-177.
- ⁹⁹ Mazzocchin 2009, 199.
- ¹⁰⁰ Van Limbergen 2011.
- ¹⁰¹ Tassaux et al. 2001.
- ¹⁰² Vera 1994, note 23, referring to Thorner 1964.
- ¹⁰³ For Suessa, see Cascella 2013, 160; for Cales, see Pedroni 2015.
- ¹⁰⁴ Mertens 1995.
- ¹⁰⁵ What follows is based on data presented in Van Limbergen 2015, 171-340; Van Limbergen/Vermeulen 2017; Van Limbergen et al. 2017a, 353-356; 2017b, 148-150; Vermeulen 2017, 108-161; and Vermeulen et al. 2017. The interested reader is referred to these publications for more in-depth discussion and clarification.
- ¹⁰⁶ Paci 1994-1995;
- ¹⁰⁷ Examples of such developments are Ostra (Dall'Aglio et al. 2012, 14) and Hatria (Azzena 1987, 24-25, 57-60, 82).
- ¹⁰⁸ The best illustration of this process are the well-studied 1st century AD 'Domus dei Coiedii' at Suasa (Giorgi 2012) and the mid-2nd century AD 'Domus di Europa' at Forum Sempronii (Venturini 2007, 62-86), but the trend is also noticeable in the Imperial domus of the Piazza della Cattedrale at Hatria (Azzena 1987) and in the mid-1st century AD domus of the Via Mazzolari at Pisaurum (Baldelli et al. 2005).
- ¹⁰⁹ For example, at Pisaurum (Di Cocco 2004b, 61-62; Campagnoli et al. 2005, 72-75) and Urbs Salvia (Perna 2012).
- ¹¹⁰ Van Limbergen et al. 2017b.
- ¹¹¹ Van Limbergen 2015, 249; Van Limbergen/Vermeulen 2017.
- ¹¹² De Graaf 2012, 42-49; Van Limbergen et al. 2017a, 356-357. A more recent study has estimated urban population densities in the region in the range of 75 to 125 p/ha (Van Limbergen/Vermeulen 2019).
- ¹¹³ Van Limbergen et al. 2017b, 146-147.
- ¹¹⁴ Van Limbergen 2018.
- ¹¹⁵ See supra, note 87.
- ¹¹⁶ Vermeulen 2017. These reflections of changing urban life have been identified in many parts of the peninsula, but it remains unclear if they should a priori be interpreted as negative developments. Some consolidation in public building was to be expected after the heyday of the 1st century AD, and this may in part explain why epigraphy lists less of them in the 2nd-3rd century AD (Horster 2001, 243). At the same time, patterns of local benefaction may have shifted from the providing of monumental architecture to banqueting and food distributions (Patterson 1994, 229). The precise motivation behind the appearance of both the *curator rei publicae* (Jacques 1984) and the *alimenta* (Patterson 1987; Woolf 1990) is also contested.
- ¹¹⁷ For examples, see Van Limbergen/Vermeulen 2017.
- ¹¹⁸ Gamberini 2014.
- ¹¹⁹ But note that the domus represents an exceptionally large and rich domestic unit, whose consumption patterns may not necessarily reflect the overall consumption behaviour of Suasa or other Roman towns in the area (Sisani 2013).
- ¹²⁰ E.g. Barker 1995.
- ¹²¹ E.g. Carandini 1989; Giardinia 1997; Panella 1989.
- ¹²² Patterson 2006, 55-58, 69, 72-88.
- ¹²³ Launaro 2011, in particular 178-183.
- ¹²⁴ Read Alcock 1993, 33-92, for an insightful discussion.
- ¹²⁵ Even if such interpretations are heavily influenced by the literary evidence, in particular Pliny's letter on estate management to Calvisius Rufus (Plin. *Ep.* 3.19) (E.g. Vera 1995).
- ¹²⁶ The demise of the unit is marked by the collapse of the roof (Pignocchi 2001).
- ¹²⁷ Van Limbergen 2018.
- ¹²⁸ Van Limbergen et al. 2017a.
- ¹²⁹ Vernelli 2003, 115-116.
- ¹³⁰ E.g. Liebeschuetz 2007.
- ¹³¹ Alföldy 1974.
- ¹³² Watson 1999, 1-20, remains one of the best accounts of the 3rd-century crisis. The Cyprian plague has received a recent reappraisal in Harper 2015.
- ¹³³ Barker 1995, 251-252.
- ¹³⁴ Witschel 2004.
- ¹³⁵ Verreyke/Vermeulen 2009; Van Limbergen et al. 2017b; Vermeulen 2017, 154-157.
- ¹³⁶ Pupilli 1996, 59-60 (Falerio); Frapiccini 2000 (San Basso).
- ¹³⁷ Pignocchi 2001.
- ¹³⁸ Tassinari et al. 2008.
- ¹³⁹ Christie 2004.
- ¹⁴⁰ Vera 2001; Sfameni 2006.
- ¹⁴¹ E.g. Staffa 1998, 21-23 (Interamnia); Biocco 2000, 66 (Matelica); Luni/Mei 2012, 49 (Forum Sempronii).
- ¹⁴² E.g. Staffa 1998 (Interamnia); Maraldi 2002, 106 (Falerio); Destro/Giorgi 2012, 135 (Suasa); Vermeulen et al. 2017 (Potentia, Trea).
- ¹⁴³ Sfameni 2006, 22, with references.
- ¹⁴⁴ Christie 2016.
- ¹⁴⁵ For an illustration from Pompeii and Herculaneum, see Fant et al. 2013.
- ¹⁴⁶ Swift 2013.
- ¹⁴⁷ Rossiter 2007, 103, 114-115, who links the diversity of used pressing technology in late antique Italy to this mentality.
- ¹⁴⁸ Forbes 1957, 136-137; Decker 2007; Lewit 2007.
- ¹⁴⁹ Rathbone 1983, 90-94.
- ¹⁵⁰ Puschmann 1963, II, 217, 269.

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Legend and Archaeology at Ostia: P. Lucilius Gamala and the Quattro Tempietti

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Abstract

The argument for an archaeological connection between Ostia's four republican temples (the so-called Quattro Tempietti) and the inscriptions CIL XIV 375 and 376 has persisted for more than a century. Yet the evidence for this proposed connection does not stand up to scrutiny. This study traces out the curious development of this correlation and the tension that has arisen between the recently-proposed Augustan dates for 375 and the late Republican date for the construction of the Quattro Tempietti. It then turns to a critical examination of the archaeological evidence upon which the correlation has relied, and presents a preliminary analysis of the earliest stratigraphy of the temples.¹

INTRODUCTION

During the spring campaign of 1886 Rodolfo Lanciani's excavation team uncovered four small, identical temples at Ostia (fig. 1). These *quattro tempietti*, oriented away from the ancient course of the river Tiber and facing south toward *decumanus*, were found in the area just west of the theater (fig. 2). Yet the simultaneous discovery of the spectacular Mithraeum of the Seven Spheres and its adjacent *domus* dominated the report in the *Notizie degli Scavi*. Lanciani's observations on the temples were brief. In the easternmost temple, he noted that an altar to Venus had been uncovered;

in the westernmost temple, an epigraphic mosaic was found *in situ*.²

It was another 20 years before the Quattro Tempietti became a topic of real scholarly interest. In 1907 Albert Van Buren presented a paper at the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in which he made two important claims about the identification of Ostian temples. First, he argued that the enormous temple in the Forum of Ostia, identified at that time as the Temple of Vulcan, might in fact be the Capitulum.³ He also suggested a possible connection between inscriptions CIL XIV 375 and 376 and the Quattro Tempietti. Van Buren displayed a plan of the relevant area of Ostia and the temples to which he referred (fig. 3). He summarized in his abstract:

Temples BCDE, to judge from their style of construction, were built in the first century B.C. and restored in the second century A.D. They are identified with the four temples of Venus, Fortuna, Ceres, and Spes, which, according to C.I.L. XIV, 375 (=Dessau, 6147), P. Lucilius Gamala *constituit* about the middle of the second century A.D. From C.I.L. XIV, 376 it appears that this refers to a restoration. Temple B is identified by means of the altar inscribed *Veneri | sacrum* found in it (Not. Scav. 1886, p.127; C.I.L. XIV, 4127) as one of the four temples of C.I.L. XIV, 375; as the latter inscription mentions the four temples in similar terms, and as BCDE form a homogeneous group, it is highly probable that the two groups are identical.⁴

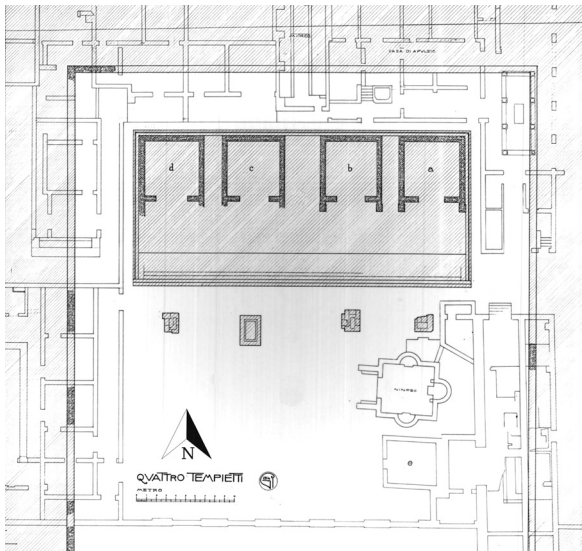


Fig. 1. Plan of the excavated area of the Quattro Tempietti (adapted from Paribeni 1915, Tav. I).

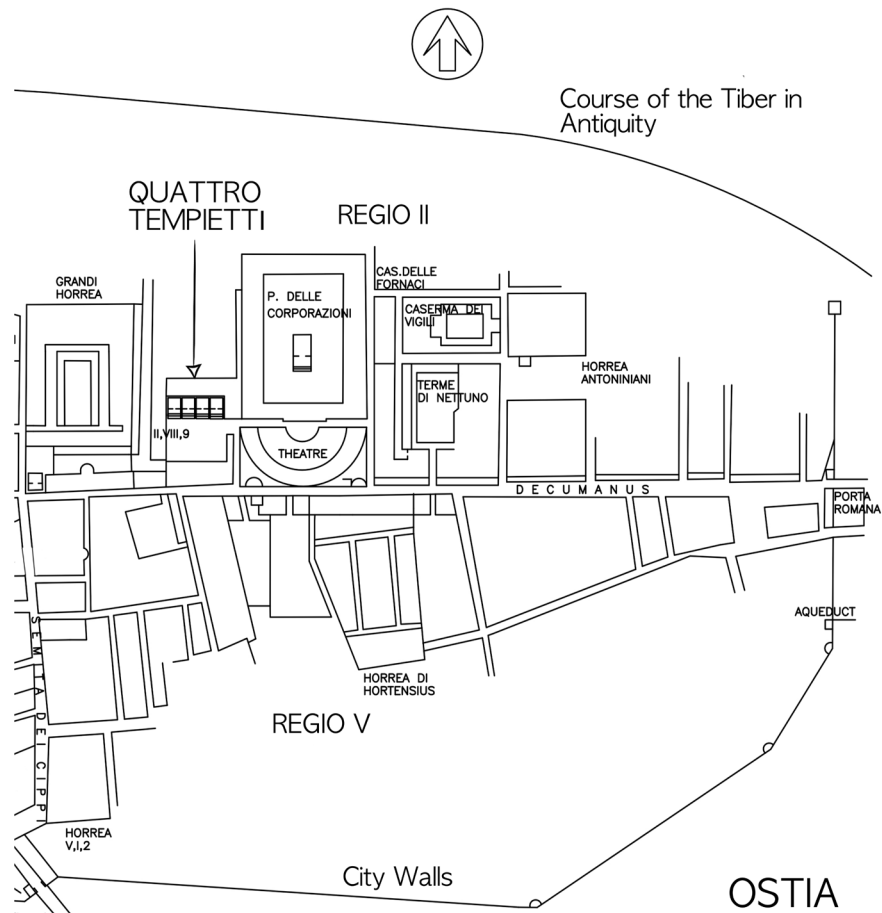


Fig. 2. Plan of the eastern section of Ostia, showing the location of the Quattro Tempietti (adapted from Jan Theo Bakker, ostia-antica.org).

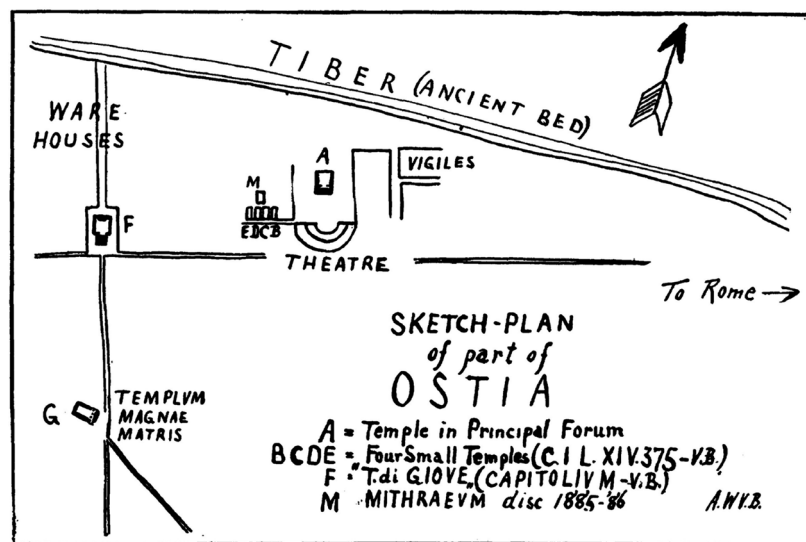


Fig. 3. Van Buren's slide showing the temples discussed in his presentation (Van Buren 1907, 55).

Van Buren never expanded his presentation into a formal publication, but his proposals acquired remarkable traction in Ostian studies; in fact, his identification of the Capitolium has only recently come under scrutiny.⁵ Yet the identification of four temples named in an inscription with four temples visible in the archaeological record is methodologically problematic by today's standards, representing a 'positivist fallacy' in which archaeological artifacts are employed as witnesses to textual evidence without the necessary critical caveats. Nevertheless, the connection between the inscriptions and the temples has remained largely unchallenged, and over time it has ossified into a 'fact' of Ostian archaeology. Scholars widely accept that the inscriptions and the temples must be studied together. In recent decades, new interpretations of the proposed connection have decisively shaped our view of late republican Ostia, particularly in regard to its buildings and its civic institutions. In recent years, compelling arguments for an Augustan or 1st century AD date for *CIL* XIV 375 have rendered this connection increasingly difficult to defend, because the archaeological evidence points to an early- to mid- 1st century BC date for the construction of Quattro Tempietti. The dates simply do not line up.

This study, therefore, has three principal aims. The first is to understand how the connection between the temples and the inscriptions has developed since Van Buren's proposal, and to evaluate the cogency of these arguments in light of the available archaeological evidence. The second aim is to examine three important studies of *CIL* XIV 375 which argue a post-republican date for the inscription, and to put these ideas in conversation with one another. Finally, the Quattro Tempietti are considered on their own terms, as archaeological artifacts, through an examination of the excavation records and publications, and I present a stratigraphic analysis with tentative dates for the earliest phases of the temples.

CIL XIV 375 AND 376:

DISCOVERY AND EARLY INTERPRETATION

The tall, narrow travertine inscription, which would eventually be designated as *CIL* XIV 375, was discovered in the Forum of Portus in the 16th century and brought to Rome to be displayed in the gardens of the cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi on the Quirinal, where antiquarians such as Stefanus Pighius and Pirro Ligorio drew and transcribed it in the 16th century (fig. 4).⁶ By the 19th century, no trace of the inscription could be found, although a

fragment had apparently been seen in the previous century. The text of the inscription, reconstructed from various transcriptions, records the deeds and honors of a P. Lucilius Gamala (see appendix 1).

In the mid-19th century Theodor Mommsen re-discovered records of this inscription.⁷ In an 1849 publication he dated Gamala's career to the Augustan age, mainly on the reasoning that the *bellum*

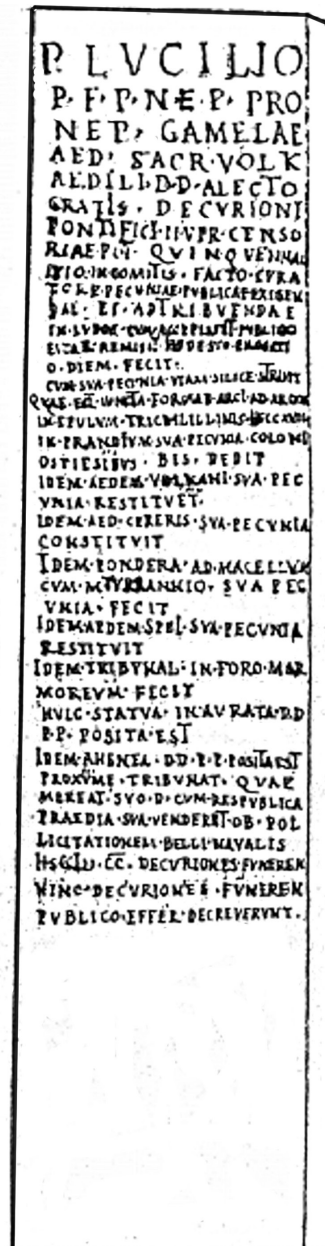


Fig. 4. Pirro Ligorio's drawing of *CIL* XIV 375 (adapted from Zevi 2004, 48 fig. 1a).



Fig. 5. CIL XIV 376 in the Vatican Museums (adapted from Zevi 2004, 48 fig. 1b).

navale in line 42 must refer to the conflict with Sextus Pompey in 38 BC.⁸ Less than a decade after Mommsen's publication, Carlo Ludovico Visconti discovered an inscription in the Vatican's Galleria Lapidaria that bore physical and textual similarities to the inscription published by Mommsen (fig. 5).⁹ This new discovery, subsequently published as CIL XIV 376 (hereafter 376; see appendix 2) also records the career of a P. Lucilius Gamala.

Unlike 375, however, 376 can be dated with some certainty from the reference in line 18 to the restoration of the baths of Divus Pius; this provides a *terminus post quem* of 160 AD, the year of Antoninus Pius' death.¹⁰ The careers recorded in each inscription were so remarkably similar that Mommsen went to print in 1877 stating his opinion that both inscriptions did in fact refer to the same person, a P. Lucilius Gamala, who lived in the 2nd century AD.¹¹ By this chronology, the *bellum navale* could not have been the war with Sextus Pompey, and Mommsen suggested that it referred instead to a battle from the Marcomannic Wars (ca AD 166-180). That an epigrapher of Mommsen's experience and status changed his opinion on the date of 375 by two centuries set a precedent for the wide-ranging dates put forth by 20th century epigraphers.

It was Mommsen's revised date for 375 (i.e., the 2nd century AD) that Van Buren used when he presented his research in 1907. Van Buren never argued that anyone named Gamala *constructed* the Quattro Tempietti. Following Mommsen's conclusion that the two inscriptions recorded variants of the deeds of the same, 2nd-century Gamala, Van Buren only claimed that it was Gamala who may have *restored* the *aedes* of Venus, Fortuna, Ceres and Spes over the course of his long and productive career. According to Van Buren, these temples might be identified as the Quattro Tempietti.

A CENTURY OF SCHOLARSHIP ON GAMALA AND THE QUATTRO TEMPIETTI

Jérôme Carcopino: *Distinguishing the Gamala careers and a new date for Gamala senior*

In 1911 Jérôme Carcopino published a study arguing that 375 must refer to the career of a Gamala distinct from that of the Gamala in 376.¹² He correctly observed that the munificences and offices named in each inscription are very different in the details, and in fact the *res gestae* of the Gamala in 376 (now commonly referred to as Gamala *iunior*) appears to have been fashioned in imitation of 375, which recorded the deeds of Gamala *senior*,

an ancestor.¹³ Leaving Gamala *iunior* in the Antonine period, Carcopino redated the death of Gamala *senior* to AD 42 or later, arguing that the inscription had been discovered at Portus and must therefore postdate the beginning of the construction of the Claudian harbor.¹⁴ He further suggested that the *bellum navale* was part of the conquest of Britain.¹⁵

By this time Van Buren's correlation between the temples and the inscriptions was widely known, and Carcopino wrestled with the problem of maintaining the connection. Having established that the inscriptions recorded the careers of men from two different centuries, it was now clear that while the Antonine Gamala had restored a temple to Venus, Gamala *senior* was actually responsible for the construction of four temples, including a temple to Venus. Carcopino himself acknowledged the exceptional difficulties involved in attempting to date the temples, which had not been fully excavated at the time.¹⁶ Nevertheless he proposed that they might have been built in the Augustan period, and thus could have been built early in the career of a Gamala *senior* whose funerary dedication was erected sometime after AD 42.¹⁷

Some Difficulties in Dating CIL XIV 375

By extracting the career of Gamala *senior* from that of his Antonine descendant, Carcopino reopened the mystery of 375's date. Before continuing with the summary of 19th century scholarship, it is important to understand a few of the difficulties in dating an inscription which contains a narrative that is both richly detailed and frustratingly vague. For example, 375 lacks any reference to individuals that are currently known elsewhere in the epigraphic record. The same issue arises with specific events such as the *bellum navale* - could it refer to a known sea battle? If so, which one? The absence of imperial titles or names could be taken as evidence that the inscription is republican. Of course, Gamala *senior* may have lived in the imperial period but could have had little to do with the imperial household. Marcus Turranius, with whom Gamala made the weights for the *macellum*, lacks a cognomen. This could mean that the inscription dates to the Republic or early Imperial period, when the absence of a cognomen was more common, or perhaps the composer of the text simply left it off. If the *tribunal quaestor(is)* in line 39 is to be interpreted as that of the *quaestor Ostiensis*, a *terminus ante quem* of AD 44 would be certain, since the office did not exist after that time.¹⁸ But if it actually refers to the *quaestor aerarii*, as was suggested by Lily Ross Taylor in 1936, we

are again without an anchor for the date. As we can see the process of studying this inscription involves manipulating a number of moving parts, and a variety of dates have been proposed. To understand the main arguments for these dates, and the continued correlation with the Quattro Tempietti, we now return to some of the most influential scholarship on CIL XIV 375.

Roberto Paribeni: The Lone Skeptic

Roberto Paribeni published the final report on the Quattro Tempietti excavations in 1915 in which he included a very brief discussion of the possible correlation with the Gamala inscriptions. Aspects of this report are discussed in greater detail below. The archaeological evidence showed that the construction of the temples occurred considerably earlier than the Augustan period, between 110-70 BC. In no uncertain terms, Paribeni stated that either the temples of Venus, Ceres, Fortuna and Spes had nothing to do with the Quattro Tempietti, or that the '*constituit*' of 375 must be understood to mean 'restored' and not 'built', or that Carcopino's Claudian date for Gamala *senior*'s career was wrong.¹⁹

Lily Ross Taylor: A Trajanic Gamala senior

In her 1912 doctoral dissertation on the cults of Ostia, Lily Ross Taylor admitted some hesitation in ascribing the construction of Quattro Tempietti to Gamala *senior*, because the text records that Gamala consecutively constructed the temples of Venus, Fortuna and Ceres. He then donated the scales with M. Turranius, and only after this did he construct the temple to Spes. Given the fact that the four temples are identical, and constructed on the same platform, Taylor concluded that the interruption of the list of the four temples by the donation of the scales at the meat market was 'strange.'²⁰

Yet in 1936 Taylor published a new study of the Lucilii Gamalae in which she argued that the career of Gamala *senior* dated to the Trajanic period, and that the *bellum navale* was not an actual war but a *naumachia* of Trajan held in AD 109, which is recorded in the *Fasti Ostienses*.²¹ In his 1915 article on the Quattro Tempietti, Paribeni had dated a renovation of the Quattro Tempietti to the 2nd century AD.²² Taylor suggested that the renovation might have been sufficiently substantial to merit *constituit* ('constructed') in relation to the temples of Venus, Fortuna, Ceres and Spes in 375.

In 1960 Russell Meiggs evaluated and ultimately rejected Taylor's theories, calling them 'extremely vulnerable,' and citing a handful of objections, such as an uncertainty about the text of the *Fasti Ostiensis* for AD 109, and a recent study that had shown that the *sestertius* commemorating Trajan's harbor had been produced in AD 112, three years after the proposed *naumachia*.²³ Meiggs asserted his agreement with Mommsen's original thesis that Gamala senior was Augustan, and painted a picture of the historical context of his lifetime and that of his descendant:

The Gamala of [375] was born in the late Republic, probably between 80 and 60 B.C. He had reached maturity when Caesar crossed the Rubicon and was a leading figure in Ostia during the difficult years of civil war. He lived to see the new order established after Actium and deserved the public funeral that was voted to him when he died under Augustus. His descendant of the second century [376] was very conscious of the family tradition of public service and even the inscription that commemorated him was closely modelled in form and style on that of his Augustan predecessor.²⁴

According to Meiggs, the *bellum navale* referred to the war against Sextus Pompey in 38-36 BC. In regard to Gamala senior's possible connection to the Quattro Tempietti, Meiggs notes that the temples to Venus, Fortuna, Ceres and Spes 'have been tentatively identified with three of the four small temples on a common platform to the west of the theatre and the slightly later temple at the corner of the Decumanus and the Via dei Molini.'²⁵ Meiggs did not believe that the temple of Spes could be associated with the Quattro Tempietti since it was not listed consecutively in the inscription. Thus the temples of Venus, Fortuna and Ceres belonged to the Quattro Tempietti, leaving the fourth temple unidentified. The temple of Spes could be located a little distance away up the decumanus, where a small temple with workmanship similar to that of the Quattro Tempietti was discovered. For a date, Meiggs observed that the 'style [of] the workmanship seems to fall between the Sullan walls and the Augustan work in the theatre. A date toward the end of the Republic suits our chronology of the Augustan Gamala.'²⁶

A major turning point in scholarship on the Quattro Tempietti and Gamala senior came about in 1973, when Fausto Zevi suggested a much earlier date for Gamala's career. His approach to the date of 375 deviated from the others in that he used archaeological evidence from the Quattro Tempietti excavations as the lynchpin for dating Gamala senior's career. For reasons that are unclear, Zevi was convinced that Gamala senior must have been the builder of all four republican temples, and stated so in no uncertain terms '*... basti dire che la proposta del Van Buren va accettata senza riserve: i Quattro Tempietti sono certamente quelli di Venere, Fortuna, Cerere e Spes*'.²⁷ Giovanni Becatti had followed Paribeni in ascribing the construction of the podium and the four temples to the Sullan period (110-70 BC).²⁸ Zevi accepted this Sullan date for the Quattro Tempietti; he remarked that very few finds from the excavations of the Quattro Tempietti had been published or illustrated, but he also observed that the selection of published finds from the lowest levels excavated around the temples did not date later than the end of the 2nd or beginning of the 1st century BC.²⁹

Thus, Zevi argued, although Meiggs was certainly correct to argue that Gamala senior's career did not belong in the Antonine period, the Ostian statesman could not have been born between 80 and 60 BC, for the Quattro Tempietti were clearly constructed by about 80 BC - and Gamala senior had been in charge of this undertaking.³⁰ The new chronology proposed by Zevi placed the birth of Gamala senior around 115 BC and his death at 35 BC; the *bellum navale* was not the war with Sextus Pompey, but instead the pirate wars of 67 BC, led by Pompey the Great.³¹

John D'Arms: Gamala senior and the Imitatio Caesaris

In 2000, John D'Arms proposed a new approach to solve the 'scholarly impasse' between Meiggs and Zevi. Gamala senior had been a generous citizen, funding games and theater performances and banquets. Silvio Panciera had cited the lack of evidence for the distribution of money and food and the giving of banquets among municipal elites during the Republican period as a point of serious consideration.³² The absence of parallels for the feasts listed in lines 17-20 of 375 suggest that Gamala's deeds were extraordinary for the late Republic, and therefore his career might be located in a later period.

Taking into consideration Panciera's observations, D'Arms focused principally on the feasts given by Gamala senior: an *epulum* for the colonists on 217 *triclinia*, followed by two *prandia*. In an earlier study D'Arms had suggested that Julius Caesar had 'show[n] originality of the first order' in promoting his political aims through public feasts.³³ Most notably, he gave enormous feasts in celebration of his triumphs: an *epulum publicum* in 46 and two *prandia* in 45. The *prandia* were recorded in the *fasti*.³⁴ D'Arms was struck by the fact that the only known parallels to this precise combination of feasts are those given by Gamala senior: 'The conclusion seems inescapable: Gamala senior, in offering an *epulum* to the colonists of Ostia in 217 *triclinia*, and, in addition, at a separate occasion or occasions, *prandium bis*, was consciously imitating Julius Caesar, who followed his first triumph with an *epulum* at 22,000 *triclinia*, and his second, the following year, with *duo prandia*.'³⁵

D'Arms noted that a date after 45 BC for Gamala's feasts could also be supported by the fact that Gamala senior had held the office of *Ilvir quinquennial(is)*. Meiggs had observed that there is no record of this 5-year office in the earliest preserved fragments of Ostia's *fasti*, which covered the period from 49 through 45 BC, and as the title is regularly present in later *fasti*, it ought to have been recorded in 45 if the office existed at the time.³⁶ According to D'Arms' compelling reconstruction of the relative chronology of Gamala's benefactions (which, like his offices, were probably presented in chronological order), he must have held his final office as *curator* when he made his promised contribution to the *bellum navale*. Like Meiggs and Mommsen before him, D'Arms identified this event with the war against Sextus Pompey.

This chronology presents several difficulties, which D'Arms acknowledges and discusses in his article. A significant consequence is that the construction of the Quattro Tempietti must also be relocated a generation later, and certainly after 46 BC.³⁷ According to D'Arms, this substantial redating of the temples

seems preferable to the only possible alternative, which would require us to abandon the view - launched so long ago by Van Buren, recently reinforced by studies of Zevi, and now generally accepted by all Ostian specialists - that Gamala's initiative lay behind the construction of the 'quattro tempietti'; instead, we would be compelled to conclude that the locations of the temples of Venus, Fortuna, Ceres and Spes mentioned in the text should be sought elsewhere.³⁸

One wonders whether D'Arms had begun to suspect that the link between Gamala senior and the Quattro Tempietti was tenuous at best.

Fausto Zevi: A Later Date for Gamala senior

At the 2002 conference dedicated to the memory of John D'Arms, Zevi revised his earlier arguments for the chronology of Gamala senior.³⁹ For the construction of the Quattro Tempietti, Zevi now suggested 50 BC,⁴⁰ and conceded that the war with Sextus Pompey could have been Gamala's *bellum navale*.⁴¹ However, D'Arms' post-46 date for Gamala's feasts remained incompatible with Zevi's new proposed arc for Gamala senior's career (ca 75-37 BC) because if the events in the inscription are chronological, then too many deeds would need to take place in a relatively short period for the *bellum navale* in 37 to serve as the conclusion of Gamala's career (a problem which D'Arms himself had acknowledged). Zevi therefore rejected D'Arms' theory of an *imitatio Caesaris*.⁴²

Zevi also discussed a new date for the creation and erection of Gamala senior's inscription. When the descriptions and the drawing of 375 are compared to the still-extant 376, it is immediately obvious that the inscriptions are similar to each other not only in the texts but in the size and shape of the stones. The catalogue from an Ostia exhibition in Geneva had described 376 as part of a herm, with a space at the top for the attachment of a portrait.⁴³ Zevi argued that 375 may also have formed part of a portrait herm, and that both inscriptions were carved and set up, as a pair, in the late Antonine period.⁴⁴ Zevi concluded that while 375 should not be considered in any way to be a genuine republican inscription, it nevertheless records the deeds of an ancestral Gamala who lived in the late Republic: '*tutta l'operazione ha un compiaciuto sapore retrospettivo...ma è sbagliato (e nell'errore sono caduti in molti) ritenere per ciò stesso automaticamente che all'età imperiale appartenga anche il nostro personaggio [Gamala senior]*'.⁴⁵

Finally, in 2012, Zevi again shifted the construction date for the Quattro Tempietti. Considering the deities with which the temples are traditionally associated, he drew a connection between the goddesses Ceres, Spes, Fortuna and Venus with the abundance and prosperity that Rome would have enjoyed when Pompey the Great freed the sea of pirates (67 BC) and when he received the *cura annonae* a decade later. The construction of the temples was thus reassigned to between 65 and 55 BC.⁴⁶

Silvio Panciera's study of 375, which was also presented at the D'Arms memorial conference, offered a more plausible solution to the question of the relationship between the two inscriptions.⁴⁷ In agreement with the theory that both inscriptions were portrait herms, he presented compelling evidence that the herm of Gamala *senior* must have been set up in the Augustan period and not in the 2nd century. Panciera located an excellent comparandum in the funerary inscription of *negotiator* L. Licinius Nepos (CIL VI 9659), which he dated to the first quarter of the 1st century AD.⁴⁸ He observed that the similarities to the Gamala *senior* inscription, especially in regard to dimensions, the arrangement of paragraphs, and orthography, are remarkable. He also cited the *elogia* of Arezzo, which were replicas of the texts of the *elogia* in the Forum of Augustus, for their similarity in arrangement.⁴⁹ He further noted that while the repeated use of pronouns found in Gamala *senior*'s inscription (*hic*, *idem*, etc) is rare in the Republic, it is very common at the beginning of the Imperial period.⁵⁰ Finally, the final line of 375 ([*Hu*]nc *decuriones* *funere pu[b]lico effer[endum] cen[s]uerunt*) is a formula that is not attested in later periods, but is common in the Augustan period.⁵¹ The Augustan features are so strong, in Panciera's view, that a 2nd-century date is untenable, and it is very unlikely that a stone-engraver in the late 2nd century possessed both the desire and ability to give the monument so many distinctly Augustan characteristics. He calls instead for a return to the earlier theory that the 2nd-century monument to Gamala *junior* (376) was simply modeled on that of the Augustan Gamala *senior*.⁵² Panciera also returns to the new chronology that had been suggested by D'Arms, and addresses the problem presented by compressing so much of Gamala *senior*'s career between the years of 45 and 36 BC. A solution, he suggests, can be found by reconsidering where in Gamala's career the *bellum navale* actually belongs. The *bellum navale* is mentioned in the last description of his civic deeds, but it is named as the principal reason for which a bronze statue was erected in his honor. Consequently, the *bellum navale* may have taken place at an earlier point in his career, but it was only recorded at the end of his *elogium* in connection with the erection of the statue.⁵³

If we accept this explanation, Gamala's activities could have extended beyond 36 BC, and Zevi's main objection to D'Arms' proposed chronology is

sufficiently addressed. Yet in their 2010 publication of Ostian inscriptions, Zevi, Caldelli and Cébeillac-Gervasoni did not take these points into consideration, and instead reasserted the claim that Gamala's career dates to the late Republic due to the topographical connection to Ostia (i.e., the Quattro Tempietti) as well as the use of *propterea quod* in line 40, a phrase that they assign mainly to the literature of the Republican period (but which does, in fact, occur in later periods).⁵⁴

CIL XIV 375 as an Augustan Inscription

As we can see, the conflicting views presented by Zevi and Panciera have left us at yet another scholarly impasse, although not an unsolvable one. In order to move forward with this inscription, two issues must be resolved. The first is the presumed connection between the Gamalae and the Quattro Tempietti. This is actually an archaeological question, and is the subject of the next section of this study. The second issue is that of the *bellum navale*.

In 2003 Olli Salomies revived an earlier idea, posited by Taylor and others, that the *bellum navale* refers to a *naumachia* instead of a war - in fact, he concludes that this interpretation is the only possible one.⁵⁵ Salomies came to this conclusion through an examination of the text in lines 40-44, particularly the phrase *ob pollicitationem belli navalis*. In literary sources, he explains, *pollicitatio* is used for (usually empty) promises made to people in order to convince them to do something; in epigraphic sources, it typically appears in municipal contexts, and refers to 'promises' of deeds related to the municipal sphere. Neither of these uses of *pollicitatio* implies war preparations. Something has been promised, and Salomies points out that since the *res publica* had to sell *praedia*, that promise must have been made by the community or organs of the community.⁵⁶ Furthermore, *pollicitatio* takes the objective genitive - the word in the genitive expresses what is being promised, in this case, a *bellum navale*.

Salomies also examines the use of the term *bellum navale* in literature.⁵⁷ His survey shows that the term appears frequently in Latin literature, often in discussions of the phenomenon of maritime wars or their operations, but individual wars are given fuller descriptions (i.e. *bellum piraticum* for Pompey the Great's war against the pirates). The absence of any further description of the *bellum navale* in 375, combined with the obvious problems presented by a community 'promising' a real war, lead to the conclusion that the naval war to which Gamala

donated funds was not a war at all, but a naval spectacle, or *naumachia*. Salomies cites Taylor and other scholars who have identified instances where *proelium navale* is used for a *naumachia* and he adds another to this list: Ovid refers to a *naumachia* as a *belli navalis imago* (*Ars Amatoria* 1.171).⁵⁸

Although each epigrapher approached the dating of the inscription from separate starting points, the studies of D'Arms, Salomies, and Panciera all intersect at the Augustan period.

D'Arms and Panciera arrived at this date for the career of Gamala by examining different sets of evidence; both are concerned with the social and political *milieu* in which Gamala operated, but D'Arms examines the literary evidence for Caesar's feasts to provide a reasonable *terminus post quem*, and Panciera has located epigraphic comparanda dating to the 1st century AD. Furthermore, Panciera and Salomies have each provided rational reasons to unburden the *bellum navale* of the responsibility for dating Gamala *senior's* career.

The long-presumed association between the Quattro Tempietti and Gamala *senior* has been a significant roadblock for those who have attempted to study and date 375. Salomies concluded his study with this statement: 'If [the Quattro Tempietti] could be dated to the Triumviral or early Augustan period, this would produce an early Augustan Gamala Senior, a result most scholars would probably find acceptable and satisfactory.'⁵⁹ This echoes the concern of D'Arms, quoted earlier in this study. Established as a chronological anchor for Gamala's career by Zevi in 1973, the construction of the Quattro Tempietti has fluctuated considerably with each subsequent study of 375. The crucial question, then, is one that has been overlooked in the past century of scholarship: What, if anything, does Gamala *senior's* inscription have to do with the Quattro Tempietti?

THE FORGOTTEN HISTORY OF THE QUATTRO TEMPIETTI

Let us return to Lanciani's excavations of the Quattro Tempietti. In 1885-1886 the archaeologist's campaign focused on clearing the area of land lying between the two highest landmarks in Ostia - the theatre and the so-called *tempio di Vulcano* which is now known as the Capitolium.

In April 1886 Lanciani published his first report on the area where the Quattro Tempietti would be discovered. The report begins with the assurance that the excavations and drawings were still underway, but that so far his team had found some habitations of mediocre importance that were reconstructed in the 4th century and an elite *domus*.⁶⁰ The



Fig. 6. The altar to Venus in the easternmost temple of the Quattro Tempietti (photo Daniel Damgaard).

elite *domus* must refer to the House of Apuleius, but what of the unimportant habitations? They may have been the Quattro Tempietti themselves, or perhaps an industrial structure immediately to the east, which was excavated the following month.⁶¹ Lanciani gave a brief description of some of the epigraphic finds, including an imperial period marble altar inscribed with a dedication to Venus: VENERI SACRVM, (fig. 6; CIL XIV 4127).⁶² In his description of the state of the excavation area, he observed that it had been heavily disturbed, probably during the excavations carried out for Pope Pius VI.⁶³ Subsequent research on mithraea of Ostia has revealed that the adjacent Mithraeum of the Seven Spheres may actually have been discovered by Pettrini in the early 19th century, which might explain the state of the area when Lanciani found it.⁶⁴

In May 1886 Lanciani published a discussion of the significant structures in the area, although he wrote that he could not say much about the Quattro Tempietti because of the great damage done to them when they were converted to another use in more recent times.⁶⁵

The excavation summaries published by Lanciani in the *Notizie degli Scavi* remain the only available source of information on the early excavations of the Quattro Tempietti; the Fondazione Lanciani in the Biblioteca dell'Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte holds two volumes of Lanciani's notes and drawings on Ostia but they do not contain reports of the area of the Quattro Tempietti, nor even an entry dated to the years of their excavation.⁶⁶ The paucity of documentation from the first excavations is unfortunate but affects only a small percentage of the finds from the area, which Dante Vaglieri would excavate more extensively beginning in 1911. Lanciani's work focused primarily on clearing the area around the temple platform, while the House of Apuleius and its mithraeum to the north were more thoroughly explored and documented.

Lanciani did in fact publish the most significant detail about the Quattro Tempietti - namely, the disturbed state in which he discovered the temples. Not only had the structures been altered to serve another function, perhaps as early as the 4th century AD, the area had been further disturbed by excavators in the 18th or early 19th century. That three Late Antique burials were later discovered during Vaglieri's excavations in the forecourt of the temples is further evidence that the function of the area changed drastically in later centuries.⁶⁷

DISMANTLING AN OLD THEORY

We are now in a position to make a better assessment of Van Buren's correlation that has influenced discussions of the Quattro Tempietti and the Lucilii Gamalae for more than a century. Van Buren's argument hinges solely on the discovery of an altar to Venus in the easternmost temple, and he connects this discovery to the temple of Venus named in line 23 of *CIL XIV 375* ('*idem aedem veneris sua pecunia constituit*') and line 21 of 376 ('*idem aedem veneris impensa sua restituit*').

As discussed in the introduction, this practice of making one-to-one correlations between text and known or visible archaeological remains (the 'positivist fallacy') is, by itself, methodologically unsound. When we consider the archaeological evidence presented by Lanciani, the correlation is more than problematic - it is untenable. Lanciani explicitly stated that the Quattro Tempietti had been heavily disturbed by previous excavations and had even been converted to another use, possibly in late antiquity.⁶⁸ Both of these conditions are strong indications that any objects discovered on and around the temples could have originated

from elsewhere. The afterlife of portable objects such as statue bases and altars is always a factor to consider when assessing provenance.⁶⁹ We simply do not know whether any of the temples of the Quattro Tempietti was dedicated to Venus.

Finally, there is the practical consideration that, like Rome, Ostia was probably home to more than one temple, altar or shrine to Venus over the course of its millennium-long occupation.⁷⁰ The other three temples contained no clues to their original identity - no evidence whatsoever for identifying them with Ceres, Spes or Fortuna. Anyway, as Taylor and Meiggs pointed out long ago, the 375 inscription does not list the four temples as an integral unit, and yet the Quattro Tempietti are identical and sit on a single platform, representing a unified construction project. The integral nature of the temples is such that their construction would take place sequentially if not simultaneously, and the foundations and platform for all of them would have been built at the same time, before building the four individual superstructures.

The archaeological evidence does not support a correlation between the inscriptions of the Lucilii Gamalae and the Quattro Tempietti. If we wish to understand their places in Ostia's history and landscape, the inscriptions and the temples must be studied independently.

To begin with, the text of 375 reveals that P. Lucilius Gamala *senior* made significant changes to Ostia's urban landscape, and his building projects and other civic contributions were commemorated on a now-lost travertine slab. We must carefully consider the archaeological and historical implications of assigning a firm date to Gamala *senior's* inscription. The Augustan date proposed by Salomies, Panciera and D'Arms certainly represents a possible time for benefactions such as those carried out by Gamala, especially beginning in the last quarter of the 1st century BC, when Agrippa constructed the theater and a group of freedmen paid for a renovation of the Quattro Tempietti (evidenced by an inscriptional mosaic found in the westernmost temple, *CIL XIV S 4134*). Even the Augustan period might be too early; a *forum* is mentioned in lines 16 and 34, and archaeologists have traditionally dated the temple of Roma and Augustus, which was the earliest known Ostian structure to be decorated with marble, to the reign of Tiberius.⁷¹ Yet Roberta Geremia Nucci's extensive and thorough research on this temple strongly supports more recent arguments that it was constructed during Augustus' lifetime, possibly in AD 6.⁷² In light of this new date for the Temple of Roma and Augustus, certain construction

projects such as paving the forum and providing it with a marble tribunal, would perhaps not be out of place in a late Augustan building program.

The principal historical implications lie in the list of public offices held by Gamala. For example, Zevi's very early date for Gamala's career set the stage for a discussion of the office of *duovir* at Ostia, and Cébeillac-Gervasoni cited the inscription in support of her argument that the office was already in place by 80 BC.⁷³ Such an early date for the office of the *duovir* would have significant ramifications for our understanding of Ostia's political autonomy in the period immediately following the Social Wars, and is a prime example of why we should be careful not to rely excessively (or solely) upon this inscription in our attempts to work through thorny chronological issues. The act of revising Gamala *senior's* chronology can also result in significant revisions to prosopographical studies.⁷⁴ The need is for further studies of 375 that are not constrained by the assumption that Gamala *senior* was a republican statesman.

A PRELIMINARY STRATIGRAPHY OF THE EARLIEST PHASES OF THE QUATTRO TEMPIETTI

Zevi's original proposal that Gamala constructed the Quattro Tempietti around 80 BC was influenced by Paribeni's date for the temples, but since then, the fluctuating dates for Gamala *senior's* career have resulted in fluctuating dates for the temples' construction - was it 80 BC, 50 BC, 'certainly after 45 BC', or Augustan? When we examine the Quattro Tempietti as archaeological artifacts, unencumbered by the chronological issues presented by their old role in the Gamala narrative, we can gain new insight into their place in the late republican landscape of Ostia. Material recovered from stratigraphic excavation of the temples can provide us with a tentative construction date. In this final section, we turn to the excavation of the area of the Quattro Tempietti that was carried out decades after Lanciani's initial discovery. I have studied both published and unpublished reports and drawings to understand the excavation methodology, and to reconstruct the stratigraphy and chronology of the earliest phases of the Quattro Tempietti.⁷⁵

This is not the first study to examine the question of the archaeology of the Quattro Tempietti. Several important studies have explored some of the archival material associated with the excavations, most notably those of Patrizio Pensabene, Anna-Katharina Rieger, and Laura Sole. Sole's 2002 article, which focused primarily on the Mon-

umento Repubblicano across from the theater, also presented discussions of other republican structures, including the Quattro Tempietti. Sole's study is the only one I am aware of which relied on evidence from the *Giornale dello Scavo*. Her proposed date for the earliest phase of the Quattro Tempietti (early 2nd century BC) is, however, much too early.

Anna-Katharina Rieger's 2004 monograph contains an entire chapter with proposed reconstructions of the layout of the Quattro Tempietti in all of its different phases. Rieger appears to have had access to the inventory records, which I have not personally seen. Her appendix organizes some of published excavated material and is valuable for its bibliography; however the provenance of the objects is sometimes mislabeled, much is missing (ceramics are completely absent) and several objects from areas outside the area Quattro Tempietti are mistakenly included in her catalogue. These issues mostly affect the part of her study concerned with the earliest phase of the temples and not the sections on the later phases.

In his 2007 monograph on the marbles of Ostia, Patrizio Pensabene includes a valuable section on the principal architectural phases and marbles of the Quattro Tempietti, but there are no architectural marbles that can be positively associated with the earliest phases of the building. All of these studies rely upon archival materials, but with the exception of Pensabene's reexamination of the marbles (some of which are *in situ*) there has been no study or reevaluation of the excavated archaeological materials, which may be long-lost. Each of these studies subscribes to the theory that Gamala *senior* constructed the Quattro Tempietti.⁷⁶

Let us now turn to the early 20th century excavations of the Quattro Tempietti. Decades after Lanciani discovered the Quattro Tempietti, director Vaglieri and his field supervisor Raffaele Finelli conducted excavations of the temples, their platform, and the *area sacra* surrounding them. Over the course of the excavations, between 1911-1913, Vaglieri and Finelli paid attention to stratigraphy and collected and divided materials according to stratigraphic context. Vaglieri published interim reports in the *Notizie degli Scavi*, and Finelli typed the longer, more detailed reports for Ostia's *Giornale dello Scavo*, which remains unpublished. Vaglieri passed away suddenly in December 1913 and the task of the final report fell to Paribeni, who published it as a short article in 1915.

Finelli and Vaglieri identified three primary phases of the Quattro Tempietti, which are designated with ordinal numbers. Paribeni made use of

their terminology in his final report. ‘*Primi tempietti*’ refers to the ancient foundations of an earlier structure found beneath the foundations of the platform visible today. ‘*secondi tempietti*’ refers to the construction of that platform and its four temples. The ‘*terzi tempietti*’ represent a substantial renovation project involving the rebuilding of the easternmost temple in latericium bricks and possibly a refurbishment of the other temples as well.

Vaglieri and Finelli assigned consistent ordinal numbers to each layer of soil (*strato*) excavated in the area around the Quattro Tempietti. These are not to be confused with the strata excavated within the platform itself; a *terzo strato* excavated within one of the temples is not at all associated with the *terzo strato* of the area around the Quattro Tempietti. The strata of the area are numbered *primo* through *quinto* with the lowest or deepest excavated layer (sitting upon the native sand) identified as *quinto*.

Vaglieri, Paribeni and Finelli repeatedly state that during the course of excavations, they uncovered the remains of an earlier foundation wall beneath all foundations of the reticulate platform and its four temples. Citing Vaglieri’s report, Paribeni writes that these lower foundations are distinct from those lying above, not only because they are constructed differently but also because they are 14 to 15 centimeters narrower in width than the upper foundations.⁷⁷ The upper foundations are constructed of pink pozzolana and roughly-shaped tufa blocks, while the lower foundations are of black pozzolana and roughly-shaped tufa blocks. The foundations of the *primi tempietti* have a median width of about 0.44-0.45 meters, and therefore could not have supported a structure of any substantial weight. The excavators concluded that the lower walls probably served as a foundation for a wooden structure, perhaps of beams and mud-brick.⁷⁸ A large amount of clay remnants and a pine branch discovered in the soil stratum corresponding with the lower foundations (*strato*

quinto) probably represented the remains of the older, less imposing temples: ‘*Misera cosa, adunque, questi primitivi sacelli*’.⁷⁹

Curiously, the presence of the earlier temple was categorically dismissed by Giovanni Becatti in *Scavi di Ostia I*; he argued that the foundations were similar in appearance to the *opus incertum* walls of the platform sitting on top of them, and that they were built to create a level area onto which the platform could be constructed.⁸⁰ It is unclear what information led Becatti to conclude that the original excavators were mistaken about the existence of an earlier structure. It is impossible that his opinion was formed from personal inspection of the foundations. Becatti was born in 1912, and no excavations of the Quattro Tempietti have been carried out since 1914.⁸¹ Finelli’s repeated, detailed descriptions of the two-phased foundations in the *Giornale* demonstrate that an earlier foundation was evident to the excavators.⁸² Becatti’s dismissal of this aspect of Paribeni’s report appears to be unsupported by evidence. The conclusions of the excavators, that the Quattro Tempietti replaced earlier temples, should therefore be accepted.⁸³

Any study of the stratigraphy of the area of the Quattro Tempietti is limited by the paucity of materials published from the excavations. Yet it is still possible to draw some conclusions. First, the strata associated with the construction of both the first foundations (*primi tempietti*) and the later foundations (*secondi tempietti*) are those running beneath the steps leading up to the podium of the Quattro Tempietti.⁸⁴ These strata were numbered 5 and 4 by the excavators. Paribeni describes them thus: ‘To us [the material] appears to be distributed in two successive strata, the first of them sits directly upon the sand, while the other is separated from the first by a small layer of earth and clay about six centimeters deep. We will call these Strata 5 and 4, with Stratum 5 being the deeper stratum.’⁸⁵

The primary difference between the composition of the fifth and fourth strata was the quantity of

Paribeni Page/fig	Period	Date	Eponym	Month	Fabricant	Symbol
448/1	Vc	c. 114 BC	Hestieios			
446/2	Vc	c. 114 BC	Hestieios	Badromios		
447/1	Vc	c. 115 BC	Archibios	Panamos		
446/1	Vc	c. 120-108+ BC			Menestratos	Head Helios
447/2	VI	c. 107-88/86 BC	Nikomachos			?

TABLE 1 Rhodian Amphorae from Stratum 5 (Patrick Monsieur)

SCHEMATIC DIAGRAM OF THE STRATIGRAPHY OF THE QUATTRO TEMPIETTI

N.B.: Only elevations to scale; dashed line indicates approximation

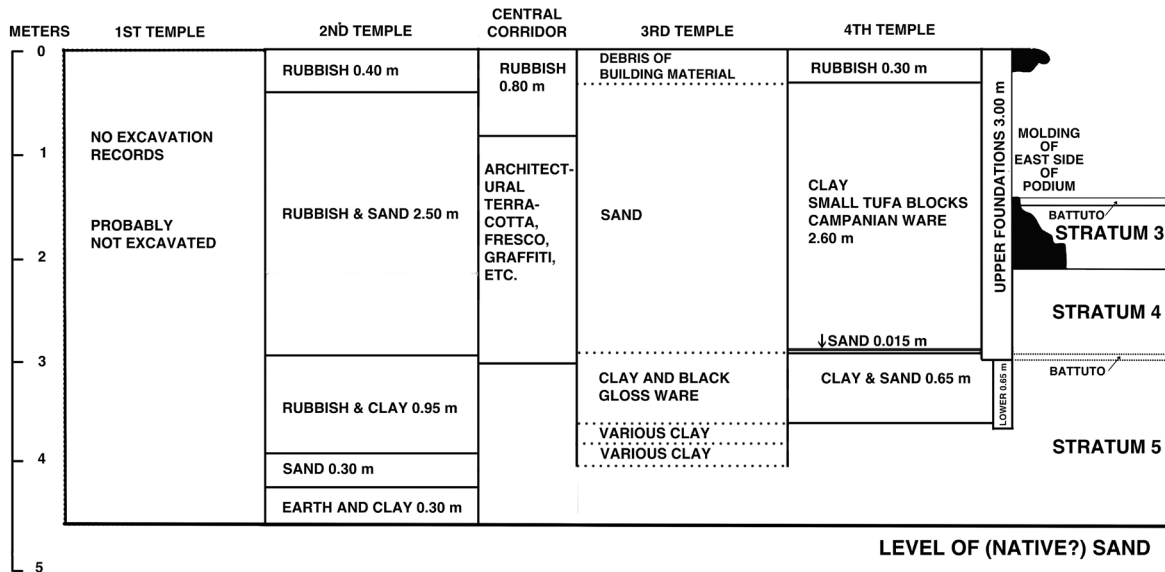


Fig. 7. Schematic elevation drawing of the Quattro Tempietti, showing the depth and composition of the stratigraphic layers of the three excavated temples and the central corridor, and their relationship to Strata 3, 4 and 5 of the Area Sacra (drawing author).

materials present (the lower stratum contained a much higher concentration of finds). Neither Finelli nor Paribeni described the soil composition or depth of either stratum, and therefore we do not know the precise relationship between the two foundations and the two strata running beneath the podium of the Quattro Tempietti. We can, however, triangulate the relationship between the podium, the foundations and the lowest sand level because depth measurements were recorded and reported for the second temple (counting west to east) and the fourth temple.⁸⁶ Pensabene has also recently established the average height of the podium at 2.015 m.⁸⁷ The relationship between the temples, their podium/foundation, and the lower foundation is best illustrated with a schematic diagram illustrating the strata of the three excavated temples and the central corridor (fig. 7). No records exist for the excavation of the first (westernmost) temple, and it was probably left intact due to the presence of the inscriptional mosaic preserved in the *cella*.

Figure 7 shows that the very deepest level was uncovered in the second temple, and presumably this is the native sand running beneath the entire area. The excavators uncovered this sand at approximately 0.56 meters below sea level. The bottom of the lowest foundation is about a meter above the sand. Stratum 5 is in direct contact with the sand,

and Stratum 4 runs over Stratum 5 and directly beneath the steps of the podium. What can be said about the relationship between Stratum 5 and the lowest foundations? It seems that Stratum 5 must have been in place when the older foundations of the earliest Quattro Tempietti were constructed. The 6.0 cm *battuto* of soil and clay that distinguished Stratum 5 from Stratum 4 might have been the original walking surface of Stratum 5.

A *terminus post quem* for the formation of Stratum 5 can be deduced from a quantity of stamped Rhodian amphora handles, drawings of which were published in Paribeni's final report. Today, the stamps allow us to date these amphorae to the last quarter of the 2nd century BC (table 1).⁸⁸

A fragment black-gloss ware base inscribed with the graffito HERAK[LES] cannot be dated so precisely from a drawing alone (fig. 8).⁸⁹ The only possible dating element in the drawing is the graffito itself: the E appears typical of the 2nd century BC.⁹⁰

Nothing else from Stratum 5 is illustrated, although a number of other finds, including amphorae, Hellenistic relief bowls, coins and building materials are listed by Paribeni and Finelli. Thus a tentative date for this stratum relies on the dates of the Rhodian amphora with the Nikomachos stamp listed in Table 1, which gives us a *terminus post quem* of 107 BC.



Fig. 8. Fragment from a black-gloss vase excavated from Stratum 5 in the Area of the Quattro Tempietti (adapted from Paribeni 1915, 450 fig. 5).

Two objects illustrated in Paribeni's report were published as coming from Stratum 5, but the *Giornale* records that these were actually found in a rectangular pit that had been cut through Strata 4 and 5. One of these objects (Paribeni 448, fig. 2) is the handle from a Rhodian amphora featuring a stamp with the eponym Leontidas and the month Panamou encircling a rose, and dates to approximately 127 BC. The other (Paribeni 449 figs 1-3) is a fragment from a Hellenistic brazier of the 2nd century BC. Since the objects from this pit are earlier in date than the Nikomachos amphora, they do not provide a *terminus ante quem* for Stratum 4 or 5. Yet the possible function of this pit as a votive deposit is yet another intriguing aspect of the Quattro Tempietti to be explored in future studies.

Stratum 4, which I would tentatively identify as contemporary with the second construction of the Quattro Tempietti and the upper foundations, is more difficult to date. No materials from Stratum 4 are illustrated in Paribeni's publication. He describes amphorae similar to Rhodian amphorae, but with no visible stamps; other amphorae with traces of stamps, lamps, and various black-gloss ware. One lamp is said to be similar to lamps signed by P. Popillius Bitus, who was active in the 2nd century BC.⁹¹ One notable find described only by Finelli in the *Giornale dello Scavo* is a small tablet of wood, perhaps part of a decoration.⁹² He also notes the total absence of terra sigillata, marble, or polychrome stucco, which suggests that this stratum is much earlier than the Imperial period.⁹³ Stratum 3 is the designation for the layers of soil deposited at some point after the construction of the

podium and the *secondi tempietti*.⁹⁴ Finelli describes it as a stratum divided into two parts; the lower part, with an average depth of 0.38 meters, is composed of earth with a few fragments of debris and some pink pozzolana in the western areas. Running over the layer of earth is a *battuto* of cocciopesto, 0.08 meters thick.⁹⁵ He states that the earthen stratum with its *battuto* ran over the entire *area sacra* before any other buildings were constructed around the Quattro Tempietti. Stratum 3 and the *battuto* running over it would have entirely obscured the lower molding of the podium.

Finds from Stratum 3 include the first mention of terra sigillata. One bowl was stamped with the mark of M. Perennius (MPER), who established his workshop in the last quarter of the 1st century BC.⁹⁶ Much earlier material is also present, including plaster painted in the style of the early 1st century BC, and coins from the 2nd century BC.⁹⁷ The terra sigillata bowl is our most secure dating indicator for this context, and in the absence of other material can provide us with a *terminus ante quem* of the end of the 1st century BC for the deposition of these soil layers after the construction of the podium of the Quattro Tempietti.

CONCLUSION

The Quattro Tempietti and Gamala *senior* have coexisted in scholarship for more than a century, but their correlation has never been based on sound evidence, and has caused a series of insurmountable interpretive difficulties. The temptation to associate epigraphic and archaeological evidence

is especially strong when the archaeological evidence appears sparse. Yet, good methodology demands that each class of evidence be evaluated by its own disciplinary rules prior to considering such associations.

The Quattro Tempietti and *CIL XIV 375* are rare and valuable records of earlier periods at Ostia, periods that were largely obscured by later construction throughout the Imperial period. The building of the Quattro Tempietti, first in mud-brick and then in tufa blocks, seems to date to the late 2nd or early 1st century BC, while Gamala *senior's* career belongs after the fall of the Roman Republic.

It is only through examination of the Quattro Tempietti and its surrounding area as archaeological artifacts that we can discern their place in the late Republican landscape of Ostia. The excavation journals clearly demonstrate that the temples existed in an earlier form, probably with a superstructure of wood and mud-brick. The evidence provided by the late-2nd century Rhodian amphorae in Stratum 5 give incontrovertible proof that the earliest phase of the temple, whose founda-

tions were built well above the native sand and possibly *into* Stratum 5, must belong to the late 2nd century BC or later. The earliest temples did not last long, and were reconstructed in more permanent materials at some point probably in the early 1st century BC.

A more precise date for the construction of the second phase of the temples will only be possible through the examination of any extant archaeological materials excavated from in and around the Quattro Tempietti, ideally in conjunction with strategic excavation around and in the temples in order to verify and better understand Vaglieri and Finelli's stratigraphic designations. As for the career of Gamala *senior*, epigraphers are now free to reopen this question unfettered by considerations of the Quattro Tempietti.

By abandoning the long-cherished legend of P. Lucilius Gamala's role in the construction of the Quattro Tempietti, we gain the opportunity to explore new ideas about pre-Imperial Ostia and its inhabitants.

APPENDIX 1

CIL XIV 375: Res Gestae of Gamala senior

Text and translation adapted from Van der Meer 2012, 119-120

P(ublio) Lucilio / P(ublīi) f(ilio) P(ublīi) n(epoti) P(ublīi) pro/nep(oti) Gamalae / aed(ili) sacr(is) Volk(ani) / [5] aedili d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) allecto / gratis decurioni / pontifici Ilvir(o) censo/riae pot(estatis) quinquennal(i) / in comitis facto cura/ [10]tori pecuniae publicae exigen/dae et adtribuendae / in ludos cum accepisset public(e) / lucar remisit et de suo erogati/onem fecit / [15]idem sua pecunia viam silice stravīt / quae est iuncta foro ab arcu ad arcum / idem epulum trichilinis CCXVII / colonis dedit / idem prandium sua pecunia colonis / [20]Ostie[n]sibus bis dedit / idem aedem Volcani sua pecu / nia restituit / idem aedem Veneris sua pecu / nia constituit / [25]idem aed(em) Fortunae sua pecu / nia constituit / idem aed(em) Cereris sua pecunia / constituit / idem pondera ad macellum / [30] cum M(arco) Turrano sua pecu / nia fecit / idem aedem Spei sua pecunia / constituit / idem tribunal in foro mar / [35]moreum fecit / huic statua inaurata d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) / p(ecunia) (publica) posita est / item ahenea d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) p(ecunia) p(ublica) posita / proxume tribunal quae(toris) / [40] propterea quod cum res publica / praedia sua venderet ob pol / [1]licitationem belli navalis / HS XV CC rei publicae donavit / hunc decuriones funere pu / [45] blico effer(endum) censuerunt

For Publius Lucilius Gamala, son of Publius, grandson of Publius, great-grandson of Publius, aedile for the sacred things of Volkanus, aedile, co-opted as town counselors by decree of the town counselors without having had to pay the entrance fee, pontifex of Volkanus, made *duovir* in the assembly for five years with the power of censor, curator for raising and spending public money. When he had received from public means money for games, he gave it back and held them at his own expense. The same made out of his own money for paying the actors in theatrical games, a street with stones which is connected to the Forum from one gate to the other. The same gave a banquet to the citizens on 217 couches. The same gave twice out of his own money a lunch to the citizens of Ostia. The same restored the temple of Volcanus out of his own money. The same built a temple for Venus with his own money. The same built a temple for Fortuna with his own money. The same built a temple for Ceres with his own money. The same made weights at the meat-market together with Marcus Turrianus with his own money. The same built a temple for Spes with his own money. The same made a marble tribunal on the Forum. For him a gilded statue was placed by decree of the town counselors at public expense. In the same way by decree of the town counselors a statue of bronze was placed near the tribunal of the *quaestor* at public expense, for the following reason: when the city sold some of its properties because of a promise related to a sea battle, he donated 15,200 *sestertii* to the city. The town counselors decreed to honor him with a public funeral.

CIL XIV 376: Res Gestae of Gamala *iunior*

Text and translation adapted from Van der Meer 2012, 121-122

<p>P(ublio) Lucilio P(ublīi) f(ilio) / P(ublīi) n(epoti) P(ublīi) pron(epoti) Gamalae / aed(ili) sacr(is) Volcani / eiusdem pr(aetori) tert(io) dec(urioni) / [5]adlecto d(e-curionum) d(ecreto) infanti / Ilvir(o) praefecto L(ucii) Caesar(is) / Aug(usti) f(ili) cens(ori) q(uaestori) a(era-rii) pontif(ici) / tabular(um) et librorum / curatori primo constitut(o) / [10]hic ludos omnes quos fecit / amplificavit impensa sua / idem munus gladiatorium ded(it) / idem aedem Castoris et Pollucis rest(ituit) / idem curator pecuniae publicae exi / [15]gendae et attribuendae in comi / tiis factus cellam patri Tiberino / restituit / idem thermas quas Divus Pius aedifi / caverat vi ignis consumptas refecit / [20]porticum reparavit / idem aedem Veneris impensa sua / restituit / idem pondera ad macellum et men / suras ad forum vinar(ium) s(ua) p(ecunia) fecit / [25]idem navale a L. Coilio aedificatum / extru[e]ntibus fere collapsum / restituit / huic statua aenea peq(unia) pub(lica) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) posit(a) / est / [---]</p>	<p>For Publius Lucilius Gamala, son of Publius, grandson of Publius, great-grandson of Publius, aedile for the sacred things of Volcanus, praetor of the same (god) for the third time, co-opted town counselor as a child by decree of the town counselors, <i>duovir</i>, praefect of Lucius Caesar, son of the emperor, censor, quaestor of the town treasury, pontifex, first appointed curator of the records and the books. He expanded all games which he held at his own expense. The same gave a show for gladiators. The same restored a temple of Castor and Pollux. The same was made curator for raising and spending public money in the assembly. He restored the <i>cella</i> of Father Tiberinus. The same restored the baths which the deified (Antoninus) Pius had built which had been destroyed by the power of fire. He restored the portico. The same restored the temple of Venus at his own expense. The same made weights for the meat market and measures for the Wine Forum with his own money. The same repaired the dockyard which had been built by Lucius Coilius and which had almost collapsed (on the builders?). For him (Publius) a bronze statue is placed at public expense by decree of the town counselors [---].</p>
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NOTES

¹ Acknowledgements: This study could not have been carried out without the permissions and assistance granted to me by the Parco Archeologico di Ostia Antica and the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma. A special thank you to Paula Germoni, Marco Sangiorgio, Elvira Angeloni, Franco Giovannangeli, and Patrizia Colonna, who were especially helpful guiding me through the vast collections of archival material at Ostia. I am grateful to the Fondazione Lemmermann, who funded two months of study in Rome and Ostia, as well as the University of Sydney's Department of Classics and Ancient History Postgraduate Travel Bursary, and the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Research Travel Grant. Stefania Peterlini of the British School at Rome was instrumental in securing my study permits. Patrick Monsieur provided his expertise in dating the Rhodian amphorae, and Helga di Giuseppe gave excellent advice on black-gloss ware and a graffito. I am profoundly thankful to all of my friends and colleagues who have read and commented on drafts of this research, and have provided valuable feedback during conferences, lectures and seminars. I would especially like to thank Kathryn Welch, Frances Muecke, L. Michael White, Kit Morrell, Brent Nongbri, Daniel Damgaard and Sheira Cohen. Finally, I would like to thank the editorial board of BABESCH for their insightful feedback, and for honoring this research with the Byvanck award. My conclusions do not necessarily reflect the views of the aforementioned scholars, and any errors of fact or argumentation are my own.

² Lanciani 1886b, 164.

³ Van Buren 1907.

⁴ Van Buren 1907, 56.

⁵ The long-presumed presence of capitolia in Roman colonies (including Ostia) has little evidentiary basis: Bispham 2000, 158; see also Bispham 2006, 112; Quinn/Wilson 2013, 10-11, 22-23.

⁶ History and manuscript tradition are recorded in *CIL* XIV. An extended discussion can be found in Meiggs 1973, 493.

⁷ Mommsen 1849.

⁸ Mommsen 1849, 296.

⁹ Visconti 1857.

¹⁰ For a discussion of more precise dates for the career of Gamala *iunior* of *CIL* XIV 376 as well as a survey of bibliography, see Mennella 1991.

¹¹ Mommsen 1877.

¹² Carcopino 1911.

¹³ The designations Gamala *iunior* and Gamala *senior* were introduced in Zevi 1973, 556.

¹⁴ There are some good reasons to question this argument because the stone could have been found in secondary deposition; as Meiggs points out, construction at Portus in late Antiquity relied on Ostia as a supplier of building materials (Meiggs 1973, 497).

¹⁵ Carcopino 1911, 211.

¹⁶ 'Malheureusement, l'intérêt qu'elles présentent est égalé par les difficultés d'interprétation qu'elles suscitent, et sur lesquelles, depuis soixante-dix ans, s'exerce inlassablement la sagacité des archéologues.' Carcopino 1915, 143.

¹⁷ Carcopino 1911, 224-227.

¹⁸ Chandler 1978, 333.

¹⁹ Paribeni 1915, 484.

²⁰ Taylor 1912, 34.

- 21 Taylor 1936.
- 22 Paribeni 1915, 482.
- 23 Meiggs 1973, 497-499.
- 24 Meiggs 1973, 499-500.
- 25 Meiggs 1973, 501.
- 26 Meiggs 1973, 351.
- 27 Zevi 1973, 567.
- 28 Becatti in Calza (ed.) 1954, 105; Paribeni 1915, 482.
- 29 Zevi 1973, 569-570.
- 30 Zevi 1973, 574.
- 31 Zevi 1973, 575.
- 32 Panciera 1997, 260.
- 33 D'Arms 1998, 33-43.
- 34 D'Arms 2000, 196; Plut. *Caes.* 55.4; Suet. *Iul.* 38.2.
- 35 D'Arms 2000, 196.
- 36 Meiggs 1973, 175. Since the office was first recorded in the *fasti* of Venusia in 29 BC, Meiggs concluded that Ostia adopted the office at approximately the same time.
- 37 D'Arms 2000, 199.
- 38 D'Arms 2000, 199.
- 39 Zevi 2004.
- 40 Zevi 1973, 59-60.
- 41 Zevi 1973, 64.
- 42 Zevi 1973, 65-67 does discuss other ways in which Gamala may have imitated Caesar.
- 43 The catalogue of the Ostia exhibition held in Geneva provides a detailed description of the marble upon which 376 is inscribed: '*petit pilastre en forme de parallélépipède appartenant à un herme ... le morceau fut extrait il y a quelques années et l'on a pu vérifier que le sommet portait une grosse cavité rectangulaire conçoide et le plan d'appui d'un trou rectangulaire, tandis que deux petits trous se trouvent sur les faces latérales en correspondance avec les lignes 2-3 ...*' (Descœudres 2001, 424 no. XII.422).
- 44 Zevi 2004, 49.
- 45 Zevi 2004, 50.
- 46 Zevi 2012, 543-544. Zevi also cites previous suggestions that Gamala *senior* was a contemporary and acquaintance of Cicero, an argument that is based largely upon a variant in a corrupt portion of a letter to Atticus (*ad Att.* 12.23.3). He then discusses the relative chronology between the Quattro Tempietti and Ostia's republican wall, stating that the temples would not have been constructed until after that wall had been erected. Although a creative reconstruction of the Porta Romana inscriptions has recently identified Cicero as one of the builders of the wall (for example, Manzini/Zevi 2008 with previous bibliography), in fact we lack positive archaeological evidence for the wall's date.
- 47 Panciera 2004.
- 48 Panciera 2004, 71.
- 49 Panciera 2004, 71.
- 50 Panciera 2004, 72; see also Salomies 2003, 143-146.
- 51 Panciera 2004, 72.
- 52 Panciera 2004, 73.
- 53 Panciera 2004, 73-74.
- 54 'L'espressione *propterea quod* usata in letteratura esclusivamente durante la Repubblica, rinvia sul piano stilistico alla prosa di Cicerone, Cesare e Sallustio e ciò costituisce un altro elemento a conferma della datazione. In epigrafia è una forma rara: in un'iscrizione di Roma su travertino, datata al più all'epoca del secondo triumvirato, troviamo *propter ea quod*' (Cébeillac-Gervasoni/Caldelli/Zevi 2010, 103). Meiggs observed that 'the style of Latin is perhaps closer to Caesar than to the second century. In particular the use of *propterea quod* is still common in Caesar and Cicero, but is very rarely used in the Empire' (Meiggs 1973, 500). The conjunction *propterea quod* is indeed rare in inscriptions, but its use is not limited to the Republic. The conjunction appears on the Lex Malacitana (*CIL* II 1964) which dates to the period of Domitian (León/Canales 1969). It is also found in Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* 8, a letter of Pliny the Younger (1.8), and Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* (3.1, 4.1, 5.14, 7.4, 8.5). Jerome used *propterea quod* a number of times in his fourth-century Latin translation of the Bible: 1 Macc. 11:11 (translating Greek χάρις + genitive); 4 Esd. 7:60, Jeremiah 44:23 (translating an odd Hebrew idiom); Acts 27:4 (translating Greek δὲ + accusative); Phil. 2:26 (translating Greek διότι).
- 55 Salomies 2003, 148.
- 56 Salomies 2003, 150.
- 57 Salomies 2003, 153-155.
- 58 Salomies 2003, 155; Taylor 1936, 185 n. 9; Rosenberg 1992, 175.
- 59 Salomies 2003, 141.
- 60 Lanciani 1886a, 126.
- 61 Lanciani 1886b, 164-165.
- 62 Lanciani 1886a, 126.
- 63 Lanciani 1886a, 126.
- 64 The papacy of Pius VI lasted from 1775 to 1799, but it appears that the ransacking of the area actually occurred during the pontifical excavations of Pope Pius VII that were carried out between 1802-1804 (thus it is entirely possible that Lanciani's VI was a typographical error). During this period a mithraeum known as the Mitreo Petrini was discovered, and Paschetto (1912, 387-388) hypothesized that this mithraeum could be identified with the one Visconti discovered near the theater in 1864, which was subsequently excavated by Lanciani in 1886. Becatti (in Calza (ed.) 1954, 47 and 123) among others, has tentatively accepted the theory that the Mitreo Petrini is to be identified with the Mithraeum of the Seven Spheres found in the House of Apuleius. See also Gordon 1976, 119; 146 n. 2; White 2012, 437-438, especially 438 n. 8.
- 65 Lanciani 1886b, 164.
- 66 I am grateful for the advice and assistance provided by Ida Barbero and her assistants on my visit to the Fondazione Lanciani in November 2013. The relevant volumes are OSTIA Roma XI.31 and XI.32 and contain the notes, drawings and receipts related to excavations and discoveries between Porta S. Paolo and Ostia. They are assembled in a 'scrapbook' style, grouped loosely by location but not arranged in chronological order, and many of the entries are not dated. It is impossible that this is a complete collection of Lanciani's materials on such a large area, especially considering the time span (some of the early notes date to the period of the papal excavations). My enquiries at the Archivio di Documentazione Archeologica at the Palazzo Altemps did not turn up any further documentation of the relevant years at Ostia.
- 67 Paribeni 1915, 477-478.
- 68 Lanciani 1886a, 126; Lanciani 1886b, 164-165.
- 69 On the afterlife of statue bases, see Cooley 2012, 323-325. Douglas Boin's study of the 'Temple of Herakles' at Ostia also explores the issue of the portability and movement of marble objects and calls into question the identification of this temple with Hercules (Boin 2010).
- 70 Richardson 1992, 408-411 identifies at least 12 temples to Venus in Rome: an *aedes* of Venus near the Roman Forum that was destroyed in 178 BC; a *templum* to Venus Calva built after the Gauls sieged the Capitoline; an *aedes* of Venus Erucina in the Area Capitolina dedi-

- cated in 215 BC; another *aedes* of Venus Erucina in the vicinity of the Porta Collina dedicated in 181 BC; an *aedes* of Venus Felix, attested by an inscription; the temple to Venus Genetrix in the Forum Iulium; a *templum* to Venus Hortorum Sallustianorum, attested by three inscriptions; a very ancient *templum* to Venus Libitina on the Esquiline; an *aedes* of Venus Obsequens near the Circus Maximus, begun in 295 BC; Hadrian's *templum* of Venus and Roma near the Flavian amphitheater; an *aedes* of Venus Verticordia on the Aventine built in 114 BC; and the *aedes* of Venus Victrix in the Theater of Pompey.
- ⁷¹ Becatti in Calza (ed.) 1954, 116; Gessert's more recent examination of the archival documents related to the forum excavations also concluded that the forum was constructed under Tiberius (Gessert 2000).
- ⁷² Nucci 2013; see also Polito 2014. Earlier arguments and discussions on an Augustan date can be found in Calandra 2000 and Pavolini 2006, 106. The highly-anticipated results of the ongoing investigations of the Ostia Forum Project will provide a richer and more nuanced understanding of Ostia's forum, from its foundation through late antiquity.
- ⁷³ Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1994, 12.
- ⁷⁴ For example, Zevi's 2004 redating of Gamala's career resulted in a complete reworking of Cébeillac-Gervasoni's studies on Octavia, the wife of a Gamala who had renovated parts of the Regio V Bona Dea Sanctuary (Cébeillac 1973; Cébeillac-Gervasoni 2004).
- ⁷⁵ For an in-depth discussion of the relevant *Giornale dello Scavo* entries, as well as an analysis and report of all illustrated or published material associated with the earliest phases of the Quattro Tempietti, see Cuyler 2015, 147-219.
- ⁷⁶ In a brief but interesting discussion of the Quattro Tempietti in his monograph on cult and daily life in Roman port cities Steuernagel 2004, 66-68 tentatively questions the Gamala connection, but concludes that the identification should remain in place in the absence of alternative proposals.
- ⁷⁷ Paribeni 1915, 443, see also Vaglieri 1912, 394.
- ⁷⁸ Paribeni 1915, 443.
- ⁷⁹ Paribeni 1915, 443.
- ⁸⁰ Becatti in Calza (ed.) 1954, 105.
- ⁸¹ F. Zevi personally confirmed with Italo Gismondi that no excavations took place at the Quattro Tempietti after 1913, and he suggested that further excavation might solve the question (Zevi 1973, 568 n. 3). Meiggs writes: 'When recently these foundations were reexamined it was concluded that Paribeni's foundation walls were in fact contemporary with the tufa temples and had possibly served to provide a level surface for the podium,' but Meiggs must be referring to Becatti's reexamination of the issue and not to a physical reexamination (Meiggs 1973, 127).
- ⁸² For example, Finelli recorded in *Giornale dello Scavo* 1912, 228: 'Le fondazioni in genere di questo vano, appartengono a due periodi. La prima fondazione si osserva sotto tutte e quattro le pareti, ma è più alta sotto quella est, qui essa è alta m [blank] e sotto quella nord questa fondazione fu tagliata in senso inclinato da est ad ovest. La fondazione di sotto è fatta con pozzolana nera e tufi informi, mentre quella di sopra con pozzolana rossa e tufi informi. Questa fondazione è più larga di quella che vi sta sotto di m [blank] così formando una riseca [risega] rovesciata di m [blank]. Per me non v'è più dubbio che queste fondazioni fanno parte di due costruzioni appartenenti a due diversi periodi, giusto come si vede anche negli strati che si vedano sotto al vano che si sta scavando ad ovest ...'
- ⁸³ Sole 2002 has also concluded that the evidence from the journals strongly suggests an earlier phase of the Quattro Tempietti.
- ⁸⁴ *Giornale dello Scavo* 1915, 12-13: 'Lo strato superiore c'è quello che si trova immediatamente a contatto con la sabbia è stato indicato col numero quinto, esso è molto più ricco di materiale costruttivo, embrici in maggioranza, canali o coppi, anfore, frammenti di altri vasi ed anche in questi molto più abbondante. In riguardo alla tecnica è molto simile a quello rinvenuto nella sabbia e descritto più su salvo il caso che in questo strato le anfore d'impasto fino e proveniente da Rodi sono più numerose. Nell'insieme il materiale di questo strato mostra di essere più tardi di quello rinvenuto sotto, ma certamente a me non è possibile dividere in due periodi e distanziarli in fra loro... Molto tengo a far notare che i materiali degli strati in parola sono d'accordo con i primi tempietti, passando essi sotto le aree de la scala dei secondi tempietti.'
- ⁸⁵ Paribeni 1915, 444: '... e ci appare distribuito in due strati successivi, il primo dei quali riposa direttamente sulla sabbia, mentre l'altro è separato dal primo da uno straterello di terra e di argilla alto circa sei centimetri.'
- ⁸⁶ Second Temple: Vaglieri 1912, 399; *Giornale dello Scavo* 1912, 246, 263-264, 271-272, 337-338. Fourth Temple: Vaglieri 1913, 50-51, *Giornale dello Scavo* 1912, 336-337.
- ⁸⁷ Pensabene 2007, 33.
- ⁸⁸ Finkielsztejn, 2001: *Hestieios*, pg. 195; *Hestieios Badromios*, pg. 195; *Archibios Panamos*, pg. 195; *Menestratos/Head Helios*, pg. 148; *Nikomachos*, pg. 161. My gratitude to Patrick Monsieur of Ghent University for dating the Rhodian amphorae from the Quattro Tempietti.
- ⁸⁹ The drawing is in Paribeni 1915, 450. It is mentioned by Finelli in passing in *Giornale dello Scavo* 1915, 13-14: 'In alcuni di questi frammenti v'è un traccia di una verniciatura rosso-carica e in altro a sotto al fondo un circolo fatto al tornio ed un graffito come lo schizzo.' The latter must refer to the Herakles bowl, as nothing else mentioned in the discussions of Stratum 5 or Stratum 4 comes close to describing the object. The concentric circles visible in the drawing led Zevi (1973, 569 note 2) to suggest that it was a late example of a *Campana* A bowl, dating it to the very end of the Republic. New chronology for the stratigraphy of Cosa, which provides the basis for the chronology of black-gloss ware, has resulted in the assignment of higher dates to all types of black-gloss ware (see especially Di Giuseppe 2012; Scott 2008). It is, moreover, impossible to date this piece with only the drawing; not only is it necessary to view the bowl/cup in profile, the slip and the fabric must also be examined to determine what production it belongs to.
- ⁹⁰ Email communication with Helga Di Giuseppe on January 30, 2015. Di Giuseppe writes: 'È davvero difficile datare un frammento di ceramica a vernice nera da un disegno e per di più capovolto. Sarebbe necessario avere almeno un profilo. Quello che posso dire è che bisognerebbe vedere l'aspetto della vernice e dell'argilla almeno per giudicare. È vero comunque che le linee concentriche all'esterno del vaso sono una caratteristica che si trova sulla ceramica a vernice nera tardo-repubblicana di pessima qualità. Forse qualcosa in più si può dire sulla base del graffito. La prima E di Herakles, ad esempio, sembra essere tipica del II secolo a.C.'
- ⁹¹ Paribeni 1915, 451.
- ⁹² *Giornale dello Scavo* 1915, 20: 'Pezzo di finissima tavoletta avente un angolo stonato e l'altro dritto da una estremità a dall'altra è rotto. In una delle facce v'è un canaletto nel quale vi doveva essere innestato il battente di altra tavoletta messa verticale. Parte di un oggettino in legno. Forse anche decorazione. Lung. mm 85 x 40 grossezza massima mm 3.'

- ⁹³ *Giornale dello Scavo* 1915, 20.
⁹⁴ Paribeni 1915, 459-460; *Giornale dello Scavo* 1915, 20-21; 27-29.
⁹⁵ *Giornale dello Scavo* 1915, 20-21. It is rather curious that Finelli gives the depth of this stratum but not the depths of the lower strata.
⁹⁶ Alexander 1944. Paribeni 1915, 460 also mentions two other stamped bowls, but not from the same workshop.
⁹⁷ Paribeni 1915, 460. Paribeni (476-478) also notes the presence of a lamp with the potter's stamp ANNISER (Annius Serapiodorus). Annus Serapiodorus probably had his workshop at Ostia, and was active in the Severan period (Pavolini, 1986, 60). It seems likely that this lamp fragment was introduced to the stratum during later interventions such as drain installations, because we know that subsequent ground raisings occurred in the *area sacra* well before the end of the 2nd century BC (Paribeni 1915, 459; 482 n. 2).

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The emperor and the plough (re)founding the city and extending the empire

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Summary

*This contribution focuses on the Roman urban foundation ritual, the *sulcus primigenius*, and its related boundary, the *pomerium*. Rather than studying actual city foundations, such as the city of Rome itself and later Roman colonies, it addresses the metaphorical use of the *sulcus primigenius* and the *pomerium* in various media. By looking at inscriptions, bas-reliefs and coins, the paper argues that the image of the city founder and the plough was used in the imperial period to signpost a close connection to Rome, announce periods of political transformation or renewal, and advertise an extension of Rome's spheres of influence.**

The image of a priestly figure with a plough (fig. 1): a depiction that is instantly understood as the Roman urban foundation ritual, first and foremost, the mythical foundation of Rome. Even though the priest in this image is not depicted *capite velato*, as one would expect, the garlands adorning the cattle's horns indicate that the scene depicts a ritual and not a plain agricultural activity. The urban foundation ritual has been described by various authors, such as Cato, Varro, Livy and later Plutarch: on a day favoured by the auspices, Romulus drew a plough, pulled by an ox and a cow, around the intended limits of Rome.¹ Varro, in the 1st century BCE, furthermore mentioned that other cities in Latium were found according to this ritual; these cities were hence called *urbes*,

from *orbis*, the circle drawn by the plough.² The ploughing ritual, in Latin known as the *sulcus primigenius*, got a wider application and significance: a proper Roman city was founded in the same way as, according to tradition, Romulus had once founded Rome. According to several ancient authors, the *sulcus primigenius* had its origin in Etruscan culture shrouding the phenomenon in obscurity, turning it into something that belonged to a distant past.³ Despite its supposed antiquarianism, however, the *sulcus primigenius* kept its importance until well into the imperial period. A similar observation can be made for the *pomerium*, in current literature generally defined as Rome's religious or ritual boundary and connected to the *sulcus primigenius*.⁴



Fig. 1. Relief from Aquileia depicting the *sulcus primigenius*. Width 0,98 m., height 0,44 m., depth 0,09 m. Photo author, courtesy Museo Archeologico di Aquileia; inventory number 1171.

From the early imperial period onwards, the image of a founder with a plough seems to have gained significance and started to appear as a theme in various media, such as coinage and reliefs. While some of the images can be related to actual (re)foundations of Roman cities and colonies, others clearly had a symbolic significance only.⁵ The aim of this paper is to demonstrate how the ploughing theme, the *sulcus primigenius* and the related *pomerium*, developed over time from purely religious and ritual phenomena related to the foundation of Rome, to strong political and symbolic tools used in a broader context in the imperial period. By contextualising a number of foundation scenes from various media, I argue that in the imperial period the *pomerium* and *sulcus primigenius* were renewed or reintroduced in Rome particularly at times of political transformation or renewal, as a way of marking a new start by simultaneously referring to Rome's mythical past. Wrapped in a visually familiar theme, they locally advertised an extension of Rome's power or the advent of a new political regime.

THE *SULCUS PRIMIGENIUS* AND THE *POMERIUM*

Before we look at the development in significance of the *sulcus primigenius* and the *pomerium*, it is important to establish their respective roles in the Roman urban foundation ritual. Overall, the ancient sources tend to agree on the performance of the *sulcus primigenius*, which happened - with some variations - as described at the beginning of this paper.⁶ The *sulcus primigenius* left no visible traces besides the furrow that appeared during the ceremony, marking the location of the later city wall. The concept of the *sulcus primigenius* seems rather straightforward; the *pomerium*, however, is another matter.

What do we know about the *pomerium* and its visibility in the landscape? Varro mentioned that the *pomerium* was the *urbis principium*, the beginnings of a city, the first feature that initiated a city's existence.⁷ The *pomerium* marked the limits of the urban auspices and as such was of relevance to the *collegium* of augurs and the magistrates involved.⁸ In this role, the *pomerium* must have been a boundary in three dimensions: not only a limit on the ground but also a vertical dividing line reaching up to the sky where the flight of the birds was to be observed.⁹ Until the reign of Augustus, the *pomerium* bounded the *tribunicia potestas* and for a victorious general aspiring to triumph on his return to Rome, it was an

important symbolic limit as he was not allowed to cross the *pomerium* until the day of his triumph at the risk of losing his right to publicly celebrate his victory in the city.¹⁰ In fact, crossing the *pomerium* in arms must have been one of the perks for the celebrating triumphant general.¹¹ In this context, the *pomerium* seems to have marked the boundary between the civic and civilized world inside the city limits, and the military one outside.¹² From epigraphic evidence and literary descriptions we furthermore know that the *pomerium* could be extended if a general met certain criteria concerning the extension of Rome's realm.¹³ As such, the extended *pomerium* flagged Rome's military power and superior position, advertising its successes on a local level.

Considering these regulations related to the *pomerium*, it seems that it was of rather limited relevance to most people, with the exception of certain priests, magistrates and army commanders. As a boundary, the *pomerium* was also a rather passive feature in contrast to the *sulcus primigenius*, which represented action; the *sulcus primigenius* was a ritual performed at the foundation of a Roman city marking its very start. The use of the plough enhanced the idea of beginning as the ploughshare breached virgin soil, reorganised it and made it suitable for human habitation.¹⁴ Once the foundation had taken place, the only visible trace the ephemeral ritual left behind in the landscape was the city wall. The *pomerium* only became visible, to some extent, when people such as triumphant generals, augurs and auspicating magistrates, played their parts in rituals related to the pomerial boundary. Additionally, every February the annual lustration ritual, the *amburbium*, conjured up the *sulcus primigenius* when the people of Rome circumambulated the boundaries of the city in a procession that strongly resembled the urban foundation ritual: a procession moving in a counter clockwise motion along the outer limit of the city's boundary.¹⁵ This recurring ritual not only reconfirmed the boundaries of the city, but also evoked memories of the city's original foundation and at the same time created a sense of communal belonging.¹⁶

Besides analysing the written sources, both ancient writers and modern scholars alike have studied the *pomerium* etymologically to better grasp its significance. According to the ancient etymologists, the word *pomerium* was a contraction of the words *pro* or *post* and *murum*: a feature in front of, or behind the city wall.¹⁷ From what point of view the *pomerium* was 'in front of' or 'behind' the wall is difficult to reconstruct, which

is another complicating factor in understanding its exact meaning.¹⁸ Modern scholars have also attempted to discover the origins of the word, which resulted in an irresolvable debate and the evidence for either position, that is located 'in front of' or 'behind' the wall, seems to be circumstantial.¹⁹ In a 2014 article, Simone Sisani addressed this ambiguity and argued that if the *pomerium* is understood as a phenomenon unrelated to the city wall and the *sulcus primigenius*, the obscurity can be better understood: the city wall should be seen as a structure to keep the enemy out, and its point of view is therefore from the outside; the *pomerium* as a boundary, containing and safeguarding the legal and religious integrity of the city, should be seen from the inside and is therefore located on the inside of the city wall.²⁰

Another point of discussion resulting from the ancient sources' ambiguity is whether the *pomerium* was a line or a zone.²¹ Not only modern scholars still struggle with the pomerial phenomenon; the confusion and discrepancy we find in the ancient sources suggests that the Romans also found it hard to fully grasp its significance and manifestation in the city.²² By historically contextualising the ancient sources that mention the *pomerium*, Sisani offers a solution for these discrepancies. He argues that particularly in the period between Sulla and Augustus, when many military colonies were founded, the *pomerium* seems to have made a comeback. These colonies were supposedly founded according to the Romulean foundation ritual, tying them to Rome. According to Sisani, only Rome had a *pomerium* as he suggests the phenomenon was 'l'espressione topografica del concetto di *imperium*', a power which the magistrates only held in the *Urbs*.²³ When colonies were founded, the *sulcus primigenius* only demarcated the line of the city wall. From the late Republican period onwards, ancient authors subsequently projected these colonial foundation rituals back onto Rome to describe its original foundations, in which the *sulcus primigenius* merged with the *pomerium*, hence automatically creating a close connection between the city wall and the *pomerium*.²⁴ However, even though there are not many references to the existence of a *pomerium* outside Rome, Varro did mention *pomerium* stones standing around the town of Aricia: *Cippi pomeri stant et circum Ariciam et circum Romanam* (LL. 5.143). Aricia, a town south of Rome along the Via Appia was the starting point for an alternative triumph, the so-called triumph *in monte Albano*. This type of triumph was awarded to generals when the senate refused a regular one in Rome.²⁵ Even though these triumphs were regarded as a less prestigious sub-

stitute, at least the act of crossing the *pomerium* in arms was part of the celebration, if we are to believe Varro.²⁶

How now to reconstruct the complex relationship between the *pomerium* and the *sulcus primigenius*? In my view, the *pomerium* and *sulcus primigenius* ought to be seen as separate boundaries with different functions. Nevertheless, a close connection with the city wall should be maintained.²⁷ Gianluca De Sanctis' exploration of the relationship between the *pomerium*, the *sulcus primigenius* and the city wall in a 2007 article, offers a convincing interpretation.²⁸ In the past, the *pomerium* and *sulcus primigenius* have been incorrectly used as interchangeable concepts and De Sanctis focusses in his article on disentangling the two phenomena. He investigates their respective relationships to the city wall by critically revisiting the primary sources.²⁹ In his article, De Sanctis suggests a plausible new reading for the following passage of Plutarch:

The founder himself drove a deep furrow round the boundaries (τέρματα).³⁰

De Sanctis translates τέρματα as 'boundary stones' rather than simply 'boundaries', analogous to the Latin word *terminus*, which can also mean both boundary and boundary stone.³¹ In his reading the founder ploughed the *sulcus primigenius* by following a line that was demarcated by boundary stones: 'Il fondatore [...] stesso li conduceva tracciando un solco profondo lungo le pietre di confine...'³² A reconstruction of the foundation ritual of a city would be as follows: the *pomerium* is demarcated as a line around the intended city's territory with boundary markers at regular distances. On the day approved by the auspices, the city founder ploughs with a team of cattle the first furrow, the *sulcus primigenius*, following the line of the *pomerium*. After the ploughing ritual the pomerial line is no longer visible except for the location of the intended gates where the plough is lifted. The furrow and the ploughed up soil represent the line of the future fortification wall and the ditch. As the *pomerium* was an uninterrupted line, in contrast to the *sulcus primigenius* or later the city wall with its gates, it kept its importance on certain occasions: taking the *auspicia urbana*, limiting tribunician power at least until Augustus, and during triumphal ceremonies.³³

Based on the frequency with which the ancient writers mentioned the *pomerium* and the *sulcus primigenius*, they apparently were to some extent current phenomena and considered worth mentioning. We should bear in mind, however, that a ritual such as the *sulcus primigenius*, supposedly first performed by Romulus in the eighth century BCE and continued to well into the imperial period, in time developed and changed in significance. Even if the *sulcus primigenius*' visual interpretation remained the same on reliefs and coins, the possibility of reinterpretations of the ritual should not be disregarded.³⁴ De Sanctis' reconstruction of the *pomerium* would obviously imply that the line of the *pomerium* coincided with the city wall. The *pomerium* was, however, by no means as static as the city wall, because it could be enlarged, restored and given more visibility.³⁵ As such, a reference to the *pomerium* and the foundation ritual could imply additional messages, which are discussed in the following sections: an extension of the Roman Empire, an ideological connection to Rome and the arrival of a new political era.

Extension of Empire

Evidence, particularly from the imperial period, shows that the *pomerium* could be extended if Rome's territory had been enlarged. According to Gellius, the *pomerium* could be extended by the person who increased the domain of the Roman people, while Seneca added it should be an extension of the *ager Italicus* and not that of a province. Tacitus, however, stated that merely an extension of the *imperium* sufficed to extend the *pomerium* and also a reference in the *Historia Augusta* regarding Aurelian's extension produces rather general criteria.³⁶ A fragmentarily preserved tablet of the *Lex de Imperio Vespasiani* dated to 69-70 CE does unfortunately not solve the issue, stating that the *pomerium* could be extended 'if he [sc. Vespasian] deems it to be in the interest of the state', using Claudius' right to extend the *pomerium* as a precedent.³⁷ Despite the ambiguity among the literary sources regarding the exact rules for a pomerial extension, there is epigraphic evidence that the *pomerium* was extended at least twice.³⁸ A series of pomerial markers from the reigns of Claudius, Vespasian and Titus, and Hadrian attests several extensions and a restoration of the *pomerium* by the latter respectively.³⁹ Some of these markers were found *in situ* near



Fig. 2. Cippus with inscription from Capua (CIL 10.3825). Width: 0,67 m., height: 1,42 m. Photo author, Courtesy Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli; inventory number: 3956.

places or building of special significance of the respective rulers, which seems to suggest a promotional function as well. For example, Claudian *cippi* were found near the *Castra Praetoria*, the place where Claudius was proclaimed emperor by the praetorian guard, and a Hadrianic *cippus* was discovered near the *Saepta Julia*, the voting hall which Hadrian rebuilt or restored.⁴⁰ The pomerial markers in Rome that belonged to the extensions were preserved, because they were used to signify and advertise an extension of the Roman sphere of influence.⁴¹ As such, the *pomerium* had an additional function besides demarcating the inaugurated city: visualising Rome's military power and propagating an enlargement of the empire on a local level.⁴²

In theory, the extension of the *pomerium* would also have involved ploughing the boundary. We have no idea if this actually happened; a mere procession in a counter clockwise motion headed by the 'founder', reminiscent of the earlier mentioned *amburbium*, may have sufficed. Besides newly plotted *pomeria*, the *sulcus primigenius* also kept recurring in the imagery of Rome. The act of ploughing marked a beginning - or a *new* beginning. As Ika Willis puts it, the plough was used as an instrument of spacing that reorganized the

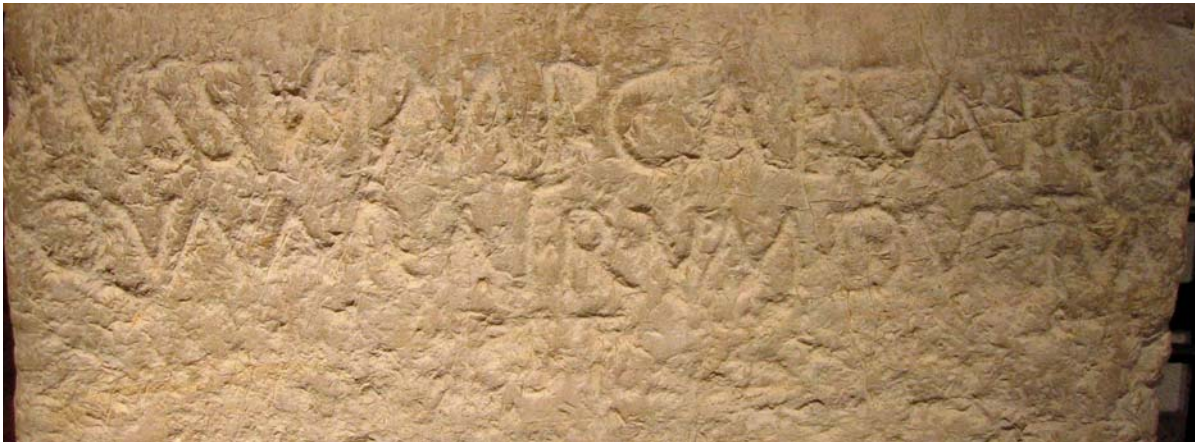


Fig. 3. Detail: inscription from Capua (CIL 10.3825). Photo author.

surface of the earth.⁴³ It was an instrument of mark-making. Stemming from Roman agricultural tradition, as referred to by for example Virgil, it also served its purpose in an urbanised society.⁴⁴

The Rome connection

The *sulcus primigenius* theme was used to emphasize a connection with Rome and its historical past. Near Capua, for example, six *cippi* were found attesting the town's new foundation by Octavian some time between 36 and 27 BCE.⁴⁵ The inscriptions read (figs 2-3):

By command of the *imperator* Caesar [this stone is placed] where the plough was drawn.⁴⁶

The reference to the *sulcus primigenius* is evident, but what was the function of these markers in Capua? None of the *cippi* was found *in situ*, however, and of the six inscriptions that were discovered, only two can be located today: one in the National Archaeological Museum of Naples and one in Marcianise, a town 9 km to the southeast of Santa Maria Capua Vetere, the modern town on the site of ancient Capua, where the inscription has been incorporated in the facade of a palazzo.⁴⁷ It is therefore impossible to determine the relation between the *cippi* and the city wall of Capua. The stones do imply, however, that Capua was (re)founded by the same ploughing ritual associated with Romulus when he founded Rome and that it established a close link between the founder and its city and finally, that it would have indicated the extent of the city's inaugurated territory.⁴⁸ As the town of Capua existed before it was turned into a Roman colony, it is

unlikely that the *sulcus primigenius* referred to in the inscriptions demarcated the line of future fortifications since they were already present.⁴⁹ Instead, the stones announced the new beginning of the town under Roman control, bringing across a strong political message. At the same time there is a reference towards the past, to Rome's long history and tradition, placing Capua's re-foundation in that same tradition, bearing Rome's hallmark.

The marble relief from Aquileia conveys a similar message (fig. 1). The relief has been dated to the first century CE, and shows a *conditor* urging on a ceremonial team of cattle with garlands between their horns, drawing a plough followed by a crowd of men in toga.⁵⁰ The relief probably once adorned a public building, where the image of the town's foundation according to Rome's principles would have been most visible, showing off its political and legal status.⁵¹ Giovanni Battista Brusin suggested the relief was part of a frieze that once embellished a gate or arch, Monica Verzár suggested the basilica as a possible location of display and Simon Price argued that the relief once decorated an altar.⁵² In Brusin's reconstruction the image would have had a higher visibility, but considering the figures' total height, maximum 25 cm., they are relatively small compared to other reliefs on public monuments, for example, in Rome.⁵³ The Aquileia relief would not have been visible at great heights, which could make Price's interpretation more likely.⁵⁴ Along the Via Salaria in Rome a relief was discovered in 1997 in a (semi-)private context also depicting the ploughing theme. The relief was found in a funerary setting and shows a *sella curulis* and a *capsa*, a box for scrolls, in the lower section and a foundation scene in a smaller bas-



Fig. 4. Fragment of a funerary relief found along the Via Salaria. Width 1,17 m., height 0,84 m., depth 0,40 m. Photo author, courtesy of the Museo Nazionale Romano - Terme di Diocleziano; inventory number 394442.

relief in the upper section (fig. 4).⁵⁵ The founder is shown *capite velato* driving a team of cattle forward. He is accompanied by at least two onlookers, possibly more, but as the relief has not been completely preserved, this cannot be ascertained. To his left, two togate men, who are slightly smaller and therefore possibly standing at a distance, are looking towards what looks like a city gate, providing a topographical context for the ceremony or giving a preview of what was to be built after the ceremony. Based on stylistic grounds, the relief has been dated to the second century CE and the *sella curulis* refers to a senior magistrate with *imperium*, who may have wanted to record his involvement in the foundation of a city in the provinces on his tomb monument.

The use of the *sulcus primigenius* as a symbol for urban change or renewal also becomes evident when we look at the opposite of the foundation

ritual: the 'un-founding' of a city. The cities of Carthage and Corinth, both sacked by the Romans in 146 BCE, were un-founded and subsequently re-founded; they are fitting examples. Corinth's fortification wall was removed, as such undoing the city's foundation.⁵⁶ In Carthage, the demolition of the city was of a more symbolic and ritual nature: the annulment of the *sulcus primigenius*. The ritual nature of this act is highlighted in Macrobius' description in his *Saturnalia*, which mentions some sort of formula that is uttered during the ceremony.⁵⁷ The city was, as it were, obliterated from the landscape and became part of the countryside again through ploughing; at least this is what the Roman probably thought happened, as Ray Laurence argued.⁵⁸ The undoing of the *sulcus primigenius* must have been a firm statement: you are Rome's enemy and we take away your Roman city-ness. In the *Digest* we find a further reference to this destructive measure:

If the usufruct is left by way of legacy to a *civitas* and the site of the *civitas* is afterward turned over to the plough, it ceases to be a *civitas*, as happened to Carthage. Accordingly it ceases to have the usufruct on the grounds, as it were, of death.⁵⁹

Julius Caesar re-founded both Corinth and Carthage one century after their destruction, a fact that can hardly be considered a coincidence.⁶⁰ The symbolic significance of these two cities being among Caesar's colonies was also noticed by Plutarch.⁶¹ The foundation of Carthage in particular can be seen as an attempt to illustrate Rome's dominance over one of its longstanding enemies: it not only oversaw its destruction, but also its resurrection. Augustus later consolidated Caesar's attempt when he founded the *Colonia Concordia Iulia Karthago*: a city, remarkably enough, with no city walls at all!⁶²

When Caesar refounded Carthage and Corinth, he also founded colonies at Capua in Italy and Urso in Spain at about the same time. Like Corinth and Carthage, these towns had been centres of resistance against Rome: Capua had been punished in 211 BCE, after siding with Hannibal and Rome took away its political infrastructure and institutions; Urso had had pro-Pompey sympathies. Even though Capua lost its political rights and its territory became *ager publicus*, the town itself was not destroyed.⁶³ Caesar made a

political statement by founding these colonies at roughly the same time, as he not only provided land for his veterans, but also for civilians and simultaneously relieved the demographic pressure on Rome.⁶⁴ He converted those cities, which formerly had had a feud with Rome, into Roman centres, and emphasised that he was responsible for it. It was the beginning of a new relationship with these cities and this act was supported by direct references to the traditional Roman foundation ceremony, the *sulcus primigenius*. The act connected the new colonies to Rome: it gave them Roman roots. In addition, the *sulcus primigenius* was important for the legal and political status of a city and it was therefore mentioned in documents such as Urso's foundation charter and Capua's *cippi* (figs 2-3).⁶⁵

Winds of political change

Besides references to the ploughing theme in inscriptions and on reliefs, the theme also appeared on coinage. This imagery not only signified actual foundations of new colonies, but could also announce a regime change, in which the new ruler sought to announce new beginnings. The obverse generally displays a portrait of the founder and the reverse a figure behind a plough with cattle (figs 4-6). The *sulcus primigenius* theme was especially popular on Augustan and Tiberian coins, when we find relatively many examples, and it was used at least



Fig. 5. Augustan denarius, dated to 32-29 BCE, depicting Apollo laureate on the obverse and Augustus, veiled and laureate, behind the plough, holding a whip, on the reverse (RIC 1.272). Photo courtesy of De Nederlandsche Bank.



Fig. 6. Vespasianic coin, dated to 77-78 CE, depicting the emperor and a team of cattle (RIC 2.944).
Photo The British Museum, inventory number: R.10432.

until the reign of emperor Gordian III in the late third century CE.⁶⁶ The image of a veiled figure behind a team of cattle would generally have sufficed to communicate a new city foundation.⁶⁷ Some coin issues, however, contain more details, for example, a rare Augustan *aureus* dated to 13 BCE which shows the emperor on the obverse together with a *lituus* and *simpulum*, attributes of the *pontifex maximus*, and Augustus as a veiled priest ploughing in front of a city wall and a gate on the reverse.⁶⁸ The coin may be linked to Augustus' conquest of the Alpine regions Raetia and Noricum in 15 BCE and the city wall depicted could figuratively refer to the foundation of Roman control in these rather undeveloped areas. Simone Sisani, on the other hand, connected this coin to important events that took place in Rome between 13 and 8 BCE, such as the city's reorganisation into fourteen regions, the restoration of several of the city gates, the performance of the census and a possible pomerial extension.⁶⁹

Coins displaying the *sulcus primigenius* theme were issued from Rome's mints particularly at times when one could metaphorically think of a re-foundation of Rome, after a regime change or when the city had been renovated after destruction by fire, for example. At such moments the drive to restore the urban environment to what it had been (or to a better version of it) must have been immense, not only for the inhabitants but also for the ruler. Kevin Lynch demonstrated this for the rebuilding of London after the big fire of 1666.⁷⁰ The major part of the City lay in ashes and

with the country being at war with France, there was no money to spare. However, money was made available for reviving old ceremonies and, more importantly, for restoring St. Paul's Cathedral. The rebuilding of the monument represented the past, but simultaneously set the tone for what the future could hold.⁷¹ In a similar way, emperors used the *sulcus primigenius* to refer back to Rome's mythical past and to mark the beginning of a new era. If the *sulcus primigenius* was actually performed on these occasions as a sort of counter clockwise procession, the opposite of the sun's rotation, one could even argue that the ceremony symbolised a motion back in time, to earlier glory days.⁷² Octavian, for example, chose the *sulcus* theme for one of his coin issues after the Battle of Actium when he 'renewed' the Roman Republic (fig. 5).⁷³ A Vespasianic coin shows the emperor on the obverse and yoked cattle on the reverse, possibly referring to his 'new Rome' after Nero's destructive reign and the tumultuous struggle for power after his death (fig. 6).⁷⁴ According to Suetonius, the emperor even personally took part in the restoration of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline, carried off debris and made an effort to restore three thousand bronze tablets containing governmental documents that perished along with the temple, in an attempt to also revive the administrative function of the building.⁷⁵ Even more unambiguous is a series of coins issued by Commodus in the year 192 CE when the emperor declared himself the new founder of Rome, not

in the guise of Romulus but as Hercules Romanus Conditor, and re-founded the city as *Colonia Lucia Antoniniana Commodiana* (fig. 7).⁷⁶ This happened in 191 CE after a large fire had destroyed many monuments in the centre of Rome and it is not unlikely that the emperor used this disaster as a springboard to his 'new' foundation of Rome as the 'Immortal, Fortunate Colony of the Civilised World'. Cassius Dio noted that at the time a golden statue was erected in honour of Commodus representing the emperor with a bull and a cow, which was undoubtedly a representation of the *sulcus primigenius* ritual.⁷⁷ Olivier Hekster further noted that referring to the new Rome as the 'colony of the civilised world', and not just a colony, Commodus wanted to take the significance of the city even further: Rome was the centre of the empire and he had made that happen.⁷⁸

If we return to the abovementioned *Lex de Imperio Vespasiani* for a moment, it is notable to read that an extension of the *pomerium* was allowed if it were 'in the interest of the state.'⁷⁹ How the state actually benefited from a pomerial extension the text does not clarify. Peter Brunt dated the document to December 69 CE and connected it to the moment upon which Vespasian was first recognized as the new ruler of Rome.⁸⁰ As such, the document can be related to the beginning of Vespasian's reign. Legally recording and allowing the extension of the *pomerium* would not only entail staging the extension with the related pomp, but also signalled a new start from a political point of view.

Finally, the *sulcus primigenius* theme was not only used to advertise positive qualities of a ruler. In his *Second Philippic*, Cicero used the *sulcus primigenius* as an instrument to reveal Mark Antony's lack of leadership and to, obviously, mock him:

But you, euphoric and audacious, disregarding all the respect due to the auspices, deducted Casilinum as a colony, where one had been previously deducted a few years before; in order to erect your standard there, and to mark out the line of the new colony with a plough. And with that plough you almost grazed the gate of Capua, so as to diminish the territory of that flourishing colony.⁸¹

Cicero's phrasing *aratrum circumducere*⁸² is very similar to the Capuan inscription mentioned earlier and his comments should be interpreted as a way of ridiculing Mark Antony - which is one of the main purposes of his *Philippics* after all - rather than a reference to his inability to found a city.⁸³ In addition, it emphasises Antony's unlawful behaviour as it was not allowed to found a new colony at Casilinum because one existed there already, founded by Julius Caesar.⁸⁴

CONCLUSION

After having disentangled the *pomerium* and the *sulcus primigenius*, this paper has shed a new light on the significance and symbolic use of the *sulcus*



Fig. 7. Coin dated to 192 CE showing Commodus in the guise of Hercules Romanus Conditor, the founder of a new Rome (RIC 3.247). Photo Münzkabinett Wien, <http://www.ikmk.at/object?id=ID65519>.

primigenius and the *pomerium*, particularly in the imperial period when these themes were popular and significant. Even after the *pomerium* had been traced by the plough and subsequently built over by the city wall, it kept its importance as an urban boundary, for example to demarcate the limit of the *auspicia urbana*, bound certain magistracies and indicate the realm outside which the victorious general had to stay until his day of triumph. The *pomerium* and the *sulcus primigenius* were clearly two separate phenomena that both had their own development over the centuries. Starting out as two consecutive actions associated with the foundation ceremony of Rome, during the imperial period the *pomerium* had developed from a ritual boundary that enclosed the inaugurated urban territory and preceded the city wall into a symbolic limit that visualised the growth of the Roman Empire and advertised the outstanding military leadership and superiority of the ruler on a local level. The article then further argued that while the *pomerium* seems to have been used for political and administrative publicity purposes on empire-level, the *sulcus primigenius* was mainly exploited for political advertisements on a city-level, firmly connecting the 'founder' to the city. A re-foundation of Rome was particularly reflected in coinage. It would seem that at set times, often after some catastrophe, major urban renewal projects or forceful regime changes had struck the city, the *sulcus primigenius* was a popular theme and made its appearance in visual media announcing a new start of the city and advertising its regime's involvement. On coins in particular, the founders purposely sought a connection with the first ploughman, Romulus, consolidating their connection with Rome's past. At the same time and with the same ritual, they revived the current city, announced great times to come and demarcated space, place and time.

NOTES

* This article builds on ideas that are touched upon in my 2017 book. I am grateful for the constructive criticism and comments of the anonymous reviewers and Olivier Hekster, who read an earlier version of this paper. Translations of Greek and Latin sources are based on the Loeb Classical Library series, unless noted otherwise.

¹ Cato *Or.* 1.4; Varro *LL* 5.143; Liv. 1.44.4-5; Plut. *Rom.* 11.2; also, Diod. Sic. 8.6.1.

² One of the towns explicitly mentioned by Varro, besides Rome, is Aricia, a town 25 km. to the southeast of Rome. A reason for this could be the Roman Triumph in Monte Albano, which started here. For a full discussion of these implications see Stevens 2017, 47-48. See also Hjort Lange 2014.

³ Var. *LL* 5.143; Liv. 1.44.4; Cic. *Div.* 2.35.75. See also Van der Meer 2011, 82-89.

⁴ For example, Le Gall 1970; Beard/North/Price 1998.2, 93; Cibotto 2006, 28; Goodman 2007, 42; Carlà 2015; Sisani 2016.

⁵ For the spread of the ploughing theme in the provinces, see Howgego 2005, who introduces a variety of themes that can be found on provincial coinage. By referring to a (mythical) past on coins, for example, he argues that a common identity can be constructed by simultaneously anchoring a place in the present. Also Sisani 2014, 382-383.

⁶ See also: Cic. *Div.* 1.17.33: *...et ita sulco ducto loca murorum designabant, aratrum suspendentes circa loca portarum.* (And this is how after having drawn the furrow they determined the location of the walls, lifting the plough at the locations of gates); Plut. *Rom.* 11.3: *ὅπου δὲ πύλην ἐμβαλεῖν διανοοῦνται, τὴν ὕνιν ἐξελάοντες καὶ τὸ ἄροτρον ὑπερθέντες διὰ λειμνα ποιοῦσιν.* *ὅθεν ἅπαν τὸ τεῖχος ἱερὸν πλὴν τῶν πυλῶν νομίζουσι: τὰς δὲ πύλας ἱεράς νομίζοντας οὐκ ἦν ἄνευ δεισιδαιμονίας τὰ μὲν δέχεσθαι, τὰ δ' ἀποπέμπειν τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ μὴ καθαρῶν.* (And where they planned a gate, they made an open space taking the plough share out and lifting the plough across. And this is the reason why they regard the whole wall as sacred, except of the gates; but if they considered the gates sacred, it would not be possible, without religious scruples, to admit or send out things that are necessary and not clean.); Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 27.

⁷ Var. *LL* 5.143: *...eiusque auspicia urbana finiuntur.* (...and here [sc. at the *pomerium*] were the limits of the urban auspices.); Gel. 13.14.1: *pomerium est locus intra agrum effatum... qui facit finem urbani auspicii.* (The *pomerium* is an area within the inaugurated zone... that marks the limit of the urban auspices.). For an extensive discussion and analysis of the ancient sources, see Sisani 2014, 357-365, with a helpful table on p. 363.

⁸ On the urban auspices see Beard/North/Price 1998, 22; Drogula 2015, 53-54.

⁹ Linderski 1986, 2278-2279.

¹⁰ On the *pomerium* as the limit of the *tribunicia potestas*: Dio 51.19.6; Liv. 45.35.4; Dio 39.65.1; 55.8.1-2; cf. Gargola 1995, 27; Bastien 2007, 201-202; Drogula 2007, 420; 442-445; Hjort Lange 2015, 133-134.

¹¹ For a discussion of the role of the *pomerium* during the triumph, see Stevens 2017, 43-51.

¹² Related to this distinction, the idea has been put forward that *imperium militiae* was exercised outside the *pomerium*, while *imperium domi* was the highest civil power inside the *pomerium*. Gel. *NA* 15.275; Magdelain 1977, 11-12; Rüpke 1990, 41; Richardson 1991, 3; Drogula 2007, 420-422; Sisani 2014, 371.

¹³ On the rules for obtaining a triumph and the development of these criteria, see Lundgreen 2014; also Carlà 2015, 607-614.

¹⁴ Willis 2011, 21-23.

¹⁵ Beard/North/Price 1998.1, 178. Besides this annually returning procession, there were also more *ad hoc* lustrations of the city's boundary. For example, Pliny *Nat.* 10.35, about a lustration that took place in 43 CE after a horned owl - a very inauspicious bird - had entered the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline Hill. For a description, see also Lucanus *Phars.* 1.593.

¹⁶ Gowing 2005, 14-15.

¹⁷ Varro, writing in the early first century BCE, is the oldest known source that discussed the *pomerium*. As seen earlier he suggested the etymology: *qui quod erat post murum, postmoerium dictum* (because the circle was *post murum*, 'back of the wall', was called a *postmoerium*) and located the

- pomerium* behind the wall. Var. *LL* 5.143. Festus (295L), on the other hand, offered another origin of the word and proposed: *Dictum autem pomerium, quasi promurium, id est proximum muro* (But it was called *pomerium*, as it were in front of the wall, that is very close to the wall). Other suggestions include *circum* or *circa muros* (Liv. 1.44.4; Suet. fr. 313 (Roth); *Corp. Glossat. Lat.* V, 321) and *proximus muri* (*Corp. Glossat. Lat.* V, 474).
- ¹⁸ Cf. De Sanctis 2007, 513. Cibotto (2006, 29) and Sisani (2016, 73) suggest that the point of view should be from outside the city and therefore locate the *pomerium*, coming from *post* and *murum* (**pos* + *moirion*), inside the city walls. See also Prodocimi 1969, 7-14. Laurence (1994, 80) on the other hand suggested that *post murum* should be seen from the inside of the wall, which would place the *pomerium* outside the city walls.
- ¹⁹ Antaya (1980, 187) suggested that the word *pomerium* originates in the Indo-European root **smer*, which means to allocate or to measure out. In this sense the *pomerium* (**po-smerium*) would be a boundary measured out from a certain point, not necessarily being the city wall, in which **po* would be a prefix. See also Sisani 2016, 66-67; 76. Milani (1987, 7-8) noted that from a semantic point of view both *post-murium* and *pro-murium* are valid origins of the word *pomerium*, whereas Cibotto (2006, 29) favours a *post-murium* origin.
- ²⁰ For the discussion see Sisani 2014, especially 379; also Sisani 2016, 73.
- ²¹ In Varro, as cited above, we find references to a line whereas Livy and Gellius refer to a *locus*. Varro *LL* 5.143; Liv. 1.44.4; Gel. 13.14.1. See also Cibotto 2006, 28-29. In an attempt to explain the divergent interpretations of the ancient authors, Oliver (1932, 146) suggested that somehow, in time, the *pomerium* must have developed from a linear concept to a zone, unfortunately without any further explanation. Sisani 2014, 370-372.
- ²² Antaya 1980, 185.
- ²³ Sisani 2014, 384.
- ²⁴ Sisani 2014, 379-381; 388-390.
- ²⁵ Hjort Lange 2014 on the triumph in *Monte Albano*; Stevens 2017, 47-48. Sisani (2014, 384-385) provides a different interpretation for Varro's reference.
- ²⁶ Cf. Hjort Lange 2014, 67.
- ²⁷ Cf. Sisani 2014, 370.
- ²⁸ De Sanctis 2007; also Sisani (2014) makes a clear distinction between the *pomerium* and the *sulcus primigenius* in an extensive study; see also Sisani 2016, 65-73.
- ²⁹ E.g. Le Gall 1970, 59; Panciera 1999, 9; Carafa 2000, 272; Simonelli 2001, 160; Cibotto 2006, 28-30.
- ³⁰ Plut. *Rom.* 11.2: ὁ δ' οἰκιστὴς... αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπάγει περιελαύνων ἀλλὰ βαθεῖαν τοῖς τέμασι...
- ³¹ *Oxford Latin Dictionary* s.v. *terminus*. Cf. *CIL* 6.31538a-c; 6.40855.
- ³² De Sanctis 2007, 509-511.
- ³³ Var. *LL* 5.143; Gel. 13.14.1. Sisani (2014, 368) notes that this particular function made it necessary to demarcate the *pomerium* with *cippi*.
- ³⁴ For changing significances in rituals see Lynch 1972, 31-32. See also Lyasse 2005, 172; 186; Mignone 2016, 438-439; Orlin 2016, 120-121.
- ³⁵ Hadrian put up new pomerial markers in 121 CE (*CIL* 6.31539a-c; 6.40855), because the ones erected by Vespasian and Titus disappeared from view due to the raising of the street level in the Campus Martius area. There, a Hadrianic marker was discovered directly above a Vespasianic one, bearing the same number in the sequence, 158. For the discovery of the markers, see Romanelli 1933, 240-246. For a discussion of Hadrian's restoration of the *pomerium*, see Stevens 2017, 35-37.
- ³⁶ Gel. 13.14.3: *Habebat autem ius proferendi pomerii, qui populum Romanum agro de hostibus capto auxerat.* (He who had increased the domain of the Roman people, by land taken from the enemy, had the right to extend the *pomerium*); Sen. *Brev. Vit.* 10.13.8: [...] *Sullam ultimum Romanorum protulisse pomerium, quod numquam provinciali, sed Italico agro adquisito proferre moris apud antiquos fuit.* ([...] that Sulla was the last of the Romans who extended the *pomerium*, which in old times it was customary to extend after the acquisition of Italian, but never of provincial, territory); Tac. *Ann.* 12.23.2: *et pomerium urbis auxit Caesar, more prisco, quo iis qui protulere imperium etiam terminos urbis propagare datur* (The emperor likewise widened the sacred precincts of the capital, in conformity with the ancient usage, according to which, those who had enlarged the empire were permitted also to extend the boundaries of Rome); HA *Aurel.* 21.10: *Pomerio autem neminem principum licet addere nisi eum, qui agri barbarici aliqua parte Romanam rem p(ublicam) locupletaverit* (For no emperor is allowed to extend the *pomerium*, unless he increased the Roman territory by some portion of foreign land).
- ³⁷ *Lex de Imperio Vespasiani* (*CIL* 6.930): *atque ei fines pomerii proferre, promovere, cum ex re publica censebit esse, liceat, ita ut licuit Ti. Claudio Caesari Aug(usto) Germanico,* (And that he shall have the right, just as Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus had, to extend and advance the boundaries of the *pomerium* whenever he deems it to be in the interest of the state).
- ³⁸ Literary sources refer to pomerial extensions by Sulla, Caesar, Augustus, Nero (Dio 43.5; Tac. *Ann.* 12.23.4; Sen. *Brev.* 13.8). For discussions of these possible extensions see Boatwright 1986; Lyasse 2005, 173-175; 178-179; Carlà 2015, 608; 614-616; 629.
- ³⁹ Claudius: *CIL* 6.31537a-d; 37022-4; 40853: *...auctis populi Romani / finibus pomerium / ampliavit terminavit(ue)*; Vespasian and Titus: *CIL* 6.31538a-c; 40854: *...auctis p(opuli) R(omani) finibus / pomerium ampliaverunt / terminaverunt(ue)*. Hadrian: *CIL* 6.31539a-c; 6.40855: *...terminos pomerii / restituendos curavit*.
- ⁴⁰ Stevens 2017, 57-59.
- ⁴¹ For another political function of the *pomerium* see Orlin 2008, 231-253, in which Orlin argues that Octavian's decree from 28 BCE prohibiting Egyptian rites inside the *pomerium* was not a sign of hostility towards foreign religions, but rather a way of clearly demarcating the boundary between Roman and non-Roman.
- ⁴² For a detailed discussion of Claudius' pomerial extension and the related symbolism, see Mignone 2016.
- ⁴³ Willis 2011, 23; also Carlà 2015, 603.
- ⁴⁴ Verg. *Georg.* 1.43-46; 50-53; 60-63.
- ⁴⁵ Chioffi 2008, 19-20.
- ⁴⁶ *CIL* 10.3825: *Iussu imperatoris Caesaris qua aratrum ductum est.*
- ⁴⁷ Chioffi 2008, 18-19. Two *cippi* were allegedly found in modern Capua near Vico di S. Germano and near Piazza S. Tommaso d' Aquino; the *cippus* in the Naples Museum is thought to have been discovered in Santa Maria Capua Vetere near the 'Case Del Balzo', but is unfortunately untraceable.
- ⁴⁸ See also Eckstein 1979, 87-88; Sisani 2014, 380.
- ⁴⁹ App. *Hann.* 36.
- ⁵⁰ Based on a stylistic analysis Brusin (1931, 472-475) dated the frieze to the first century CE. More recently: Di Filippo Balestrazzi 2005, 94-106; Verzár 2009, 203.
- ⁵¹ It could refer to Aquileia becoming the capital of Augustus' X region *Venetia et Histria*.
- ⁵² Brusin 1931, 474-475; Verzár 2009, 203; Beard/North/Price 1998.2, 244.
- ⁵³ By way of comparison: the reliefs on the Column of Trajan measure 91 cm. in height, the reliefs on the inside of the

- Arch of Titus 200 cm., and the frieze on outside of the Arch of Constantine 102 cm.
- ⁵⁴ Another inscription from Aquileia, which records the actual foundation of the colony by L. Manlius Acidinus, Gaius Flaminius and Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica may have propagated a similar political message: *CIL* 5.873: *L(ucius) Manlius L(uci) f(ilius) / Acidinus triu(m)vir / Aquileiae coloniae / deducundae*. (Lucius Manlius, son of Lucius, triumvir [in charge of] the foundation of the colony of Aquileia).
- ⁵⁵ Di Gennaro 2006, 249-50; Friggeri/Magnani Cianetti 2014, 131.
- ⁵⁶ Rykwert 1976, 70-71; Stevens 1988, 39-40; Purcell 1995, 137; 140. Walbank (1997, 95-96) on Corinth says that the city was not destroyed to such an extent as the literary sources have suggested. The north *stoa* and a colonnaded hall were badly damaged; the archaic temple and the water supply were left intact. Remarkable was the phenomenon that many inscriptions had been smashed into tiny pieces, which, according to Walbank, reflects the political purpose of the sacking rather than an act of destruction.
- ⁵⁷ Macr. *Sat.* 3.9.7-8.
- ⁵⁸ Laurence 1996, 115.
- ⁵⁹ Mod. *Dig.* 7.4.21 (first half of the third century CE): *si usus fructus civitati legetur et aratrum in ea inducatur, civitas esse desinit, ut passa est carthago, ideoque quasi morte desinit habere usum fructum* (English translation: Watson 1998). Other references to the contrary ritual of founding a city to mark its destruction: Prop. 3.9.41; Hor. *Carm.* 1.16.21; Sen. *Cl.* 1.26.4; Serv. *A.* 4.212.
- ⁶⁰ Purcell 1995, 139.
- ⁶¹ Plut. *Caes.* 57.
- ⁶² Rakob 2000, 75. The lack of city walls surely underlined the character of the new relationship with Carthage.
- ⁶³ Frederiksen 1984, 264; Lomas 2003, 289. Liv. 26.16; 31.29; Cic. *Agr.* 2.87-88 said in one of his speeches delivered in the late 60's BCE on agrarian law that there were 'but three cities in the whole earth, Carthage, Corinth, and Capua, which could aspire to the power and name of the imperial city'. Not that surprising then that Julius Caesar refounded these cities: Capua in 59 BCE, Corinth and Carthage in 46-44 BCE.
- ⁶⁴ Suet. *Iul.* 42.1; Gardner 2009, 64.
- ⁶⁵ *Lex ursonensis* 73 (*CIL* 2.5439).
- ⁶⁶ E.g. SNG France 3, 1208-1209; see Sisani 2014, note 117 for an extensive overview of relevant coin types.
- ⁶⁷ Cf. Lobüsch/Seibert 2002, 583: 'Die Darstellung des *ritus Etruscus* (sc. *Sulcus primigenius*) bot die Möglichkeit, den komplexen administrativen, rechtlichen und sozialen Vorgang einer Koloniegründung allgemeinverständlich zu fassen und abzubilden. Gerade die Abstraktheit der Darstellung vereinfachte das Verständnis auch für Personen-gruppen, die keinen Anteil an der Tagespolitik nahmen.'
- ⁶⁸ *RIC* 1.402. Other examples are *RIC* 1.272, depicting Octavian as a city founder of Nicopolis in Epiros in 30-29 BCE; *RPC* 1.4749 is a Neronian coin with a city foundation scene on the reverse with four *vexillae* in the background; *RPC* 1658.4 has Tiberius and Drusus Caesar on the obverse, and two ploughing pontiffs on the reverse; *RIC* 2.568, a Trajanic coin depicting the emperor with laurel wreath and *aegis* on obverse and ploughing scene on reverse.
- ⁶⁹ Sisani 2014, 390-391. The coin (*RIC* 1.402) has been dated to 13 BCE, the year which Sisani sees as the starting point of many of the events that were concluded in 8 BCE. According to Dio (55.6.6) and Tacitus (*Ann.* 12.23), Augustus also extended the *pomerium* in that year. See also Coarelli 1988, 54-59; Stevens 2016, 294. Augustus restored the Porta Carmentalis (after 12 BCE), the Flumentana (after 12 BCE) and the Caelimontana (10 BCE).
- ⁷⁰ Lynch 1972, 3-9.
- ⁷¹ Lynch 1972, 8.
- ⁷² See Stevens 2017, 56-57 for the possible performance of the *sulcus primigenius* on the occasion of pomerial extensions.
- ⁷³ *RIC* 1² 272, dated to 29-27 BCE. See also Sisani 2014, 390-391. I want to thank Paul Belien, curator of the National Numismatic Collection at *De Nederlandsche Bank* at Amsterdam for his help with the coins.
- ⁷⁴ *RIC* 2.943-945; 951-952. I want to thank Liesbeth Claes for bringing this coin type to my attention.
- ⁷⁵ Suet. *Vesp.* 8.5; also Tac. *Hist.* 4.53. For the restoration of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the Etruscan origin of the rituals involved, see Van der Meer 2011, 97-99; for the symbolic value see also Levick 1999, 125-126.
- ⁷⁶ Lobüsch/Seibert 2002, 583; Sisani 2014, 391; *RIC* 247; 629; Dio 73.15.2: Κομμοδιανὴν γοῦν τὴν τε Ῥώμην αὐτὴν καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα Κομμοδιανὰ, τὴν τε ἡμέραν ἐν ἣ ταῦτα ἐψηφίζετο Κομμοδιανὰ καλεῖσθαι προεσέταξεν...τὴν δὲ Ῥώμην ἀθανάτων εὐτυχὴ κολωνίαν τῆς οἰκουμένης (καὶ γὰρ ἄποικον αὐτὴν ἑαυτοῦ δοκεῖν ἐβούλετο) ἐπωνόμασεν (He actually ordered that Rome itself should be called Commodiana, the legions Comodian, and the day on which these measures were voted Comodian... Rome he styled the 'Immortal, fortunate colony of the civilised world'; for he wished it to be regarded as a settlement of his own).
- ⁷⁷ Dio 73.15.2: καὶ ἀνδριάς τε αὐτῷ χρυσοῦς χιλιῶν λιτρῶν μετὰ τε ταύρου καὶ βοῦς θηλείας ἐγένετο (And for him a gold statue was erected of a thousand pounds' weight, representing him together with a bull and a cow).
- ⁷⁸ Hekster 2002, 95-96.
- ⁷⁹ *CIL* 6.930: *utique ei fines pomerii proferre promovere, cum ex re publica censebit esse, liceat ita, uti licuit Ti. Claudio Caesari Aug(usto) Germanico*.
- ⁸⁰ Brunt 1977, 95.
- ⁸¹ Cic. *Phil.* 2.102: *tu autem insolentia elatus omni auspiorum iure turbato Casilinum coloniam deduxisti, quo erat paucis annis ante deducta, ut vexillum tolleres, ut aratrum circumduceres; cuius quidem vomere portam Capuae paene perstrinxisti, ut florentis coloniae territorium minueretur*.
- ⁸² A similar phrasing also occurs in the legal charter from Urso (*Lex. Urs.* 73): *Ne quis intra fines oppidi colon(iae)ve qua aratro circumductum erit...*
- ⁸³ Ramsey 2003, 159-160; cf. Huzar 1978, 99; Eckstein 1979, 89-90.
- ⁸⁴ *Caes. B. Civ.* 1.14.4; Ramsey 2003, 308-309.

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Alba Fucens: il reimpiego a S. Pietro e le 'normalizzazioni' dell'ordine corinzio in età augustea e nel medioevo

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Abstract

*This article deals with the Roman re-used columns of the church of S. Pietro in Alba Fucens. The Corinthian capitals and the shafts of the naves are of Lunense marble, those on the sides of the apses are of local stone. We focus on the normalization of the Corinthian capital in the Augustan age through an analytical study. That is the consequence of styles popularized by Rome and Campania. They spread widely in Italy and in the Western provinces. We have also carried out the study of the normalization of the medieval Corinthian capitals in Abruzzo that the capitals of the iconostasis testify. The style of the second triumvirate is widely taken up in capitals and other decorations of the churches of the 12th and 13th centuries.**

INTRODUZIONE

Nel dossier sempre più ampio del reimpiego e del recupero dell'antico nelle chiese dell'Italia romanica, che raccoglie i marmi architettonici utilizzati nelle colonne, negli amboni, nelle iconostasi, nei cibori e in altre partizioni, si sta profilando l'esigenza di fornire dati tipologici più sicuri che permettano di distinguere gli elementi antichi di reimpiego da quelli copiati, o che citano l'antico o che lo trasformano secondo le mode dell'epoca. Usiamo il verbo 'copiare' sebbene naturalmente sia noto che non esiste veramente una copia fedele: infatti in qualunque tentativo di copiare un manufatto antico, i tempi contemporanei allo scultore si scrivono nell'opera: anche nelle copie più classicistiche di capitelli e di altri elementi architettonici eseguiti in epoca rinascimentale il freddo classicismo e lo stile accademico tradiscono sempre l'intervento di un copista. I termini 'copia', anche se tra virgolette, citazione e trasformazione dell'antico servono a distinguere un certo numero di manufatti, in particolare fregi con girali d'acanto, ma anche capitelli e basi, che sono in apparenza talmente simili ai modelli antichi da aver tratto spesso in errore gli storici dell'arte. Anzi rispetto alle 'copie' si sono verificati due casi: o l'elemento architettonico medievale era considerato romano antico o l'elemento di reimpiego romano era considerato medievale. Questa nostra premessa nasce dall'esperienza, che abbiamo maturato in questo campo, sulle modalità di ripresa in particolare delle foglie d'acanto e dei tralci vegetali. Già in altra sede abbiamo

osservato che nel medioevo vengono utilizzati tre tipi di acanto: l'*acanthus mollis*, l'*acanthus spinosa* e l'acanto dentellato bizantino, ma si è notato che, a seconda degli ambienti in cui veniva innalzato l'edificio religioso e in dipendenza della presenza o meno di resti monumentali romani, spesso si verifica che l'acanto a cui ci si ispira sia elaborato in tal modo da riflettere anche la cronologia dei modelli. In tal senso gli scultori medievali sono stati in grado di riprodurre l'acanto tardo-repubblicano/primo augusteo, nello stile più geometrizzante del Secondo Triumvirato, e nello stesso tempo, e spesso nello stesso monumento, riprodurre l'acanto più naturalistico della piena età augustea, quello cioè creato nei cantieri del Foro di Augusto a Roma, e ancora l'acanto più corrente impiegato nel I e nel II secolo d.C. Abbiamo osservato che sono proprio le decorazioni con foglie d'acanto, che imitano lo stile del Secondo Triumvirato, ad essere confuse con un acanto di produzione medievale, e vedremo come anche in Abruzzo vi siano capitelli antichi che utilizzano questo acanto, ma che sono considerati medievali e viceversa. Queste notazioni, va subito detto, nascono all'interno di una storia degli studi di tipo accademico, che ricerca la derivazione dei tipi e degli stili. Tuttavia gli artigiani medievali, come anche i fruitori delle chiese, erano colpiti soprattutto dal senso dell'antico, che veniva prodotto in un dato spazio architettonico dall'impiego di basi, colonne e capitelli, siano essi antichi o ispirati all'antico. L'aspettativa da parte dei fruitori e degli esecutori era di percepire e far per-



Fig. 1. Alba Fucens, S. Pietro, interno.

cepire uno spazio interno come consono al prestigio e alla funzione dell'edificio, e a tale scopo continuava ad essere indispensabile l'utilizzo di colonne e di decorazioni che riproponevano antiche iconografie.

Naturalmente il quadro non è omogeneo nell'Italia romanica. Se a Roma continua a dominare nelle chiese il tipo basilicale paleocristiano con l'utilizzo di colonne di reimpiego, fino a tutto il medioevo, e se tra i secoli XII e XIII gli scultori 'cosmateschi' furono in grado di produrre decorazioni di alta qualità ispirate all'antico, in altre parti d'Italia invece le influenze del romanico europeo e anche della scultura bizantina portano all'introduzione e alla diffusione di capitelli e altre decorazioni che hanno del tutto trasformato i modelli antichi romani: spesso indulgono in rappresentazioni figurate 'mostruose', visibili ad esempio in capitelli con sirene, con serpenti, con scimmie, ecc., che sono il frutto dell'immaginario medievale. Anche qui tuttavia è da approfondire il rapporto tra le forme adottate dagli scultori medievali dell'Europa occidentale e settentrionale e gli eventuali modelli antichi a cui si sono ispirati.

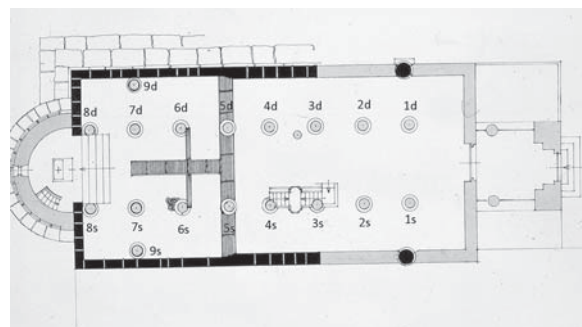


Fig. 2. Alba Fucens, S. Pietro, pianta (da Delogu 1969).

Tanto per citare un esempio riportiamo il motivo delle grandi protomi umane o animali o quello delle sirene affrontate con le code intrecciate che si ritrovano in capitelli di monumenti funerari di Neumagen ora conservati nel museo di Treviri, la cui iconografia deve essere alla base di numerosissimi capitelli medievali con lo stesso motivo, ma naturalmente con resa stilistica diversa, che pare si diffondano nel periodo romanico dal Nord Europa all'Italia centro-settentrionale.

Ma vi sono altri fattori condizionanti nelle modalità del reimpiego che sono costituiti dalla maggiore o minore importanza del centro in cui si costruisce l'edificio religioso, dalla presenza abbondante o meno di spoglie architettoniche recuperabili da resti antichi nell'area, o dall'attitudine culturale e dalla maggiore o minore disponibilità finanziaria della committenza. Tale differenze si riscontrano ad esempio nel caso che qui prenderemo in considerazione: S. Pietro ad Alba Fucens.

INQUADRAMENTO STORICO ARCHITETTONICO DELLA CHIESA

S. Pietro si trova nella zona Sud di Alba Fucens ed era inserita all'interno del tempio di Apollo, di cui aveva conservato le murature laterali della cella, ma con colonne tra le navate, invece tutte da reimpieghi e prelevate da altri edifici della città (fig. 1). Il tempio, già costruito su un terrazzamento artificiale, che aveva livellato la sommità del colle, era dedicato ad Apollo come anche conferma un graffito del 265 d.C. che ricorda il restauro del soffitto:¹ edificato nel corso del II secolo a.C., era diviso in due celle e presentava un pronao con colonne nel calcare bianco locale, la c.d. pietra gentile; le colonne del pronao, di cui si conservano due esemplari, sono tuscaniche con base ad unico toro (i capitelli mancano). È per questo che le colonne che dividono le navate della chiesa, che sono in marmo lunense, devono provenire da un altro monumento.

Sebbene vi siano indizi di un'utilizzazione cristiana dell'edificio risalenti al V secolo,² altri all'VIII secolo, e se già in una bolla di Pasquale II del 1115 la chiesa ha il titolo di S. Pietro in Albe,³ tuttavia i lavori di trasformazione avvennero dopo questa data, quando la chiesa era stata ceduta ad un ordine monastico regolare, probabilmente i Benedettini. Va subito detto che è probabile che la chiesa, trovandosi al confine con il cenobio benedettino di S. Angelo in Albe che apparteneva a Montecassino fin dall'872, fosse già entrata in possesso dell'ordine benedettino: ciò è un dato importante perché l'abbazia di Montecassino diffonderà nell'Italia centro-meridionale il modello basilicale paleo-cristiano, anche se con le torri ai lati dell'entrata e altre forme dovute all'influenza dell'architettura cluniacense. Fu probabilmente per iniziativa dei Benedettini che la chiesa più antica, che continuava a risiedere nella cella del tempio di Apollo, venne trasformata nell'edificio quale ci è stato conservato fino al terremoto del 1915 e ricostruito nell'aspetto romanico negli anni Cinquanta del secolo scorso. Certo è che un Oderisio, che si è proposto di identificare con l'a-

bate di Montecassino tra il 1123 e il 1126,⁴ chiama nella prima metà del XII secolo maestranze, tra cui si trova un *magister* Gualterius associato a un Moronto e un Pietro,⁵ per intervenire nell'antico edificio: non ne vengono distrutti i muri della cella romana tranne quello ad Est e in parte quello Ovest che viene tagliato in modo da poter accogliere l'abside. Le strutture restanti sono integrate in uno spazio adatto ad una chiesa con pianta longitudinale e con un rapporto circa di due a uno tra lunghezza e larghezza. Il prolungamento della chiesa verso Est viene realizzato seguendo l'allineamento dei muri del pronao, di cui furono smontati l'architrave e le colonne centrali, mentre le due laterali furono inglobate nella murature. Osserviamo che la cripta presenta una volta a sesto ribassato, tuttavia in origine oltrepassante il piano di calpestio delle navate, per cui il piano del coro e del presbiterio era stato rialzato ed esteso comprendendo l'ultima campata delle due navate (nel restauro degli anni '50 si è ripristinato il livello rialzato solo in corrispondenza dell'abside).

Invece delle due torri ai lati del portale del modello cassinese venne costruita sul fronte una sola alta torre campanaria con tre fornicì alla base: di essa sopravviveva dopo il terremoto il tratto inferiore e in seguito è stata ricostruita. Un'unica torre campanaria sulla facciata è un tratto comune proprio dell'architettura romanica centro-meridionale e si ritrova spesso in Campania, oltre che nello stesso Abruzzo dove però gli esempi noti sono posteriori.⁶

Si è parlato per molte chiese abruzzesi romani- che di una corrente architettonica che muove dalla Campania,⁷ ma il veicolo culturale non fu sempre quello benedettino di Montecassino perché già in chiese di XI secolo come la cattedrale di S. Panfilo a Sulmona e S. Pelino di Valva, di cui già esistono riferimenti d'archivio del 1075, si manifestano anche influssi dall'Italia settentrionale (visti nel precoce uso della volta a crociera impostata su archi e contro-archi nascenti da lesene e contro-lesene).

In definitiva il Delogu, che ha maggiormente scritto su questa chiesa ritiene che su di essa, al momento della trasformazione nel XII secolo, agiscano anche influenze del Romanico lombardo, mentre permane il rapporto con la tradizione classica/paleocristiana per quel che riguarda la disposizione del colonnato in un'aula basilicale con un'unica abside. Basti pensare a S. Sabina sull'Aventino a Roma ugualmente con colonne e capitelli uguali che già nel V secolo proponeva a Roma una basilica a tre navate con abside sul fondo e colonnato omogeneo, secondo uno schema



Fig. 3. Alba Fucens, S. Pietro dopo il terremoto 1915: a. numerazione blocchi; b. deposito presso la chiesa durante i lavori di perforazione dei tronconi dei fusti.



Fig. 4. Alba Fucens, S. Pietro: stato di conservazione prima della ricostruzione del 1950 (da Delogu 1969).

che è continuamente presente nelle chiese fatte costruire su impulso dell'abbazia di Montecassino.

La chiesa ha subito diversi interventi nelle epoche successive e, tra l'altro, sono documentate due iconostasi diverse che sono ritenute di epoca leggermente diversa, la prima pienamente romanica, identificata per alcuni frammenti rinvenuti nell'altare barocco al momento della sua rimozione e attribuita a Gualtiero, Moronto e Pietro, artisti di scuola umbro-abruzzese,⁸ la seconda

definita come una delle più 'mature manifestazioni del gusto cosmatesco' della fine XII, inizi XIII secolo che, al di là dei problemi di identificazione della loro committenza (lo stesso Oderisio o un altro Oderisio⁹ che compare nella dedica sull'ambone cosmatesco),¹⁰ indica ancora un ambito culturale romano, quello cosmatesco, e da Roma come prefabbricati sarebbero giunti i pezzi poi montati *in situ* a S. Pietro: dato questo tanto più importante se si considera la distanza tra Roma e Alba (attualmente poco più di 100 km, ma nel Medioevo il percorso doveva essere più lungo) e quindi l'impegno finanziario del committente, probabilmente abate a Montecassino, per il trasporto anche dei pezzi prefabbricati.¹¹

In ogni caso pare che già in età romanica la basilica fosse stata oggetto di restauri e integrazioni, come l'abside in parte crollata e forse anche tratti delle murature. Sono stati chiamati in causa i frequenti terremoti e i conseguenti assestamenti, di cui uno è stato individuato negli anni 1170-1180.¹² L'abside in ogni caso risulta già ricostruita entro la prima metà del XIII secolo e con questo periodo concorda la datazione del pulpito e dell'iconostasi cosmatesca, di cui sono noti gli autori, Giovanni ed Andrea.¹³

Ma in questa sede non ci si occuperà della storia della chiesa nel corso del tempo, posteriore all'epoca romanica, quando nel 1310 passò ai Francescani fino alla prima metà del XVII, per essere acquisita poi dalla mensa vescovile: per le modifiche, le superfetazioni e i restauri fatti (poi crollati dopo il terremoto del 1915 e non più ricostruiti), si rimanda al lavoro di Delogu. Durante l'ultima ricostruzione degli anni '50 avvenne l'anastilosi delle colonne di cui molte erano rimaste in piedi dopo l'evento del 1915. I vari rocchi e i relativi capitelli erano stati subito dopo smontati e



Fig. 5. Alba Fucens, S. Pietro,: a, b. riposizionamento capitelli (da Delogu 1969).

numerati, come anche i blocchi dei fianchi rimasti, in parte dissestati (figg. 3a-b, 4). In tal modo nel restauro degli anni '50 fu facilitata enormemente la ricomposizione dei fusti (figg. 5a, b), che già in origine non erano monoliti ma suddivisi in due o tre tronconi, e il rifacimento delle murature.¹⁴ Non si è inoltre ostacolati nello studio della disposizione delle colonne anche perché quelle delle sette coppie che dividevano le navate erano uguali, mentre la coppia ai lati dell'abside è l'unica a differire per materiale e tipologia del corinzio.

Possiamo quindi affrontare il tema specifico delle modalità di reimpiego delle colonne, della tipologia dei capitelli e del recupero formale che si operò nel Medio Evo: vedremo nel corso di questo studio come i capitelli delle colonne marmoree mostrano chiari segni stilistici e tipologici derivanti dalla tradizione del Secondo Triunvirato, sopra menzionata, e un acanto molto simile si trova in capitelli medievali attribuiti all'iconostasi e al ciborio della fase della trasformazione romanica, di cui sono stati identificati diversi resti attribuiti a maestranze umbro-abruzzesi.¹⁵ Riteniamo quindi utile operare un inquadramento puntuale dei capitelli romani del colonnato e di

quelli romanici attribuiti al ciborio e all'iconostasi che permetteranno di capire le differenze nelle foglie d'acanto apparentemente simili.

DISPOSIZIONE DEI COLONNATI TRA LE NAVATE E TIPOLOGIA DEI FUSTI, DEI CAPITELLI E DELLE BASI

La chiesa è divisa in tre navate da due file di sette colonne scanalate dal fusto alto m 4,58 e dal diametro inferiore di cm 60 che sorreggono arcate (fig. 1).¹⁶ Sul fondo vi è un'ottava coppia di colonne che precede l'abside (fig. 6): solo queste presentano i due fusti rudentati alti m 4,32/4,40, con due fessure verticali nella parte rudentata per l'inserimento di transenne.¹⁷ Altre due colonne scanalate sono addossate alle pareti e si allineano con la settima coppia, in quanto in origine sostenevano i tre archi trasversali che delimitavano la zona presbiteriale.¹⁸ Infine vi è un troncone con base tuscanica delle colonne lisce in calcare del pronao del tempio, rimasto in situ dopo il terremoto, che sosteneva l'arco della cappella gotica agli inizi della navata destra, e un troncone di fusto scanalato in calcare che sorreggeva l'imposta del fornice ovest alla base della torre campa-



Fig. 6. Alba Fucens, S. Pietro: abside ricostruita.

naria. Il blocco tronco piramidale che lo sormonta è un'integrazione moderna.¹⁹

Va ancora notato che solo le due colonne dell'ottava coppia ai lati dell'abside, che hanno l'imoscapo intagliato insieme ad una base con due tori molto ravvicinati e senza plinto, sono rudentate e in calcare. Le altre sette coppie di colonne sono invece scanalate, in marmo bianco probabilmente lunense: poggiano su basi attiche a due tori distinti da una gola accuratamente arcuata con due listelli di incorniciatura: il diametro del toro inferiore è di cm 82.

Nell'inventario che segue delle colonne procediamo dall'entrata verso l'abside, facendo seguire al numero della colonna la posizione nella navata, s a sinistra, d a destra. La numerazione avviene per coppie 1s-1d, 2s-2d, ecc.

1d-1s (fig. 7). La prima coppia di colonne presenta il fusto a destra (1d) composto da tre rocchi. Il fusto di sinistra (1s) è invece composto solo da due tamburi.

2d-2s. La seconda coppia presenta il fusto a destra (2d) diviso in tre tamburi, il fusto a sinistra (2s) invece in due tamburi.

3d-3s (figg. 8-10). La terza coppia presenta il fusto a destra (3d) diviso in tre tamburi mentre il fusto a sinistra (3s) è ugualmente in tre tamburi ma non tagliati allo stesso livello di quella corrispondente. Questa colonna inoltre è in parte inserita nell'ambone.

4d- 4s (figg. 11, 12). La quarta coppia presenta il fusto a destra (4d) diviso in tre tronconi, lo stesso il fusto a sinistra (4s). del quale la parte inferiore è inserita all'angolo ambone.

5d -5s (figg. 13, 14, 15). La quinta coppia presenta invece fusto di destra (5d) diviso in tre tronconi, mentre quello di sinistra (5s) in due tronconi.

6d - 6s (fig. 16). La sesta coppia presenta il fusto di destra (6d) diviso in tre tronconi, quello di sinistra (6s) ancora in tre tronconi.

7s-7d (fig. 17). La settima coppia presenta il fusto di destra (7d) diviso in due tronconi, mentre il sini-



Fig. 7. S. Pietro: 1s.



Fig. 9. S. Pietro: 3d.



Fig. 11. S. Pietro: 4s.



Fig. 8. S. Pietro: 3d.



Fig. 10. S. Pietro: 3s.



Fig. 12. S. Pietro: 4s.



Fig. 13. S. Pietro: 5d.



Fig. 14. S. Pietro: 5s.



Fig. 15. S. Pietro: 5s.



Fig. 16. S. Pietro: 6s.



Fig. 17. S. Pietro: 7d.



Fig. 18. S. Pietro: 8d.



Fig. 19. S. Pietro: 8s.



Fig. 20. S. Pietro: 8d.



Fig. 22. S. Pietro: 9s.



Fig. 21. S. Pietro: 9d.



Fig. 23. S. Pietro: 10d.

stro (7s) di nuovo in tre tronconi. In ciascun fusto una delle scanalature è occupata da una fila di fori.

8d - 8s (*figg. 18, 19, 20*). L'ultima copia ai lati dell'abside, che regge l'ultima arcata, presenta i fusti rudentati in calcare. Il fusto di destra (8d) diviso in quattro tamburi, di cui quello inferiore contiene la rudentatura e la parte iniziale della scanalatura che continua nel tamburo successivo. La base è intagliata insieme all'imoscapo. Il fusto a sinistra (8s) sempre in calcare è diviso complessivamente in quattro tronconi di cui quella inferiore comprende la base.

Chiamiamo inoltre 9s e 9d (*figg. 21, 22*) le due colonne addossate ai muri laterali e allineate con 7s e 7d che sostenevano le tre arcate di delimitazione della zona presbiteriale, con fusti scanalati in marmo e capitelli uguali alle 7 coppie scanalate delle navate. Sono divise in tre tronconi: 9d con il troncone mediano molto più corto degli altri due. Infine con 10d (*fig. 23*) indichiamo una colonna fuori poso, liscia e in marmo bigio, composta da tre tronconi e con sommoscapo conservato a tondino e listello. Il capitello corinzio non pertinente è medievale.

Tutti i fusti in marmo conservano gli scapi, anche se in taluni casi lacunosi lungo il contorno: il sommoscapo è sagomato con i consueti tondino e listello, dove il primo è ben sagomato e sporge distinguendosi chiaramente dal listello: l'imoscapo presenta una sottile fascia collegata da un leggero cavetto al fusto. I fusti sono alti m 4,60 con il diametro inferiore misurato sopra l'imoscapo di cm 58/60, mentre quello superiore di cm 51 misurato sotto il sommoscapo dal diametro di cm 58 circa uguale, al diametro inferiore. Le scanalature sono 24 e presentano alle estremità terminazioni arcuate: sono larghe inferiormente cm 6, 5 e all'estremità superiore cm 5, mentre il listello di separazione è di cm 1,5. Va rilevato che l'altezza dei fusti è di poco più di sette volte e mezzo il diametro inferiore e se vi si aggiunge quella del capitello, ca cm 68 e della base cm 18 si arriva ad un'altezza totale di m 5,40 ca.

Le due colonne rudentate 8s e 8d sono invece leggermente più tozze, con 20 scanalature più larghe e con l'imoscapo intagliato nello stesso blocco delle basi sempre senza plinto.

8d: altezza totale m 5,15, alt. fusto m 4,24, diam. inferiore cm 55, alt. parte rudentata m 1,49, lati cavità verticale per inserimento transenna cm 95x9, prof. cm 5, alt. rocchio inferiore, (base+imoscapo): cm 38; alt. base: cm 20, alt. capitello cm 70.

8s: altezza totale m 5,20, alt. fusto m 4,32, diam. fusto cm 55, alt. rocchio inferiore (base+imoscapo): cm 44,5; alt. base: cm 20.

I capitelli delle prime 7 coppie di colonne (1s-7s, 1d-7d) e i due delle colonne addossate alle pareti (9s-9d) sono uguali (nei limiti in cui manufatti scolpiti a mano possono essere considerati uguali nonostante piccole diversità nei particolari (basti osservare nello stesso capitello (*fig. 9*) - il numero diverso di zone d'ombra tra le semifoglie dei calici). Sono corinzi della tradizione del Secondo Triunvirato come rivela il tipo dell'acanto: infatti la zona centrale delle foglie è triangolare e svasata in alto con due incisioni per delimitare la nervatura centrale; inoltre i cinque lobi presentano le fogliette strette e allungate, con zone d'ombra tra i lobi costituite da un ovale chiuso e un triangolo in genere chiuso. I caulicoli sono percorsi da fogliette separate da incisioni, i calici si articolano in due semi foglie appuntite che creano una forma a V; fra le semifoglie al centro emerge il primo lobo delle foglie esterne che sembra acquistare la dimensione di una terza piccola foglia. Le elici e le volute presentano spirali dallo stelo piatto con parte centrale a chiocciola. L'abaco è con tondino e cavetto senza decorazioni. Va notato il grande fiore dell'abaco con pistillo a pigna e petali a forma di piccole foglie acantizzanti con tondino e triangolo tra ciascuna di esse come elemento di separazione (*figg. 7, 10, 12, 17*). In alcuni capitelli il fiore dell'abaco è più semplificato; inoltre sempre in alcuni capitelli si distingue un'articolazione a lobetti delle due semifoglie dei calicetti (*figg. 7, 9*) dello stelo per il fiore dell'abaco (lo stelo però non è visibile perché nascosto dalle spirali delle elici).

Il due capitelli ai lati dell'abside (8s-8d) presentano invece foglie d'acanto organiche nella tradizione del foro di Augusto con i lobi resi plasticamente concavi e separati da zone d'ombra ogivali oblique e triangolari, ma in modo naturalistico. Anche la coroncina dei caulicoli è diversa in quanto composta da tre sepali rovesciati. I fiori dell'abaco paiono a serpentina (*fig. 18*) e presentano visibile parte del sottile stelo da cui si originano e che nasce da un calicetto a due semifoglie d'acanto (*fig. 19*). Vanno rilevate la corrispondenza nelle dimensioni delle spirali delle elici e delle volute con chiara funzione architettonica di sostegno dell'abaco, e in generale l'articolazione organica e la fluidità con cui è reso il modello non copiato meccanicamente.

La colonna isolata liscia presenta un capitello corinzio medievale con l'acanto che imita quello della tradizione del secondo triunvirato con zone di separazione a goccia seguito da due triangoli (*fig. 23*).

Le basi delle colonne scanalate in marmo, alte cm 18 e con il diametro inferiore di cm 87, sono tutte

attiche, con due tori ben profilati separati da una scopia delimitata da due listelli. Sono prive del plinto, dato questo che rimanda soprattutto alla prima o media età augustea, non oltre. Tuttavia non sono tutte uguali: ad esempio le basi 1d, 3d, 5s (figg. 8, 14) presentano la scopia ristretta e notevolmente sporgenti i tori, mentre nella base di 4s, 5d (figg. 11, 13) la scopia è più ampia e meno accentuata la sporgenza del toro superiore.

Sono dello stesso tipo le basi delle due colonne in pietra locale 8s, 8d, ma con la caratteristica di essere intagliate con l'imoscapo (fig. 20). Essendo pertinenti a colonne con capitelli di piena età augustea testimoniano la continuità d'uso delle basi senza plinto anche in questo periodo.

INQUADRAMENTO TIPOLOGICO DEI CAPITELLI E LA NORMALIZZAZIONE AUGUSTEA DELL'ORDINE CORINZIO

Abbiamo dunque rilevato le differenze tra l'acanto dei capitelli in marmo delle navate, compreso i due addossati alle pareti, in origine sostenenti le arcate che precedevano la zona presbiteriale, e invece i capitelli in pietra locale della coppia di colonne ai lati dell'abside. I primi sono da collocare nel periodo finale dell'uso dell'acanto geometrizzante nella tradizione del Secondo Triunvirato, mentre i secondi presentano già un acanto più naturalistico meno geometrizzante, che possiamo considerare partecipe o comunque influenzato dal tipo di acanto adottato nel foro di Augusto.

Primo gruppo: capitelli in marmo delle navate

Va subito notato che in questi capitelli (figg. 7, 9, 10, 12, 15-17, 21, 22) la forma slanciata delle nervature dell'acanto, strette al centro e che si svassano in alto - in corrispondenza della cima bene in risalto rispetto alle nervature contigue - indicano che non siamo agli inizi del Secondo Triunvirato, quanto nella fase finale (30-15 a.C.), in cui l'acanto diventa più vivace e naturalistico e perde quell'impostazione pesantemente geometrica che hanno a Roma ad esempio i capitelli del Tempio di Apollo Palatino (36-28 a.C.). Forse il presupposto tipologico e stilistico più vicino è costituito dai capitelli del tempio del Divo Cesare nei quali sembra avviato il processo di normalizzazione di questo tipo di capitelli 'secondo triunvirali' con il relativo acanto. Certo è che nel Lazio meridionale e nelle regioni limitrofe come la Campania, tale tipo (diciamo normalizzato del Secondo Triunvirato) prende le mosse dalle forme utilizzate nel foro di Cesare terminato da Ottaviano intorno al

40-30 avanti Cristo, dove ormai l'acanto geometrizzante ha assunto un aspetto più naturalistico dato il movimento delle fogliette. Tuttavia va notato che questa forma d'acanto, dunque normalizzata nel senso di un maggiore naturalismo, pur essendo riconducibile alla matrice del Secondo Triunvirato, è testimoniato già nel negli anni 20 -10 a.C. in Campania, dove si trovano i confronti più stretti per i capitelli in marmo di S. Pietro²⁰ e dove si è definita una 'fase sperimentale' connessa alle produzioni municipali;²¹ tale forma d'acanto si ritrova anche in altre regioni e nelle province occidentali dove assume una sua storia e una sua vita autonoma dai modelli urbani. Ci si riferisce in particolare alla Gallia Narbonensis e alla Hispania Tarraconensis. In Italia tuttavia questa vita propria non è mai separabile dalle esperienze che vengono condotte a Roma anche se rimane l'interrogativo del ruolo proprio delle officine regionali nella definizione del tipo 'normalizzato'.

Infine si osserva che a S. Pietro, all'interno di questo primo gruppo in marmo o persino in uno stesso capitello possono farsi delle distinzioni che tuttavia non hanno un valore cronologico, ma sono utili soprattutto a definire le modalità di lavorazione delle maestranze. Se comuni sono le forme del Secondo Triunvirato tuttavia vi è una maggiore o minore rigidità nel trattamento dei lobi che sono quasi concavi (fig. 22) o a sezione più o meno angolare (figg. 10, 15, 21) con incisione che li attraversa; inoltre tra le semifoglie dei calici si creano almeno quattro zone d'ombra con il vertice superiore chiuso, dal basso verso l'alto un tondo ogivale e tre triangoli. Tale schema tuttavia non è uguale su tutte le parti del capitello perché la sequenza di figure geometriche si verifica non in tutti i calici: in altri infatti abbiamo soltanto il tondo, due triangoli e due sorte di rettangoli contigui che formano un angolo (fig. 15). Ma in questi stessi calici un tondino e un triangolo ritornano nel secondo lobo mediano di ciascuna delle semifoglie come elemento di contatto con i lobi contigui. Inoltre gli steli delle elici e delle volute sono solo leggermente concavi.

Secondo gruppo: capitelli in pietra locale ai lati dell'abside

Nei capitelli di questo gruppo (figg. 18, 19) si manifesta l'altra grande normalizzazione che viene perseguita nel periodo augusteo e che prende le mosse dalle nuove mode adottate nel foro di Augusto: l'acanto, come si è detto, è più naturalistico con i lobi concavi articolati in fogliette lanceolate o

semplicemente ovali allungate. Ma proprio gli spazi tra i lobi manifestano la nuova formulazione dell'acanto: essi infatti si presentano con una disposizione organica determinata dall'accostamento di fogliette dei lobi contigui, che creano zone d'ombra dal contorno ogivale seguite da irregolari triangoli che hanno perso l'impronta geometrica. L'acanto, dunque, si distingue chiaramente da quello dei capitelli in marmo del primo gruppo (posti nelle navate): se questi testimoniavano una prima normalizzazione che accompagna il periodo iniziale della presa del potere di Ottaviano, il secondo gruppo invece manifesta quella seconda e più significativa normalizzazione seguita alla nomina di Ottaviano ad Augusto nel 27 a.C. e alla costruzione del foro di Augusto che diverrà la nuova tradizione a cui nelle epoche successive ci si ispirerà per la scultura decorativa architettonica.

Questa seconda normalizzazione corrisponde dunque al periodo in cui ormai Augusto ha consolidato il suo potere e ha realizzato la creazione di un'arte che riflette e diffonde gli ideali del suo Principato, e ben presto si espanderà ovunque in Italia e nelle province occidentali.

I capitelli di questo gruppo sembrano contemporanei alle forme del foro di Augusto e sono forse collocabili tra il 15 a.C. e il 5 d.C. Tuttavia anche per essi chiameremo in causa maestranze non urbane, ma formatesi in ambiente campano: si deve tener conto infatti che le novità del foro di Augusto si trovano contemporaneamente anche in molti monumenti pubblici della Campania senza necessariamente vedere una dipendenza e un divario cronologico rispetto ad esso. In altra sede abbiamo osservato che la creazione dello stile augusteo non è che l'esito di un percorso controllato dalla casa imperiale e forse direttamente da Agrippa che nello stesso tempo si andava seguendo sia in Campania sia Roma.

È forse utile osservare che la Campania tra II e I secolo a. C. ha risentito, come pure Roma, di influssi attici e comunque greci anche nella decorazione architettonica, ma che nella regione campana si erano fusi con le tradizioni locali magnogreche, che invece a Roma tendono ad essere ignorate a favore di un'adesione maggiore alle mode decorative in vigore nell'Oriente greco: ciò spiega perché spesso si incontrano in Campania e anche nell'Italia meridionale capitelli con acanto grecizzante,²² talvolta senza paragoni fuori della regione²³ o riprodotte le forme delle normalizzazioni sopra menzionate insieme a motivi decorativi di tradizione magnogreca, quale si era espressa nei capitelli corinzi italici.

In effetti nella Campania del I secolo a.C. era stato rielaborato uno stile regionale, che deve avere influenzato il circolo degli architetti e degli scultori che si era radunato intorno ad Agrippa, nel periodo in cui l'organizzazione dell'approvvigionamento del marmo per Roma e le grandi committenze di monumenti pubblici di Roma e della Campania stessa passavano attraverso di lui, o erano direttamente da lui promosse, come si verificò a Ostia per il teatro. Ed è attraverso le officine campane attive nell'Italia centromeridionale che si verifica la diffusione del corinzio normalizzato con il tipo di acanto presente nel secondo gruppo dei capitelli di S. Pietro, adottato dunque dalle officine locali che usano non solo il marmo, ma anche le pietre del posto. Questo spiega perché confronti molti simili provengono dalla Campania e di nuovo da Pompei, di cui è stato pubblicato uno studio sui capitelli corinzi.²⁴

Ma dato il ruolo della Campania nella definizione del nuovo linguaggio augusteo, anche le officine centromeridionali che utilizzano sia la pietra locale, sia il marmo, come si verifica ad Alba - se è vera tra l'altro l'ipotesi che le colonne di marmo verrebbero dal teatro o comunque da un suo importante edificio pubblico -, devono avere avuto come punto di riferimento la Campania interna (in particolare centri come Beneventum e Abellinum) e costiera (Puteoli nella quale arrivavano i carichi di marmo, Capua e la stessa Neapolis), dove si era ormai conclusa la fase 'sperimentale' (v. sopra).²⁵

In questa chiave comunque si spiega la 'modernità' dei capitelli corinzi dei due gruppi di Alba che rimandano ad una partecipazione delle officine che li hanno eseguiti ai processi di normalizzazione prima in avanzata età Secondo Triunvirale, poi in quella piena augustea: gli esiti appunto sono riconducibili non direttamente a Roma, ma a un indirizzo comune che ripetiamo pare cogliersi soprattutto in Campania.

CONFRONTI CON CAPITELLI DI EDIFICI PUBBLICI DI ALBA

Allo stato attuale delle conoscenze è possibile proporre uno o due edifici di provenienza solo per le due colonne rudentate a 20 scanalature e in calcare locale poste ai lati dell'abside (8s, 8d, fig. 19-20). Si tratta della Sala delle Colonne affacciata su via del Miliario che costeggia il lato ovest del foro, e del teatro.

La Sala delle Colonne, con tegole bollate di liberti della famiglia di Q. Naevius Cordus Sutorius Macro (vissuto tra il 21 a.C. e il 38 d.C.) presentava

lungo tre pareti (a cm 85 da esse) file di colonne rudentate, con 20 scanalature, divise in rocchi e con l'imoscapo intagliato insieme a basi attiche senza plinto: l'altezza è di poco più di m 5,50, compreso le basi e i capitelli, dei quali se ne conserva uno del genere corinzieggiante liriforme (alt. cm 53), intagliato in due blocchi diversi (fig. 24) si tratta di un elegante capitello con una corona di quattro foglie d'acanto agli angoli nello stile del foro di Augusto alternate a palmette al centro rivestite da membrane vegetali triangolari, secondo un tipo di palmetta che s'incontra molto simile a Pompei e nella vicina villa di *Oplontis*, dove sono frequenti capitelli con *acanthus mollis* 'normalizzato' e variazioni vegetali dell'ordine corinzio canonico, come in questo caso l'introduzione del motivo 'liriforme nella parte libera del *kalathos* e la sostituzione degli steli delle volute con foglie che arrotolano la cima in funzione di voluta.²⁶ Le basi conservate del primo ordine, paiono uguali a quelle delle due colonne di S. Pietro ai lati dell'abside (8s, 8d) (fig. 20) e con un'altezza molto simile (cm 20/21), sono intagliate insieme all'imoscapo del fusto rudentato e presentano 20 scanalature (fig. 25).

Ma gli scavi della sala delle Colonne hanno restituito altri tre capitelli, questa volta corinzi canonici, meno alti (cm 44), che si è ipotizzato appartenessero ad un ordine superiore o alle colonne su bancone del lato di fondo.²⁷ Sono molto simili (anche per la forma del calicetto dello stelo del fiore dell'abaco), sempre a quelli ai lati dell'abside ma più piccoli (fig. 26).

In definitiva i capitelli corinzi ai lati dell'abside della chiesa per le misure si avvicinano all'unico capitello rimasto del primo ordine della sala, che si è detto è corinzieggiante. Può essere anche che fossero corinzieggianti solo alcuni posti in particolare posizione, mentre gli altri erano corinzi.

Un altro possibile luogo di provenienza delle colonne mi pare sia costituito dalla scena del teatro. In facciata il teatro era lungo m 77, mentre l'edificio scenico m 42,50 con una profondità di m 12, ca. È stato scavato tra il 1953 e il 1954²⁸ e ha restituito frammenti di statue marmoree, un busto in bronzo, un 'raffinato capitello corinzio' in marmo²⁹ ed altri in frammenti, infine un'iscrizione frammentaria ricomposta che cita due quattuorviri che avrebbero restaurato la scena tra il 40 e il 50 d. C.³⁰ L'edificio scenico era suddiviso internamente con muri in reticolato in sette ambienti, di cui i tre più stretti dovevano corrispondere alla *porta regia* e alle due *portae hospitales*, come si deduce da altri teatri che presentavano una analoga suddivisione dell'edificio scenico in sette ambienti (teatro di Venafrò). Gli scavi avrebbero



Fig. 24. Alba Fucens, magazzino dalla Sala delle Colonne.



Fig. 25. Alba Fucens, Sala delle Colonne.

restituito l'evidenza di lastre di marmo di rivestimento della scena restituita da resti di 'un mur en moellons avec enduit égalisé' per ricevere le lastre marmoree di rivestimento della scena; sono emersi anche resti di uno spesso nucleo di fondazione (m 1,60) con paramento in *opus reticulatum* per i muri esterni, infine un frammento di colonna dal diametro di cm 52 'aux cannelures faiblement indiquées'.³¹ Ma più interessante per noi è la notizia del ritrovamento nelle fosse dell'*auleum*, che dovevano ospitare i meccanismi per il sollevamento del sipario di frammenti di cornice modanati in marmo, piccole lastre sempre di marmo e, infine, del sopramenzionato 'raffinato' capitello corinzio di lesena alto cm 65, largo in alto cm 80, in basso cm 53, intagliato su una lastra spessa cm 0,5/10 (fig. 27). Il capitello è di nuovo dello stesso tipo dei due di S. Pietro ai lati dell'abside, a parte piccole differenze come una piccola foglia acan-



Fig. 26. Alba Fucens, magazzino dalla Sala delle Colonne.

tizzante che sostituisce il calicetto per lo stelo del fiore dell'abaco e l'orlo dei caulicoli più sottile, ma che ugualmente pare suddiviso in lobi vegetali: la differenza maggiore è costituita dall'articolazione dei lobi in quanto le fogliette dei due lobi contigui formano una zona d'ombra obliqua e ogivale alla quale però non segue una zona triangolare, che sarebbe stata formata dal prolungamento delle fogliette successive dei lobi.³²

In ogni caso i due monumenti citati indicano un'intensa attività edilizia ad Alba intorno alla media età augustea e la presenza di un'officina impegnata a produrre localmente capitelli nello stile ufficiale dell'epoca (v. sopra)

Possibili monumenti di Alba Fucens in cui potevano essere impiegate colonne marmoree non sono attualmente individuabili, anche ricercando monumenti di una cronologia simile ai capitelli più antichi di S. Pietro. Citiamo ad esempio come il *campus* al cui centro sorge forse il monumento funerario del fratello del triumviro Lepido, che potrebbe essere stato costruito dopo la morte di questo, e probabilmente quindi in piena età augustea: esso però è da escludere in quanto le colonne e le semicolonne conservate in situ sono del tipo rudentato con base tuscanica a un solo toro.

Poco noto è l'architettura del lungo foro rettangolare di Alba, a parte tratti marginali della pavimentazione e il largo colonnato a sud che segna il passaggio alla basilica.³³ A ovest è costeggiato dalla via del Miliario, su cui si è detto si affaccia la Sala delle Colonne, a nord da una strada pavimen-

tata larga m 8,60 che lo separa dal *comitium* mentre a est parrebbe essere emersa - circa al centro l'evidenza di un ambulacro.

Da riempimenti di *tabernae* lungo la vicina via dell'Elefante provengono un capitello corinzio in pietra locale, alto cm 40 (fig. 28), che per l'acanto si può agganciare cronologicamente ai capitelli in marmo di S. Pietro, e una cornice arcuata in marmo di età augustea (fig. 29)³⁴ Altri frammenti di capitelli, in pietra locale, provengono da simili riempimenti, mentre del grande capitello lavorato in due blocchi separati, di cui resta la metà inferiore sulla via Valeria non è possibile precisare la provenienza, sicuramente un edificio pubblico di grandi dimensioni, e della media età augustea, a giudicare di nuovo dall'acanto (fig. 30).

PATRONI IMPERIALI E LOCALI NELL'ETÀ AUGUSTEA E GIULIO-CLAUDIA

La nostra ricerca sul monumento in cui sia avvenuto il primo impiego delle colonne di marmo di San Pietro è motivata innanzitutto dalla possibilità che essa offre di ricostruire l'arredo architettonico di un edificio pubblico importante della città, nella quale attualmente non si conservano monumenti con l'elevato architettonico in marmo; la seconda motivazione è dovuta alle indicazioni sull'eventuale committente derivate proprio dall'uso di colonne marmoree. Infatti proprio i capitelli e i fusti in marmo reimpiegati a San Pietro segnalano che la loro probabile donazione è dovuta a un qualche membro della famiglia di Augusto o a un personaggio vicino per cariche politiche e funzioni amministrative agli imperatori. Infine la presenza a San Pietro di queste colonne fornisce un'importante testimonianza sulle fasi di spoliazione e di abbandono di Alba Fucens: l'aver potuto riutilizzare 16 colonne uguali mostrerebbe che la città conservava ancora i suoi monumenti pubblici al momento dell'impiego, anche se in stato di crollo. Non si può però escludere che la spoliazione fosse già avvenuta in occasione della costruzione di una prima chiesa di S. Pietro in epoca precedente, o tardoantica e/o altomedievale, e che da questa derivino le colonne adottate nella ricostruzione romana.

Ad Alba Fucens, oltre a Cesare che ne fu patrono,³⁵ un indizio del patronato di un membro della famiglia augustea nasce da una nota iscrizione dedicata a Lucio Cesare (l. [C]aes[ari aug. f.] / *principi iu[ventutis] / auguri co(n)[s(uli) des(ignato) pal[tr(ono)]*)³⁶ a cui si aggiunge la testimonianza epigrafica di un *Collegium Ararum Luciarum*, la cui funzione secondo C. Letta era quella di onorare



Fig. 27. Grotte di Celano, lapidario da Alba Fucens, teatro (da De Ruyt 1982).

gli altari dedicati a Lucio Cesare subito dopo la sua morte nel 2 d.C.: questo personaggio crediamo si fosse distinto per la sua attività evergetica nella città e non pare impossibile che fosse proprio il canale attraverso cui giunsero tali colonne ad Alba. Certo non può escludersi l'intervento di altri benefattori, soprattutto se si pensa che il prefetto del pretorio di Tiberio, Sutorio Macrone (21 a.C.-38 d.C.), avrebbe donato per testamento l'anfiteatro alla città.³⁷ Anche in questo caso comunque si tratta di un personaggio legato al potere imperiale e in tal modo si giustifica la possibilità finanziaria per un'impresa di questo tipo. L'importanza del patronato su Alba di Lucio Cesare, ci permette di richiamare quanto abbiamo osservato in precedenza a proposito del ruolo di Agrippa nella marmorizzazione e probabilmente anche nella disponibilità di architetti e officine di marmorari che furono probabilmente gli attori principali della formazione di uno stile augusteo in Campania e a Roma, e abbiamo visto come i capitelli e le colonne marmoree di S. Pietro ad Alba si pongano in un periodo di trapasso tra lo stile del Secondo Triunvirato e quello più maturo augusteo senza ancora però giungere allo stile presente nei capitelli del Foro di Augusto: tale dato, che ci ha permesso di attribuire questi capitelli alla media età augustea, tra il 20 e il 5 a.C., si accorda cronologicamente con l'eventuale attività di patrono di Lucio Cesare, che deve essere precedente alla data della sua morte. È noto come Agrippa stesso per i teatri di Mérida e di Ostia e probabilmente i suoi figli per quelli di Cartagena, e di Cassino abbiano svolto attività evergetiche:



Fig. 28. Grotte di Celano, lapidario da Alba Fucens, via dell'Elefante (da De Ruyt 1982).

nel teatro di Cartagena, città di cui furono patroni, dediche a Lucio e probabilmente a Caio Cesare si trovavano negli architravi sopra le *parodoi*, mentre Caio, come *princeps iuventutis*, appare in un altare.³⁸ Nel teatro di Cassino sono state trovate



Fig. 29. Grotte di Celano, lapidario da Alba Fucens, via dell'Elefante (da De Ruyt 1982).



Fig. 30. Alba Fucens, via Valeria.



Fig. 31. a, b. Museo ecclesiastico di Celano, da Alba Fucens, S. Pietro.

due dediche rispettivamente a Lucio Cesare e Caio Cesare *principes iuventutis*, deliberate dal senato locale, e anche una testa ritratto in origine facente parte di una statua di Lucio Cesare.³⁹ A Ostia, Cassino e Cartagena la scena presenta una *columnatio* marmorea, con capitelli che seguono le più recenti mode decorative che si profilano durante il periodo augusteo, mentre il portico *post scaenam* è con colonne in laterizio o in pietra locale. Non sappiamo invece se anche nel teatro di Alba la *columnatio* fosse in marmo, ma gli scavatori hanno reso noto un capitello di lesena in marmo attribuito alla scena (fig. 27), insieme a frammenti vari di trabeazione. È dunque il ruolo di *patronus* di Alba Fucens svolto da Lucio Cesare e il culto delle are a lui dedicate che permettono di avanzare l'ipotesi che anche il teatro della città possa aver presentato un *frons scaenae* con colonne marmoree. In ciò è da vedere l'intervento del figlio di Agrippa, che avrebbe continuato la politica propagandistica del padre naturale e di Augusto, che si esplicava attraverso la donazione di arredi marmorei e cicli statuari della famiglia imperiale da collocare nei monumenti pubblici delle città. Nel caso tale ipotesi fosse vera non siamo comunque in grado di identificarle con le colonne e i capitelli in marmo di S. Pietro, in quanto i capitelli sono leggermente più antichi di quello di lesena trovato nel teatro, a meno che non troviamo frammenti provenienti dal teatro che ne attestino tale presenza e attestino fasi diversificate per la scena. In effetti sono state proposte per il teatro almeno due fasi principali, dove alla prima variamente datata tra la fine del II secolo a.C. e gli inizi dell'età augustea, ne segue una seconda collocata alla fine del I secolo a.C., ma da altri entro la prima metà del I secolo d.C.⁴⁰ Un intervento sulla scena, limitato però al soffitto o le volte (*sublaquearunt*) dell'edificio scenico e ai gradoni (*gradus*) della cavea è inoltre riportato da un'iscrizione in marmo di due *quattuorviri*, membri dell'élite locale appar-

tenenti ai Petiolani e agli Allidii, rinvenuta su via dei Pilastri presso il santuario di Ercole⁴¹ e attribuita all'età giulio-claudia, entro il 50 d.C.⁴²

Va ancora osservato che i frammenti in marmo di trabeazione trovati nei pressi del foro, in corrispondenza del *diribitorium* o di via del Miliario e sono senz'altro da attribuire alla prima o media età augustea, in quanto le cornici hanno un profilo semplificato senza sviluppo della sottocornice (fig. 29).⁴³

Su altri possibili committenti di edifici pubblici ad Alba, a parte il citato prefetto del pretorio Macrone,⁴⁴ si hanno scarsi indizi. Vi è l'attestazione del restauro di un *balneum* da parte di una donna⁴⁵ e di attività varie di quattuorviri e seviri augustali.⁴⁶

LA RIPRESA DELL'ACANTO SECONDO TRIUNVIRALE IN CAPITELLI ROMANICI DI S.PIETRO

Il fenomeno della ripresa puntuale di foglie d'acanto antiche in età romanica lo abbiamo potuto riscontrare abbastanza frequentemente in Italia e anche altrove. Si è osservato che non solo si imitava o ci si ispirava alle principali tipologie antiche, l'*acanthus mollis*, l'*acanthus spinosa* e la trasformazione di quest'ultimo in acanto dentellato o finemente dentellato in età bizantina, ma si arrivava alla sottigliezza di riprodurre le forme assunte dai vari tipi di acanto antichi nel corso della loro storia in età romana. Abbiamo quindi esempi di capitelli romanici che rispettivamente citano l'*acanthus mollis* sia secondo triunvirale, sia pieno augusteo sia della media età imperiale, talvolta anche nello stesso edificio, come si verifica tanto per citare alcuni esempi nella Cappella Palatina a Palermo⁴⁷ o nel portico della cattedrale di S. Lazzaro a Autun,⁴⁸ entrambi del XII secolo.

L'apparato vegetale dei capitelli con questi tipi di acanto non necessariamente segue l'ordine corinzio, ma si riscontra in capitelli che variano e modificano le forme canoniche corinzie o sono

figurati con le foglie nel ruolo di supporto e secondarie rispetto alle immagini scolpite.

Oltre al patrimonio culturale delle officine un ruolo importante per gli scultori deve aver avuto l'esistenza nel sito in cui la nuova fabbrica doveva essere eretta di capitelli antichi che potevano costituire per l'acanto e per tutto o parte dell'apparato vegetale modelli da utilizzare per le nuove creazioni. Come è noto non si è mai di fronte a vere copie: anche nei capitelli più classicistici e vedremo anche nei fregi con tralci d'acanto o di vite l'epoca in cui agisce lo scultore s'iscrive sempre nell'opera da lui eseguita.

A S. Pietro ad Alba apparentemente sembrerebbe proprio verificarsi il caso ora detto dell'acanto di capitelli antichi presi come modello: si tratta dell'acanto geometrizzante dello stile del Secondo Triunvirato, ma in realtà si tratta di una forma di foglie adottato largamente in Abruzzo nel XII e XIII secolo come testimoniano sculture decorative del Museo d'Arte Sacra di Celano, dove si conservano pannelli figurati con incorniciature percorse da foglie d'acanto, alcuni da S. Maria in Valle Porclaneta di Rosciolo Magliano dei Marsi, e il portale di S. Salvatore a Paterno del XIII secolo.

Nei ruderi della chiesa di Alba, dunque, dopo il terremoto del 1917 sono stati trovati un capitellino figurato di pilastro, vari capitellini corinzieggianti di colonnine appartenenti in origine all'iconostasi e altri arredi e un capitello corinzio di colonna, che utilizzano foglie ispirate all'acanto secondo triunvirale, che richiama quello dei capitelli delle navate.

Di due capitellini figurati (alt. cm 22), ora nel museo di Celano, uno presenta grandi maschere agli angoli che sostituiscono le volute (fig. 31a), anche un aquila e un pegaso su un lato lungo (fig. 31b) e uno corto, che nascondono parte delle foglie d'acanto. Il secondo capitellino presenta su un lato due corone di foglie, due in primo piano con piccola foglia a giglio o pigna in cima, e tre più alte in secondo piano (fig. 32). L'abaco è sottile, sagomato con una fascia e un listello che lo distinguono dal *kalathos*.

I capitelli (alti cm 24,5/25,5, senza il toro alti cm 20/22,5) delle colonnine, ripristinati nell'iconostasi ricostruita dopo il terremoto, presentano rispettivamente una (fig. 33) e due corone di foglie (fig. 34) con calici fogliacei intermedi; i più alti mostrano anche la coppia delle volute. Inferiormente vi è uno spesso toro sporgente con solchi obliqui per rendere una corda, ma non sono uguali in quanto uno è più sottile e plastico. L'abaco è ridotto e sottilissimo, e non è praticamente distinguibile dal *kalathos* tronco conico.



Fig. 32. Museo ecclesiastico di Celano, da Alba Fucens, S. Pietro Alba Fucens.

Infine, il capitello corinzio, ora collocato accanto a 4d su una colonna isolata che abbiamo definito 10d (fig. 23), è l'unico a presentare tutti gli elementi canonici del corinzio e richiamare dunque quelli delle navate anche per altri elementi vegetali. L'acanto è dello stesso tipo dei capitellini ora citati, con cui condivide anche il modo di rendere la costolatura centrale con due sottili listelli verticali accostati e distinti da un'incisione: si dispone in due corone di foglie di cui quella superiore oltrepassa metà dell'altezza del *kalathos*, mentre in quelli romani del colonnato essa si attesta all'altezza di metà *kalathos*. Rispetto ad essi diverso è anche il caulicolo più sottile conico e tortile con disorganici orli a corda o a sottile *kyma* lesbio continuo. Le foglie dei calici, che hanno i lobi inferiori delle stesse dimensioni, sfiorano direttamente l'abaco in quanto le elici e le volute sono ridottissime ed emergenti dalle foglie solo nella parte superiore delle piccole spirali. Infine, sotto i fiori fogliacei al centro dei lati dell'abaco le cime delle foglie interne dei calici s'incurvano in modo da formare una sorta di calicetto rovescio da cui si origina una palmettina che poggia sul risvolto delle foglie della seconda corona. I lati dell'abaco conservano della tradizionale modanatura romana il cavetto che pare però percorso da sottili foglie acantizzanti agli spigoli, mentre la modanatura superiore è trasformata in una fascia. La struttura dell'esemplare, nel complesso organica, indica che lo scultore già aveva esperienza nella lavorazione di capitelli su modelli antichi e che aveva elaborato soluzioni compositive per risolvere i vari passaggi, in particolare quello tra il *kalathos* e l'abaco.

Spesso riferendosi agli scultori attivi in Abruzzo si impiega la dizione di maestranze umbro-abruz-



Fig. 33. Alba Fucens S. Pietro, iconostasi.



Fig. 34. Alba Fucens, S. Pietro iconostasi.

zezi e in effetti in città come Narni si trova una varietà di capitelli corinzi romanici che spesso richiamano l'acanto ora visto per i capitelli medievali di S. Pietro, all'interno di strutture corinzie però con molte varianti. Si possono citare i capitelli di pilastro con semicolonna addossata del nono sostegno a destra delle arcate della cattedrale, con acanto che fondamentalemente s'ispira a quello romano tardorepubblicano, ma mescolandolo con altre forme, e che presenta caulicoli con lunghi calici e le volute sostituite da maschere e protomi sotto gli spigoli dell'abaco, questo ridotto ad una sottilissima tavoletta. Il capitello contrapposto a sinistra mostra invece nelle due alte corone di foglie tre tipi di acanto, spinoso, *mollis* e acantizzante. È però nel museo di Narni che si conservano alcuni capitelli corinzi di XII secolo che denotano un'aspirazione classicistica anche se realizzata con semplificazioni (una sola corona di foglie) e varianti (i calici a V praticamente fusi con gli steli delle elici e delle volute di cui emergono però le spirali).

Dai capitelli ora menzionati si discostano quelli dell'ambone di S. Pietro ad Alba: le colonnine tortili con mosaici policromi nelle scanalature sono sormontati da capitelli corinzi con le tipiche foglie cuspidate articolate in lobi ad uncino separati da zone d'ombra circolari (fig. 35) che si ritrovano uguali nella produzione cosmatesca a Roma legata appunto alle iconostasi, amboni e anche ai chiostri.⁴⁹ Si tratta di capitelli abbastanza fedeli agli elementi canonici del corinzio ma con semplificazioni e schematismi legati anche alle piccole dimensioni, che si collegano alle tradizioni decorative affermatesi nelle officine marmorarie della Roma medievale, che seguono ormai lo stile e i tipi affermatasi nel corso della loro produzione.

CONCLUSIONI

A San Pietro ad Alba Fucens i capitelli corinzi di età romana reimpiegati nelle navate e i capitelli corinzieggianti medievali della iconostasi e dell'ambone forniscono dati tipologici sicuri per distinguere gli elementi antichi di reimpiego da quelli copiati o che citano l'Antico o che lo trasformano secondo le mode dell'epoca.

La chiesa sorge nella zona Sud di Alba Fucens e riutilizza le murature laterali della cella del tempio di Apollo, ma le tre navate sono divise da colonne prelevate da altri edifici antichi della città (fig. 1). Se la trasformazione del tempio in chiesa risale all'epoca altomedievale, se non prima, si deve probabilmente all'iniziativa dei Benedettini la sua ristrutturazione nell'edificio conservatosi fino al terremoto del 1915 e in seguito, negli anni Cinquanta del secolo scorso, ricostruito nell'aspetto romanico. Un dato cronologico ci proviene dalla notizia che un Oderisio, pare l'abate di Montecassino tra il 1123 e il 1126, chiamasse nella prima metà del XII secolo maestranze, tra cui un *magister* Gualterius associato a un Moronto e un Pietro, per lavorare nell'antico edificio. Tra l'altro, sono documentate due iconostasi diverse, ritenute di epoca leggermente diversa, la prima pienamente romanica, identificata per alcuni frammenti rinvenuti nell'altare barocco al momento della sua rimozione e attribuita ai suddetti Gualterio, Moronto e Pietro, artisti di scuola umbro-abruzzese, la seconda definita come una delle più 'mature manifestazioni del gusto cosmatesco' della fine XII, inizi XIII secolo. Al di là dei problemi di identificazione della sua committenza (lo stesso Oderisio che ora compare nella dedica sull'ambone cosmatesco?), questa seconda icono-

stasi rivela l'appartenenza all'ambito cosmatesco e l'importazione da Roma come prefabbricati dei pezzi che la compongono, poi montati *in situ* a S. Pietro: tale dato qualifica l'impegno finanziario del committente, probabilmente abbate a Montecassino, per il trasporto anche dei pezzi prefabbricati.

La chiesa è divisa in tre navate da due file di sette colonne scanalate in marmo lunense dal fusto alto m 4,58 e dal diametro inferiore di cm 60 che sorreggono arcate: poggiano su basi attiche a due tori distinti da una gola accuratamente arcuata con due listelli di incorniciatura (il diametro del toro inferiore è di cm 82). Sul fondo vi è un'ottava coppia di colonne, ora in calcare, che precede l'abside: solo queste presentano fusti rudentati alti m 4,32/4,40, con due fessure verticali nella parte rudentata per l'inserimento di transenne; l'imoscapo è intagliato insieme ad una base con due tori molto ravvicinati e senza plinto.

I capitelli delle prime 7 coppie di colonne (1s-7s, 1d-7d) e i due delle colonne addossate alle pareti (9s-9d), appaiono uguali (nei limiti in cui manufatti scolpiti a mano possono essere considerati uguali nonostante piccole diversità nei particolari). Sono corinzi della tradizione del Secondo Triunvirato come rivela il tipo dell'acanto: infatti la zona centrale delle foglie è triangolare e svasata in alto con due incisioni per delimitare la nervatura centrale; inoltre i cinque lobi presentano le fogliette strette e allungate, con zone d'ombra tra i lobi costituite da un ovale chiuso e un triangolo in genere chiuso. In questi capitelli (figg. 7, 9, 10, 12, 15-17, 21, 22) la forma slanciata delle nervature dell'acanto ci ha permesso di precisare la loro cronologia nella fase finale del Secondo Triunvirato (30-15 a.C.), quando l'acanto diventa più vivace e naturalistico. Forse il presupposto tipologico e stilistico più vicino è costituito dai capitelli di Roma del tempio del Divo Cesare e del foro di Cesare terminato da Ottaviano intorno al 40-30 avanti Cristo, dove ormai l'acanto geometrizzante ha assunto un aspetto più naturalistico dato il movimento delle fogliette. Abbiamo però osservato che questa forma d'acanto, dunque normalizzato nel senso di un maggiore naturalismo, pur essendo riconducibile alla matrice del Secondo Triunvirato, è testimoniato già nel negli anni 20 -10 a.C. in Campania, dove si trovano i confronti più stretti per i capitelli in marmo di S. Pietro e dove si è definita una 'fase sperimentale' connessa alle produzioni municipali.

Il due capitelli ai lati dell'abside (8s-8d) si distinguono dagli altri per foglie d'acanto invece organiche, nella tradizione del foro di Augusto a Roma con i lobi resi plasticamente concavi e separati da zone d'ombra ogivali oblique e triangolari, ma in

modo naturalistico. Abbiamo rilevato come in essi (figg. 18, 19) si manifesti l'altra grande normalizzazione che viene perseguita nel periodo augusteo e che prende le mosse dalle nuove mode adottate nel nuovo foro: l'acanto è più naturalistico con i lobi concavi articolati in fogliette lanceolate o semplicemente ovali allungate.

Se i capitelli di questo gruppo sembrano contemporanei proprio alle forme del foro di Augusto e sono forse collocabili tra il 15 a. C. e il 5 d. C., tuttavia anche per essi chiameremmo in causa maestranze non urbane, ma formatesi in ambiente campano: si deve tener conto infatti che le novità del foro di Augusto si trovano contemporaneamente anche in molti monumenti pubblici della Campania senza necessariamente vedere una dipendenza e un divario cronologico rispetto ad esso. In altra sede abbiamo osservato che la creazione dello stile augusteo non è che l'esito di un percorso controllato dalla casa imperiale e forse direttamente da Agrippa che nello stesso tempo si andava seguendo sia in Campania sia Roma.

Allo stato attuale delle conoscenze abbiamo proposto uno o due edifici di provenienza solo per le due colonne rudentate a 20 scanalature e in calcare locale poste ai lati dell'abside (8s, 8d): si tratta



Fig. 35. Alba Fucens, S. Pietro, ambone.

della Sala delle Colonne affacciata su via del Miliario che costeggia il lato ovest del foro, e della scena del teatro. In ogni caso i due monumenti citati sono la prova di un'intensa attività edilizia ad Alba intorno alla media età augustea e della presenza di un'officina impegnata a produrre localmente capitelli nello stile ufficiale dell'epoca.

Possibili edifici pubblici di Alba Fucens in cui invece potevano essere impiegate colonne marmoree non sono attualmente individuabili, anche ricercando monumenti di una cronologia simile ai capitelli più antichi di S. Pietro. Tali colonne testimoniano comunque l'esistenza di un edificio pubblico importante nella città e di un facoltoso committente in grado di finanziare un arredo architettonico in marmo. Anzi i capitelli, le basi e i fusti in marmo reimpiegati a San Pietro ci portano a ipotizzare che si tratta di un atto di munificenza dovuto a un qualche membro della famiglia di Augusto o a un personaggio vicino per cariche politiche e funzioni amministrative ad esso. Abbiamo così messo in luce come ad Alba Fucens, oltre a Cesare che ne fu patrono, un indizio del patronato di un membro della famiglia augustea nasca da una nota iscrizione (CIL IX, 3914) dedicata a Lucio Cesare a cui si aggiunge la testimonianza epigrafica di un *Collegium Ararum Luciarum*, che avrebbe avuto la funzione di onorare gli altari dedicati a Lucio Cesare subito dopo la sua morte nel 2 d.C.: questo personaggio evidentemente si era distinto per la sua attività evergetica nella città e non pare impossibile che fosse proprio il canale attraverso cui giunsero tali colonne ad Alba.

Infine, l'ultimo tema trattato in questo articolo è la testimonianza offerta dai capitelli corinzieggianti delle iconostasi di S. Pietro di un processo di 'normalizzazione' di uno dei molteplici tipi di foglie d'acanto compiutasi in età romanica. Il fenomeno della ripresa puntuale di foglie d'acanto antiche in età medievale lo abbiamo potuto riscontrare abbastanza frequentemente in Italia e anche altrove. Si è osservato che non solo si imitava o ci si ispirava alle principali tipologie antiche, l'*acanthus mollis*, l'*acanthus spinosa* e la trasformazione di quest'ultimo in acanto dentellato o finemente dentellato avvenuta in età bizantina, ma si arrivava alla sottigliezza di riprodurre le variazioni all'interno di uno stesso tipo, verificatesi nel corso dell'età romana. A S. Pietro ad Alba Fucens i capitelli dell'iconostasi mostrano dunque un acanto geometrizzante da non considerare però una copia di quello dello stile del Secondo Triunvirato adottato nei capitelli delle navate. Infatti si tratta di una forma di foglie largamente utilizzata in Abruzzo nel XII e XIII secolo, ma

anche altrove, dove lo spunto iniziale derivante dall'acanto dei capitelli romani è del tutto superato a favore della creazione di un tipo d'acanto che può considerarsi pienamente romanico.

NOTE

* All'appoggio costante di Cécile Evers devo l'aver potuto realizzare questo studio, che senza la sua conoscenza di Alba, messami con generosità a disposizione, non avrebbe potuto superare l'aridità di un contributo specialistico.

¹ *Maximino et Africano co(n)s(ulibus) [/No]n(as) Iunias lacunar Apol(l)inis reparavit Ascr[a]nus(!) [---?]:* AE 1954, 169 c.; Mertens 1969, 21.

² Delogu 1969, 24.

³ Delogu ritiene che la chiesa appartenesse al vescovo dei Marsi, almeno fino alla bolla citata di Pasquale II nel 1115, in quanto in questa si confermano 'al vescovo dei Marsi possessi e diritti e tra gli altri quelli esercitati su S. Maria e su S. Pietro in Albe' (Delogu 1969, 25).

⁴ Delogu 1969, 38 e bibl. citata.

⁵ I personaggi sono noti dall'epigrafe di un pilastro dell'iconostasi originaria della chiesa: Delogu 1969, 51, pl. 32 fig. 48.

⁶ Delogu 1969, 29.

⁷ Delogu 1969, 29-30, a cui si rimanda anche per le osservazioni sulla corrente architettonica che muove dalla Campania, risale in Abruzzo attraverso la valle del Liri per espandersi in molte altre località, in questo senso viene ribadito il ruolo della chiesa 'desideriana' di S. Liberatore alla Maiella, ricostruita intorno al 1080 (proprio per ordine dell'abate Desiderio di Montecassino) seguita dalla chiesa di S. Pietro ad Oratorum presso Capestrano del 1100 e la coeva chiesa di S. Maria a Bominaco e infine S. Maria di Atri, chiese tutte queste che in parte conservano ancora resti romanici.

⁸ Delogu 1969, pl. 19, fig. 42 dove è riprodotto un pluteo decorato con reticolo intorno a due formelle con fiori (v. anche Claussen 1987, 156 pl. 33), dove paiono riprodotte tre facce di uno stesso capitello figurato di pilastro.

⁹ Claussen 1987, 156 ritiene si tratti di uno stesso abate, che avrebbe utilizzato in una prima fase artisti abruzzesi, poi chiamati da Roma.

¹⁰ Cfr. Delogu 1969, 39, che accenna anche alla problematica di un altro *magister* Gualterius attivo nel 1157-1163 nella chiesa di S. Maria di Guglieto, Vinchiatturo (Molise); Claussen 1987, 53, sull'iscrizione dell'ambone del secondo Oderisio dove compare Johannes Guittone, che si definisce *civis roma(nus) doctissimus*.

¹¹ Cfr. Claussen 1987, 156, 157: è sicuro l'intervento di maestranze cosmatesche per il ciborio, l'ambone e l'iconostasi non solo per le firme di Andrea e Giovanni Guittone, ma per lo stile.

¹² Delogu 1969, 45.

¹³ Claussen 1987, 53, 155.

¹⁴ Delogu 1969, 61-63.

¹⁵ Delogu 1969, 51, pl. XXXIII, figg. 49-31; pl. XXXIV, fig. 52: attribuisce alcuni capitelli rinvenuti nei ruderi come materiale riutilizzato in strutture successive al ciborio e all'iconostasi di Gualtiero, Moronto e Pietro che avrebbe preceduto quello cosmatesco.

¹⁶ Nell'atrio della chiesa e nella navata sinistra si conservano rispettivamente un troncone di fusto uguale a quelli delle navate (alt. mass. m 1,56, diam. inf. cm 58) e

- due semifusti tagliati verticalmente, ma interi nell'altezza, in marmo lunense e scanalati, ma di minori proporzioni rispetto a quelli delle navate (1°: alt. mass. cm 130, diam. mass. imoscapo cm 22, diam. sommoscapo cm 23,5; 2°: alt. mass. cm 129, diam. cm 26, diam. sommoscapo cm 36). Se ne ignora la collocazione originaria.
- ¹⁷ Cfr. Delogu 1969, 27 nota 1 sulla possibilità che i pilastri sul muro di controfacciata da cui nascono le arcate sorrette dalle colonne fossero in origine anch'essi colonne, poi sostituite dai pilastri al momento della ricostruzione di tale parte alla fine del XV-inizi XVI secolo, quando 'il portale romanico fu smontato e rimontato con un architrave di imitazione.'
- ¹⁸ Delogu 1969, 66.
- ¹⁹ Delogu 1969, 67.
- ²⁰ Heinrich 2002, 39: ad esempio capitelli del Foro di Cuma, 66, K14i; di Pompei 64, K7b, appartenenti al primo gruppo dei capitelli del Tempio di Fortuna Augusta, leggermente più eleganti con i caulicoli troncoconici e non appiattiti e i calicetti più piccoli, ma per il resto molto simili (soprattutto a 9s e 9d) o 67, k22a provenienti da sepolcri di Porta Nocera, capitelli più correnti, con particolari però simili a quelli di S. Pietro nei caulicoli più piatti con orlo tubolare o nel calicetto più grande, ma più rigidi nelle nervature delle foglie.
- ²¹ Heinrich 2002, 39.
- ²² Heinrich 2002, 63, k1, k2 (Pompei, da sepolcri Porta Nocera).
- ²³ Heinrich 2002, 64, k3 (Salerno reimpiego nel duomo).
- ²⁴ Heinrich 2002, 47, 64, k24e (dal peristilio dell'edificio d'Eumachia, ora nel giardino del Museo Nazionale di Napoli), dove si hanno simili zone d'ombra tra i lobi, ogivali strette e oblique seguite da un triangolo irregolare.
- ²⁵ Heinrich 2002, 48.
- ²⁶ Heinrich 2002, 42, S7a, S14, S.9: Pensabene 2018, cat.nn. 59-61. Cfr. anche Evers/Massar 2012-2013, 302, note 24, 25.
- ²⁷ Evers/Massar 2012-2013, p. 303.
- ²⁸ De Ruyt/Mertens 1955, 363-371; De Visscher 1959, 128-129; cfr. Tosi 2003, 263, 264; Sear 2006, 149-150.
- ²⁹ De Ruyt/Mertens 1955, 367, tav. XXV,3.
- ³⁰ De Visscher/De Ruyt/de Laet/Mertens 1954, 80. L'iscrizione è riportata alla nostra nota 41.
- ³¹ De Visscher/De Ruyt/de Laet/Mertens 1954, 367.
- ³² L'elevato in reticolato della scena che avrebbe potuto ospitare sul fronte: tre coppie di colonne ai due lati delle porte e altre sei tra le porte laterali e quella regia. Secondo la tradizione, anche questo teatro doveva possedere i *parascaenia*, con altre due coppie di colonne ai lati dell'entrata. In effetti il teatro è stato datato dal Mertens alla metà circa del I secolo a. C. però con un successivo completamento proprio della scena alla fine dello stesso secolo. L'ipotesi di una possibile provenienza delle colonne di S. Pietro dal teatro nasce dalla considerazione che per analogia con i teatri centroitalici di Cassino e di Venafrò, si deve ritenere molto probabile che anche ad Alba Fucens soltanto la scena abbia ricevuto una *columnatio* in marmo; il resto del teatro invece, come anche l'eventuale portico *post scaenam*, doveva essere in pietra locale.
- ³³ Mertens 1968; De Visscher 1955, 107, 355, fig. 18. Si tratta di un portico rettangolare (internamente di m 47,10x 10,90), pare con la funzione di *diribitorium* (cfr. Liberatore 2004, 110, e bibl. citata) secondo una forma architettonica che in pianta ricalca un calcidico, su tre lati circondato da un muro continuo in blocchi che sosteneva un colonnato di cui sussistono numerose basi; il quarto lato, a m 3,30 dal lato opposto costituisce

- anche il fronte della basilica: è attribuito ad esso un colonnato 'dorique italique' e un frammento di colonna (diam. cm 65) a venti scanalature larghe cm 10,5.
- ³⁴ De Visscher 1955, pl. XX, 1,2.
- ³⁵ AE 1964, 7: [C]aesari [pontifici] maxsumo(!)/[dictatori] iterum/ [patro]no.
- ³⁶ CIL, IX, 3914; cfr. De Visscher 1964, 107; Buonocore, M. 1993, cit. a nota 7, p. 227, nr. 4 (= AE 2006, 383); Letta 2012, 96 nota 32.
- ³⁷ Cfr. De Visscher 1957; De Visscher 1957-1958.
- ³⁸ Ramallo 2009 (2010), 206: con tali iscrizioni è possibile ricostruire la data della costruzione del teatro tra il 5 e il 1 a.C.; poiché i capitelli in marmo lunense che sono stati attribuiti ad officine urbane o ostiensi mostrano già l'adesione allo stile del Foro di Augusto.
- ³⁹ Carettoni 1939, 127-128: le epigrafi sono state datate tra il 4 d.C. (morte di Caio) e la morte di Augusto, ma ci pare riflettano possibili interventi che i due personaggi avrebbero operato sul teatro.
- ⁴⁰ Cfr. storia degli studi in Tosi 2003, 263, 264.
- ⁴¹ Devijver/van Wouterghem 1985, 163-172; pl. 11; fig. 1-3; AE 1985; AE 1964, 207. (B); De Visscher/Mertens/Balty, 1963, 389-392, N. 6; fig. 30. (B); AE 1964; Courtois 1989, 100, 133-138, 245-248; Day 1998, n. 111; Liberatore 2004, 133 nota 21: [L(ucius) P]let[ol]anus [L(uci) f(ilius) ---]ro a[ed(ilis)] / M(arcus) A[lli]d[us] C(ai) f(ilius) Q[ua]dr[at]us / III[ui]r(i) i(ure) d(icundo) [il]l[erum] q[ui]nq[ue]nnales / [sc]aena[m --- e]t sub[il]laquearun[t] / [stat]ua[m --- q]ue omnia et gradus / [--- s]ua pecunia / [---]qu[e] pict[ur]a reficiend(a) / [---] ad [---]a cura[verunt] / [---] CER[--- aquam i]n oppidum [addu]cen[dam] d(ecreto) s(enatus) curaverunt s[ua]que pecu[nia ---] / [---]ndam f(e)cerunt].
- ⁴² Cfr. Buonocore 1993, 17.
- ⁴³ Cfr. riproduzione frammenti in De Ruyt 1982, 148, 149, nn. 175-178, pl. XIV.
- ⁴⁴ Cfr. AE 1957, n. 250: Q(uintus) Naevius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Fab(ia) Cordus Sutorius Macro / praefectus vigilum praefectus praetori/ Ti(beri) Caesaris Augusti testamento dedit.
- ⁴⁵ Vibia C(ai) f(ilia) Galla balne[um] de sua pecunia reficiendum cur[avit]: AE 1952, 19; AE 1956, 7 s. n. 4; AE 1953, 28 s., n. 73. Cfr. Hemelrijk 2015.
- ⁴⁶ AE 1912, 113.
- ⁴⁷ Pensabene 2010, 165-168.
- ⁴⁸ Brunet-Gaston 2017, figura a 919.
- ⁴⁹ Esempi in Pensabene 2015, passim.

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Il rilievo frammentario con personificazione fluviale e serpente di Palazzo Rondinini a Roma: una nuova proposta di lettura

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Abstract

*The idea that the relief in the courtyard of Palazzo Rondinini in Rome is a votive relief, connected with the re-enactment of the foundation of the sanctuary of Asclepius on the Tiber Island, should be excluded. It is a part of a large mythological relief, whose entire narrative content escapes us. It was used for decorative purposes, with a landscape setting, in a rocky context with a river, its source and a cave. There is a snake, associated with the rocky ravines, the humidity of the ground and the water. Probably, as in the case of the Spada reliefs, it was completed in the upper margin with a heroic-mythological scene, which is impossible to recognise, due to its fragmentary state. Its height could support this hypothesis. Finally, we would like to prove Zoega's thesis, according to which the large water jar may have belonged to a lost figure, sitting or lying in the upper register.**

L'idea di tentare una nuova esegesi del rilievo con personificazione fluviale e serpente del cortile di Palazzo Rondinini¹ a Roma è nata durante lo studio dei *mythologische Prachtreiefs*, i rilievi mitologici di grandi dimensioni a sfondo paesaggistico, di cui da tempo ci stiamo occupando. Ciò che maggiormente ha attirato la nostra curiosità non è stata solo l'intrinseca peculiarità di repertorio, ossia la presenza di una figura maschile barbata in atto di far dissetare un serpente, ma anche la precisa scelta del collezionista di esibire il pezzo in un cortile-museo. Ai lati di una fontana-ninfeo, infatti, sono stati collocati a *pendant* due rilievi² con motivi che in qualche modo richiamassero l'idea dell'acqua (fig. 1). Tutto questo, come si tenterà di dimostrare, era avvenuto già da tempo, e non nell'anno 1764, come è stato recentemente sostenuto,³ sulla scorta dell'iscrizione, fatta collocare sulla sommità del prospetto dal Marchese Giuseppe Rondinini, proprietario del palazzo, a conclusione dei lavori di ristrutturazione.⁴

Il rilievo (fig. 2), di incerta provenienza, risulta fino ad oggi non attentamente studiato, soprattutto per la difficoltà della visione. Si trova, infatti, sulla parete di fondo del cortile a più di 2 m di altezza, sopra una finestra, a destra dello spettatore, seminascosto dalle fronde di un albero, che ne limitano fortemente la visibilità. La parte originale, alta 80 cm (fig. 3), è in marmo bardiglio carrarese, bianco-azzurro, dai toni grigi.⁵ I margini superiore e inferiore presentano estese integrazioni moderne in stucco giallognolo (fig. 4).⁶ I restauri sono stati eseguiti per volere

del Marchese Giuseppe, amico del Winckelmann, grande viaggiatore e noto collezionista di opere d'arte, che, dopo il rinvenimento dei suoi pezzi, o il loro acquisto sul mercato antiquario,⁷ li faceva poi restaurare dai più illustri scultori dell'epoca, come Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, Pietro Bracci, Giovanni Battista Grossi, Giuseppe Moisé ed altri ancora, compreso 'lo scalpellino' Ottavio Brizi.



Fig. 1. Lato di fondo del cortile di Palazzo Rondinini, Roma, via del Corso (photo autore).



Fig. 2. Palazzo Rondinini, cortile. Rilievo con fiume (da Candilio/ Bertinetti 2011, 110, n. 74).

È su quest'ultimo personaggio, in particolare, che vorremmo richiamare l'attenzione, poiché egli mise in opera il rilievo nel cortile nel 1758 e probabilmente ne eseguì anche i restauri. Ciò è attestato da un documento finora inedito,⁸ conservato nel Fondo Capranica-Rondinini dell'Archivio Storico Capitolino di Roma. In una pagina del 'Libro dei pagamenti' effettuati nel 1758 dal Marchese Rondinini si riporta la fedele trascrizione delle opere eseguite dallo 'scalpellino' Ottavio Brizi a completamento dei lavori del cortile e della messa in opera della fontana-ninfeo. Qui compare l'esplicito riferimento al rilievo, murato a *pendant* con un altro. Nel testo sono, infatti, menzionati espressamente i 'due bassorilievi sopra le finestre', sui quali furono anche eseguiti dei fori per ancorarli alla parete, mediante staffe impiombate.

Inoltre tra le lettere che il Winckelmann,⁹ assiduo frequentatore di casa Rondinini nell'estate di quello stesso anno, scriveva nel mese di luglio al

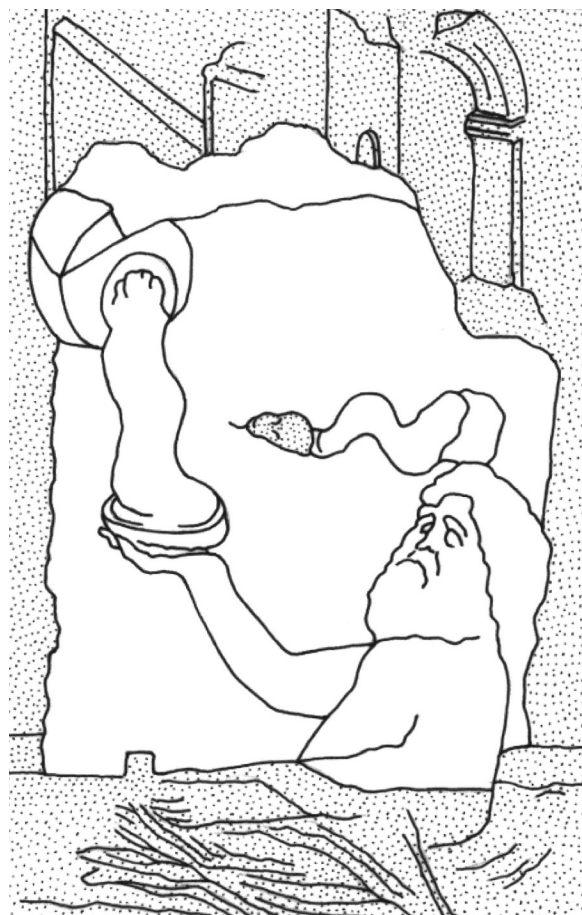


Fig. 3. Parte antica del rilievo Rondinini con fiume (disegno: Arch. M. Chighine).

suo amico Bianconi a Dresda, si fa riferimento agli scavi che il *marchesino* stava facendo eseguire nella sua vigna alle Terme di Diocleziano, alla ricerca di antichità per arricchire la sua collezione.

Le due notizie appena riferite basterebbero da sole a far decadere l'ipotesi di un rinvenimento più tardo del rilievo e della sua provenienza dalla zona dell'Isola Tiberina.¹⁰

Il rilievo si presenta articolato in tre registri sovrapposti, separati orizzontalmente da una serie di sporgenze rocciose. Nel registro inferiore, a destra di chi guarda, è raffigurato, in forte aggetto rispetto al piano di fondo, un personaggio maschile, anziano e barbato, di dimensioni maggiori del vero. Egli tende il braccio destro in alto, recante in mano una patera, in atto di raccogliere l'acqua che sgorga da una brocca rovesciata, posta nel registro superiore. La figura, emergente dall'acqua fino a metà schiena, è rappresentata nuda e con il volto rivolto verso sini-

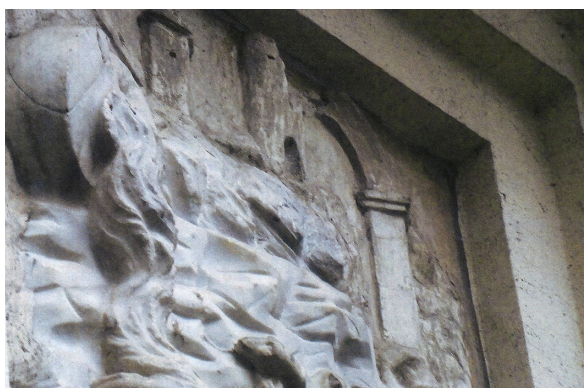


Fig. 4. Dettaglio del margine superiore del rilievo Rondinini con edifici in stucco (photo autore).

stra, reso di tre quarti, leggermente sollevato. La fronte è alta, solcata da una profonda ruga orizzontale; gli occhi sono molto grandi; pupilla e iride non recano traccia di incisione, ma si distinguono nettamente la palpebra superiore e inferiore. Le sopracciglia sono folte e leggermente aggrottate, la bocca, pateticamente semiaperta, è ricoperta da baffi, mentre una copiosa barba ricade sul collo dividendosi in lunghi riccioli verticali. La fluida capigliatura, resa in maniera analoga alla barba, è divisa da una scriminatura centrale con una leggera *anastolè* sulla fronte e ricopre completamente le orecchie. Sono evidenti i segni di trapano sui capelli e sulla barba, nei solchi che delimitano e separano le ciocche, come anche su tutto il contorno della testa. Il torso è vigoroso, caratterizzato da tonicità muscolare: si possono quasi intravedere i muscoli dell'avambraccio destro, della schiena, delle spalle e del collo, e le vene sul braccio, molto sottile e allungato, teso nello sforzo del sollevamento. Un ciuffo di canne palustri avvolge l'avambraccio sinistro, sopra il gomito, disponendosi orizzontalmente a forma di V. Sul palmo della mano destra, aperta, poggia una patera che raccoglie l'acqua della brocca capovolta, collocata a sinistra. Il flusso dell'acqua ha un andamento molto mosso e tortuoso. Nella fascia mediana, caratterizzata da un'ambientazione rupestre, un serpente barbato, sbucato all'improvviso dalla roccia, striscia verso sinistra, per andare a dissetarsi, occupando quasi il centro della composizione, sopra la figura maschile. Sotto la testa del rettile compare una barba,¹¹ resa in modo spugnoso, mediante piccoli solchi di trapano. Il suo corpo, dalla forma ondulata, è completamente liscio, distinguendosi nettamente dalla roccia sottostante, scabra e piena di asperità, realizzata con evidenti segni di scalpello.

Subito sopra di esso sono ravvisabili tracce antiche del pannello di una veste con pieghe dall'andamento rettilineo e diagonale.

Riguardo all'esegesi del rilievo, fondamentale si è rivelata una pagina inedita dei manoscritti di J. Zoega, risalenti al 1809, conservati alla Royal Library di Copenhagen,¹² laddove lo studioso danese, descrivendo il rilievo, sostiene chiaramente che tutto il registro in alto è di restauro e che la brocca scaturigine nel margine superiore potrebbe essere appartenuta ad una figura perduta, seduta o sdraiata, appoggiata su di essa. Tale documento consente di ipotizzare una proposta ricostruttiva del rilievo alquanto distante da quella tradizionale.

Quest'ultima si fondava in passato essenzialmente sul confronto del rilievo con il famoso medaglione di bronzo di Antonino Pio, che non solo avrebbe chiarito la desueta iconografia del primo, ma lo avrebbe anche datato (fig. 5).¹³ Noto attraverso molteplici repliche, esso fu coniato tra il 140 e il 143 d.C. per celebrare l'anniversario dell'introduzione del culto di Esculapio da Epidauro a Roma, sull'Isola Tiberina, avvenuto nel 293 a.C. La replica più famosa è conservata al British Museum, ma ce n'era anche una nel Medagliere Vaticano,¹⁴ dove rimase visibile fino al 1798, anno in cui passò al Gabinetto delle Medaglie a Parigi. Sul rovescio di tale emissione, si vedono da sinistra archi di un ponte, da uno dei quali sporge la prua di una trireme condotta da un pilota, da cui un serpente striscia sull'isola, accolto dal fiume Tevere, seduto a terra sulla destra con canne in mano. La natura dell'isola è indicata da un albero e da uno sfondo roccioso su cui si ergono alcuni edifici, due torri ai lati di un tempio sormontato da



Fig. 5. Londra, British Museum. Medaglione bronzeo di Antonino Pio (da Rowan 2014, fig. 6).



Fig. 6. Roma, Palazzo Spada, rilievo con Paride ed Enone (phot: DAI-Rom-2006.1518-R3-SW).

un frontone, identificati come il santuario del dio. Al di là delle innegabili affinità tematiche che medaglione e rilievo presentano, costituite essenzialmente dalla presenza su entrambi della personificazione fluviale e del serpente, è evidente come essi risultino, in realtà, molto distanti tra loro:

1. diversa è la postura e la gestualità del fiume, che, nel nostro caso, è di profilo e tiene in mano una patera, mentre sul medaglione è frontale e in atto di accogliere il serpente;
2. differente l'azione narrata: qui il serpente sbuca (esce) da un anfratto roccioso; lì approda (entra) sull'isola;
3. dissimile l'ubicazione della vicenda, che nel nostro caso rimane assolutamente generica, in considerazione del fatto che i resti delle strutture architettoniche sullo sfondo sono di restauro;
4. diversa risulta anche la campitura dello spazio: nel rilievo, probabilmente articolato su tre registri sovrapposti, la figura del fiume trova collocazione in quello inferiore.

Pertanto l'iconografia del rilievo non può essere decodificata sulla base del confronto con il medaglione, ma è più verosimile formulare un'ipotesi

inversa: ossia il medaglione, già conosciuto nel Settecento, potrebbe aver rappresentato il modello per l'integrazione in stucco degli edifici nel margine superiore del rilievo. Inoltre la figura del fiume costituisce una sorta di 'predella' della composizione, che evidentemente continuava con una scena figurata anche nella parte soprastante, oggi perduta. L'esempio più calzante, a riguardo, è offerto dal noto rilievo di Palazzo Spada con Paride ed Enone,¹⁵ articolato su tre registri sovrapposti, dove, in maniera del tutto analoga, la personificazione del fiume Cebreno¹⁶ riempie interamente il registro inferiore (fig. 6).

La personificazione fluviale è qui rappresentata secondo il ben noto modello ellenistico del vecchio barbato, seminudo, recumbente su roccia o sull'acqua, munito di attributi vegetali.¹⁷ Tale iconografia trova confronti pertinenti, più che nella statuaria, nel rilievo, a partire dalla fine del I secolo d.C. Particolarmente interessante, sul piano iconografico, risulta il confronto con la personificazione fluviale del Tevere nella sezione I del fregio del Foro Transitorio iniziato da Domiziano e completato da Nerva (fig. 7).¹⁸ Qui il personaggio è contestualizzato in uno schema compositivo analogo a quello del nostro rilievo. Troviamo, infatti, una prima figura maschile, Tevere, acefala, a torso nudo, panneggiata, sdraiata sulla roccia frontalmente verso destra, mentre una seconda personificazione, Fonte, toccando



Fig. 7. Roma, Foro Transitorio, fregio con personificazione fluviale (da D'Ambra 1993, fig. 47).

la roccia con la mano sinistra, fa sgorgare acqua dall'alto. In passato, questa figura del Tevere, nonostante la diversità delle due scene, è stata messa in stretta relazione da D'Ambra¹⁹ con la figura barbata del nostro rilievo.

Ancora più convincente risulta il confronto con una testa maschile barbata di un rilievo frammentario, proveniente dagli scavi ottocenteschi di Girolamo Egidio di Velo presso la 'palestra' occidentale delle Terme di Caracalla, ora conservata ai Musei Civici di Vicenza (fig. 8).²⁰ Essa raffigura una divinità fluviale, databile per la modalità di realizzazione della barba e dell'acconciatura agli ultimi decenni del II secolo d.C. La presenza della personificazione di un fiume in un rilievo decorativo all'interno di un complesso termale avrebbe potuto alludere proprio all'importanza dell'acqua, per ribadire la funzione caratteristica dell'edificio.

Offre un ulteriore motivo di confronto un altro rilievo con una figura barbata recumbente, di profilo verso sinistra, poggiata su un vaso-sorgente, con in mano una canna palustre, alla presenza di un'altra figura maschile nuda, seduta a gambe unite sulla roccia, e di una terza figura, forse femminile, di cui si conservano poche tracce. Si tratta, in questo caso, del lato breve di un sarcofago frammentario da Ostia, conservato in Vaticano, nel Museo Gregoriano Profano.²¹

Tornando al nostro rilievo, in esso, come abbiamo notato, la sequenza narrativa, che incuriosisce e attira di più l'osservatore, ha come protagonista il serpente, che, strisciando di soppiatto dall'anfratto roccioso, si avvicina alla patera, sorretta dal fiume, per lambirne il contenuto. Tale immagine non trova confronti specifici nel panorama iconografico di età romana, ma presenta affinità con un rilievo frammentario di cui non si conosce la provenienza, attestato fin dal 1936 in Palazzo Corsini a Lungarno a Firenze.²² Sdraiato verso destra su una rupe, la personificazione fluviale poggia su un vaso da cui sgorga acqua, verso la quale si dirige un serpente, che striscia ai suoi piedi.

Del resto, un serpente, associato all'immagine del fiume Tevere, inserito in un contesto rupestre, compare, ancora una volta, come riempitivo, insieme ad altri animali, sul noto altare da Ostia, dedicato a Marte e Venere, con il mito della nascita di Roma, conservato a Palazzo Massimo alle Terme²³.

La presenza di un serpente in atto di dissetarsi è, inoltre, attestata, nel mondo greco, già tra la fine del V e gli inizi del IV secolo a.C., nella pittura vascolare e sui rilievi. Esso compare su di un cratere a figure rosse dalla Beozia, databile intorno al 400 a.C., conservato al Museo Nazionale di

Atene, che raffigurerebbe *Asklepios*, sdraiato su un letto, in atto di offrire da bere ad un grosso serpente che si avvicina, oppure un eroe locale divinizzato.²⁴

Forti analogie compositive sono, inoltre, riscontrabili nell'ambito del rilievo del IV secolo a.C.: in particolare, in un esemplare frammentario, di probabile produzione attica, nel Museo Archeologico di Venezia, che raffigura il defunto eroizzato, recumbente, che porge da bere ad un serpente con una *phiale*.²⁵ In questo caso, tutta la composizione rimanda ad un contesto funerario con scena di simposio, dove il serpente, simbolo ctonio per antonomasia, diviene l'emblema dell'eroizzazione del defunto.

Lo schema compositivo adottato nelle ultime due scene è, tuttavia, senz'altro più convenzionale e diffuso di quello presente nel nostro rilievo, dove prevale, tra l'altro, una peculiare ambientazione rupestre, caratterizzata anche dalla presenza di una sorgente d'acqua, come nei due rilievi vaticano e fiorentino. Con quest'ultimo, in particolare, si condivide la presenza del serpente, come puro elemento del paesaggio rupestre, privo di alcun simbolismo.

Sul piano formale il rilievo Rondinini è da apprezzare per l'intenso pittoricismo delle superfici con profondi e talora bruschi trapassi di piano. Ciò è ravvisabile sia nella realizzazione della capigliatura e della barba del fiume, molto mossa ed articolata, sia, soprattutto, nella resa dello sfondo roccioso, in cui sono state create, alternativamente, sporgenze e cavità. Queste ultime modulano la superficie e trattengono la luce in vario modo, così da produrre notevoli effetti chiaroscurali. Il marmo è stato trattato come una materia viva, plastica, in cui trova espressione una raffinata esecuzione tecnica.

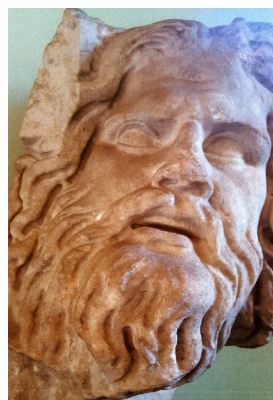


Fig. 8. Vicenza, Musei Civici, frammento di rilievo con personificazione fluviale (photo autore).

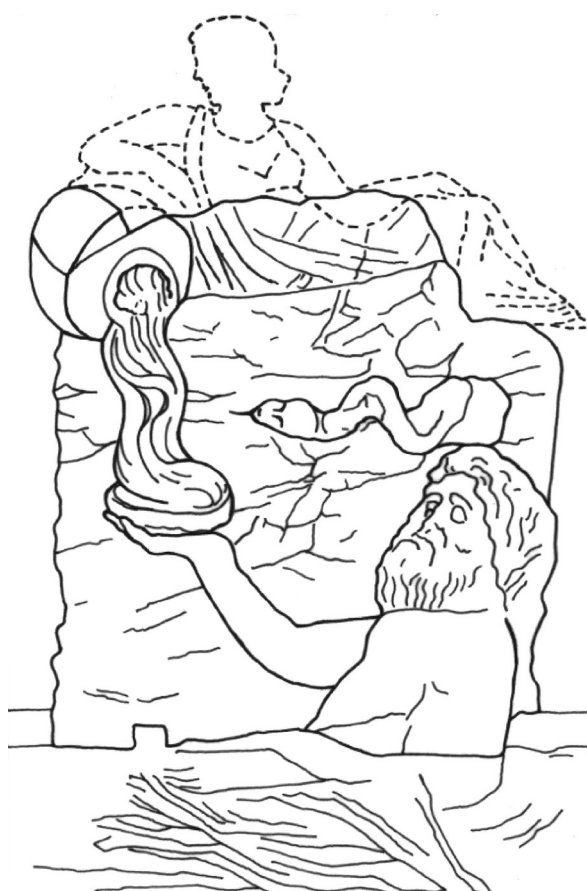


Fig. 9. *Ipotesi restitutiva del rilievo Rondinini*
(disegno: Arch. M. Chighine).

Un'attenzione analoga per il forte colorismo è presente in un gruppo di rilievi, rinvenuti ad Efeso, oggi conservati a Vienna, facenti parte del fregio con personificazioni delle città e delle provincie del cosiddetto *'Partherdenkmal'*, per lo più datato in età antonina, dopo il 141 d.C. Di tale fregio si conservano, frammentari, sei rilievi, su ognuno dei quali sono rappresentate tre figure a grandezza quasi naturale. Cinque rilievi mostrano due figure stanti, ai piedi delle quali giace una personificazione fluviale, della quale è rappresentata la parte superiore del corpo, di cui rimane talora solo la testa.²⁶

In un caso, un fiume, probabilmente l'Eufrate (FR 18, inv. I 860) ripete anche lo stesso schema iconografico della personificazione fluviale del rilievo Rondinini, reso di tre quarti, con il busto nudo affiorante dalle onde e lo sguardo rivolto in alto. I frammenti delle teste delle personificazioni fluviali presentano, in generale, notevoli affinità stilistiche e formali con la testa del fiume Rondinini:

lo stesso ovale allungato; la morbidezza dell'incarnato; la levigatezza delle parti nude, che contrasta con la ruvidità delle chiome e della barba; la bocca, coperta da baffi, pateticamente semiaperta; gli occhi grandi, sgranati. Molto simile risulta soprattutto la resa delle ciocche dei capelli, evidenziate da solchi profondi di trapano.

Concludendo, il rilievo Rondinini rappresenta una scena ambientata in un contesto rupestre, con personificazione fluviale e serpente, articolati in uno schema iconografico variato rispetto a quello tradizionale. Essi sono inseriti in un preciso ambito paesaggistico, dove si intende volutamente sottolineare l'importanza dell'elemento naturale, indicato, non soltanto dalla presenza del fiume, ma anche dalla sua sorgente, dalla grotta, e soprattutto dal serpente, qui non simbolo ctonio, o attributo divino, ma essere legato, per sua intima natura, agli anfratti rocciosi, all'umidità della terra, all'acqua e, quindi, mero elemento paesaggistico.

Probabilmente, come nel caso dei rilievi Spada con Paride ed Enone e Paride ed Eros,²⁷ l'opera era completata nel registro superiore da un tema eroico-mitologico, che non ci è dato conoscere a causa del suo stato frammentario. Questa lettura, secondo la quale la sezione conservata del rilievo Rondinini poteva costituire una sorta di 'predella' di una più articolata composizione mitologica, suddivisa in diversi registri, separati orizzontalmente da una serie di sporgenze rocciose, troverebbe conferma, come abbiamo notato, nella dimensione dell'altezza della parte antica, di appena 80 cm. Essa risulta essere proporzionalmente poco più di un terzo di quella della maggior parte degli altri grandi rilievi mitologici giunti integri, come la serie Spada. Si avvalorerebbe così anche la tesi dello Zoega, secondo il quale il vaso potrebbe essere appartenuto ad una figura perduta, seduta o sdraiata nel registro superiore, come le tracce del panneggio conservate lascerebbero supporre. Potremmo forse pensare ad una ninfa dell'acqua o alla personificazione della fonte del fiume, recumbente su roccia e poggiata ad una brocca, attestata di frequente (fig. 9).²⁸

È inverosimile, quindi, alla luce di quanto sostenuto, che il rilievo, come voleva la letteratura tradizionale, ripresa in tempi più recenti, possa essere messo in relazione con il culto di Esculapio, e che provenga dall'Isola Tiberina, ma più verosimilmente dalla zona delle Terme di Diocleziano, dove i Rondinini possedevano terreni e proprietà ed eseguivano scavi. Il medaglione di Antonino Pio (fig. 5), conosciuto già dalla metà del XVIII secolo, venne usato intorno al 1758 come

prototipo per il completamento del rilievo. Esso, insieme all'altro, con personaggio in barca, fortemente rimaneggiato, doveva far parte del corredo decorativo di un importante edificio dei primi anni del regno di Antonino Pio, forse termale, dove si esaltava la funzione vitale dell'acqua.

Dunque, esso rientra, a ragione, nella categoria dei cosiddetti *mythologische Prachtreiefs*, ossia rilievi mitologici 'di lusso' di grandi dimensioni, a sfondo paesaggistico e contenuto mitico, usati alla maniera di 'quadri' scultorei nelle lussuose dimore dell'aristocrazia romana. Realizzati in un materiale pregiato, come il marmo, venivano inseriti come pannelli ornamentali nelle pareti di importanti luoghi di rappresentanza.²⁹ Nel nostro caso, non si può escludere l'ipotesi di un riutilizzo più tardi in un edificio termale. Se tutto ciò fosse corretto, allora il rilievo Rondinini con personificazione fluviale e serpente non avrebbe potuto trovare nel 1758, ad opera del suo raffinato proprietario, il Marchese Giuseppe, una collocazione più consona.

NOTE

- * Dedico questo lavoro alla memoria di mia madre.
- ¹ Il palazzo, in via del Corso 518, di proprietà dei Monti dei Paschi di Siena, è attualmente sede del 'Nuovo Circolo degli Scacchi', della cui segreteria ringrazio il dottor Massimo Mazzoni, per avermi consentito la visione autoptica del rilievo. Fondamentale per ricostruire le vicende relative alle varie fasi del Palazzo: Mancinelli 1998, 231-252.
 - ² Il secondo rilievo, fortemente integrato, rappresenta un personaggio in barca.
 - ³ Marcattili 2016, 209-223. Il rilievo è stato, inoltre, messo in relazione con gli scavi compiuti nel 1765 da T. Jenkins sull'Isola Tiberina solo su base indiziaria, non essendoci alcuna prova certa ad oggi a sostegno di tale provenienza.
 - ⁴ La seguente iscrizione commemorativa fu, infatti, dettata dal marchese a lavori ultimati, per inaugurare il suo cortile-museo: GENTILITAS AEDES ELEGANTI CVLTV ADAVXIT COPIOSIS AQVAE FONTIBVS ANAGLIPHIS STATVIS IMAGINIBVS LAPIDIBVS-QVE SCRIPTIS DECORAVIT MARCHIO JOSEPH RONDININI ANNO DOMINI MDCCLXIV.
 - ⁵ Ben diverse, in quanto comprensive dei restauri, le misure di 159 cm di alt. x 111 cm di largh. riportate da Matz/von Duhn 1881, 40, n. 3523 e da von Duhn 1886, 167, nota 1. La reale misura dell'alt. di 80 cm trova conferma in Salerno/Paribeni 1964, 211, n. 25 (E. Paribeni) e in Candilio/Bertinetti 2011, 110, n. 74 (L.M. Vigna).
 - ⁶ La parte antica conservata è stata tutta integrata in stucco, con cui è stato completato anche il margine inferiore, indicato da un evidente taglio orizzontale, che interessa la mano e l'avambraccio sinistro della figura barbata e la maggior parte delle canne palustri, fatta eccezione di un piccolo ciuffo vegetale, sicuramente antico, che avvolge lo stesso avambraccio subito sopra il gomito. Poco distante compare un grande foro

- quadrangolare, con intorno una sorta di cornice, probabilmente usato come alloggio per staffe. Completamente rimaneggiato appare anche il registro superiore del rilievo, caratterizzato dalla presenza di alcuni edifici sullo sfondo, tra cui si possono riconoscere un semiarco frammentato e due torri, piuttosto rovinate, una delle quali si erge lungo un muro diagonale. Ancora di restauro è un grosso inserto della brocca da cui sgorga l'acqua della fonte, che appare rotta in tre punti nella parte superiore, anche se, in questo caso, sembrerebbe essere stato utilizzato per il restauro un marmo molto simile, per grana e colore, al frammento antico. L'altro recipiente, la patera in mano al personaggio maschile, presenta delle scheggiature sui bordi. Anche su tutto il contorno del rilievo sono presenti evidenti tracce di restauro. Inoltre, un po' ovunque, compaiono segni scuri di colatura. La parte in migliore stato di conservazione sembra, quindi, la porzione centrale con lo sfondo roccioso. Il serpente presenta una lacuna sotto la testa, di restauro anch'essa, come indica il solco che la delimita. La figura maschile è abbastanza ben conservata, fatta eccezione di alcune abrasioni sui capelli, sul labbro superiore, sul dito mignolo della mano destra, sul braccio destro sollevato fino all'altezza della testa, e sulla schiena.
- ⁷ Si ricordi che il marchese, tra le altre opere d'arte, aveva acquistato e fatto collocare nella Biblioteca del suo palazzo l'ultimo capolavoro di Michelangelo, la *Pietà Rondinini*, attualmente esposta nel Castello Sforzesco di Milano.
 - ⁸ ASC, Fondo Capranica-Rondinini, b. 896. Intendo qui esprimere tutta la mia gratitudine alla dott.ssa Cristina Falcucci, per la gentile disponibilità dimostratami in ogni occasione di confronto.
 - ⁹ Fancelli/Raspi Serra 2016, 486-499, Roma, metà luglio 1758, a G.L. Bianconi.
 - ¹⁰ Questa posizione è stata sostenuta da tutta la critica, da von Duhn 1886, 168, a Marcattili 2016, 212, fatta eccezione per E. Paribeni, in Salerno/Paribeni 1964, 211, n. 25 e di Conticello 1966, 790-791. Questi ultimi escludono entrambi che il fiume del rilievo possa rappresentare la personificazione del Tevere.
 - ¹¹ Secondo Guattani 1787, 78, si tratterebbe della lunga barba di un vecchio serpente, poiché le rovine della parte alta del rilievo andrebbero, secondo lui, riferite alla distruzione della città di *Amyclae*, secondo le fonti antiche distrutta proprio dai serpenti e vicina '*al mar di Gaeta, ora detto Sperlunga*'. L'esegesi è complicata dal fatto che la testa è di restauro. In ogni caso raffigurazioni di serpenti barbati sono già attestate nella ceramica e nelle pitture etrusche e nelle pitture di larario (*agathodaimones*).
 - ¹² Zoega 1809, 430, n. 9. Intendo qui esprimere tutta la mia gratitudine al dottor Bruno Svinborg, responsabile del *Center for Manuscripts and Rare Books* (Royal Library, Copenhagen), per aver agevolato la mia ricerca.
 - ¹³ Essendo la bibliografia sul medaglione piuttosto ampia, ci limiteremo ad indicare quella essenziale: Fröhner 1878, 52-53; Cohen 1882, 271-272, n. 17 (140-143 d.C.); von Duhn 1886, 168, nota 4; Besnier 1902, 181; Le Gall 1953, 26; Lugli 1953, vol. 6°, 100-101, n. 28, tav. III, fig. 2; Gnechi 1968, 9, tav. 43, figg. 1-2; Guarducci 1983, 180-197; Renberg 2006-2007, 102, fig. 7; Moreau 2014, 894; Rowan 2014, fig. 6; Marcattili 2016, 213, fig. 5.
 - ¹⁴ Gnechi 1905, 11-42. Del medaglione, accuratamente descritto a p. 29, non è stato purtroppo possibile stabilire la provenienza.

- ¹⁵ In corso di studio da parte della scrivente. In precedenza, Lehmann 1996, 78.
- ¹⁶ L'altezza della figura del fiume Spada è di 85 cm ed essa occupa circa la metà dell'altezza complessiva del rilievo (180 cm). Pertanto, facendo le dovute proporzioni, è ipotizzabile la presenza di una scena figurata anche nella metà frammentaria del nostro rilievo, che doveva svilupparsi in altezza per un altro metro.
- ¹⁷ Conticello 1966, 790-791; Mambella 1997, 25-26, n. 13 (I sec. d.C.); Klementa 1993, 172, fig. 77, Kat. Nr. V 29 (frammento di divinità fluviale a Londra, che ricorda nel volto la figura del Nilo nel Braccio Nuovo dei Musei Vaticani, Kat. Nr. A 14); 177-179 (Kat. Nr. 36: il rilievo Spada con Paride ed Enone).
- ¹⁸ Von Blanckenhagen 1940, 120-121, tav. 39, n. 104, dove compare una descrizione molto chiara della scena; D'Ambra 1993, 64, figg. 40, 47-48, 50, 53.
- ¹⁹ D'Ambra 1993, 64 dà per scontata la presenza del Tevere nel nostro rilievo e su di essa fonda la sua lettura della personificazione fluviale del fregio nel Foro Transitorio. Su questo si vedano anche Mambella 1997, 26, n. 13; Renberg 2006-2007, 89, nota 5. Per gli ultimi due, la datazione del rilievo Rondinini sarebbe da collocarsi nel I sec. d.C.
- ²⁰ Inv. El 47. Cadario 2010, 47-53, 67-69. In precedenza, per la provenienza del pezzo: Galliazzo 1976, 160-162, n. 45; Fuchs 1987, 20, A II a 5; Ghirardini 1991, 212-220, fig. 4, fondamentale per la localizzazione del sito di rinvenimento, precedentemente identificato con il teatro romano di Vicenza.
- ²¹ Inv. 849. Ringrazio il dott. Leonardo Di Blasi che mi ha consentito di visionare il frammento. Benndorf/Schöne 1867, 388, n. 563, tav. XI, fig. 3.
- ²² A. Neppi Modona, *EA* n. 4069, 9. Si veda pure Heydemann 1879, 102, n. 281.
- ²³ Inv. 324: nel registro inferiore, la scena rappresenta la Lupa che allatta i gemelli, alla presenza del fiume Tevere, nella solita iconografia sul margine destro della composizione; negli anfratti della roccia trovano collocazione diversi animali, tra cui un serpente, da mettere in relazione all'ambiente umido della grotta. Si vedano: Mambella 1997, 25, n. 7; Cadario/Giustozzi 2012, 15 (età adrianea).
- ²⁴ Inv. 1393. Kern 1890, 131-142, tav. 7; Lullies 1940, 21-22, tav. 26, 1-2, che dissente dalla interpretazione del precedente, riconoscendovi, invece, la rappresentazione del culto di un eroe divinizzato, come è frequente in Beozia. Si confronti anche Holtzmann 1984, 871, n. 41.
- ²⁵ Inv. 156. Traversari 1973, 118-119, n. 48. Si confronti anche Holtzmann 1984, 871, n. 42.
- ²⁶ Oberleitner 1978, 72-73, 84-87, nn. 71-74, figg. 30-52, che propone una datazione bassa del monumento (169 d.C.). La testa del fiume fu considerata pertinente al FR17 (insieme alla figura di loricato, la Lupa, i gemelli e la testa della dea Roma) fino al 2006: Oberleitner 1999, 619-627; Oberleitner 2006, 12-23. Nel catalogo del 2009, la testa è attribuita, invece, al FR14 (tra le personificazioni dell'Egitto e della Libia), dunque riletta come Nilo: Oberleitner et al. 2009, I, 97-103; II, 74-77; 80-81; 84-87, in particolare fig. 149. Propendono, invece, per una datazione in età proto-antonina del fregio (dopo il 141 d.C.), Liverani 1995, 233-243; Liverani 1996-1997, 153-174, in particolare fig. 7; Liverani 1999, 639-645; Landskron 2006a, 103-127; Landskron 2006b, 143-183 (intorno al 147 d.C.).
- ²⁷ Il rilievo con Paride ed Eros è in corso di studio da parte della scrivente; in precedenza Lehmann 1996, 72-77.
- ²⁸ Intendo ringraziare sentitamente l'architetto Mario Chighine per aver realizzato i disegni per il presente lavoro.
- ²⁹ Su questo, si veda Kampen 1979, 596.

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Hadrian in Ioudaea

The Celebration of the Emperor Examined Throughout the Tel Shalem Bronze Statue

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Abstract

This study aims to analyse the bronze statue of Hadrian found in Tel Shalem (in the territory of ancient Scythopolis, today Bet Shean, in Israel) and now located at the Israel Museum of Jerusalem. Several studies have been made on this statue, in particular analysing the peculiar scene depicted on the lorica of the emperor. This image, in particular, has been read in many different ways, without consensus on its proper interpretation. According to our analysis, there is a clear need to contextualise the statue in a wider and more complex background, linking it with its surroundings and the occasions that could have led to the erection of the statue. After re-examining in detail all prior theories and readings of the image on the emperor's chest, we conclude that the statue was erected for some event before the Bar Kokhba revolt.

INTRODUCTION: CONTEXT FINDINGS

Emperors' sculptures have been rarely found in the Galilean region or, more broadly, into the entire area of Roman Palestine.¹ However, a bronze torso with an armour (*lorica*), now preserved at the Israel Museum of Jerusalem,² is a notable exception. It stands out from the other findings for its peculiarities and relevance. The face is easily recognisable: it depicts the Emperor Hadrian.

Some pieces of the statue's head and right arm were accidentally found on the 25th of July 1975 by an American tourist, Morton Leventhal, in the site of Tel Shalem, 12 km south of Bet Shean (the ancient city of Scythopolis) (fig. 1), while he was looking for coins with his metal detector.³ Other

fragments were unearthed during excavations in 1975 and 1976 directed by Gideon Foerster, who attempted to clarify the nature of the context.⁴ The investigations revealed that a Roman legionary camp, measuring approximately 210 x 180 m, had been erected in the area around the torso.⁵ The military fort, according to the stratigraphic and material evidence, had a short life. In fact, it was probably used from the end of the 1st or the beginning of the 2nd century CE up to the middle of the 2nd century CE.⁶ The statue, found together with a bronze portrait of a young boy, was located in a brick building located in the northern area of the camp (figs 2, 4).



Fig. 1. Tel Shalem overview (photo authors).



Fig. 2. Bronze statue of Hadrian from Tel Shalem. Jerusalem, Israel Museum (photo authors).

It is possible that this was not the original place of the statue: it could have been lodged there after the abandonment of the camp. However, the excavations carried out by Foerster showed that a *vexillatio* of the *Legio VI Ferrata* was stationed there, on the basis of two inscriptions discovered therein:

1. a *tabula ansata* that mentions the name of the detachment itself (fig. 3);⁷
2. a honorary dedication devoted to Emperor Hadrian.⁸

The forty-two fragments of Hadrian's statue underwent a long restoration, completed only in 1984.⁹ Chemical analyses were ordered to verify the perti-



Fig. 3. Inscription of *vexillatio* of the *Legio VI Ferrata* (after Tzori 1971, Pl. 5, A).



Fig. 4. Bronze head of a young boy from Tel Shalem, Jerusalem, Israel Museum (photo authors).

nence of the body with one of the two portrait-heads unearthed during the excavations (the one of Hadrian and the other of the young boy, as seen above).¹⁰ The results confirmed that the cuirassed body was a match for the head of Hadrian. In fact, both the torso and the head had a similar percentage of tin, copper, and lead.¹¹ Although a more accurate and specific analysis might be recommended, there are no reasons to believe that the parts of the statue were made at two different times.¹² The most recent criticisms, as we shall see, consist in purely historical and artistic conjectures. Richard Gergel has supported the thesis that the body was unrelated to the head: in this way, he has tried to solve the puzzling question connected with the iconography of the statuary type and the ambiguous representation on the breastplate.¹³

On the other hand, the head of the young boy (fig. 4) - found together with the Hadrian statue - reveals significant differences when compared with the other bronzes. Gergel has proposed that there is a connection between the youth's head and the sculptural group, but this thesis clashes with the results of archaeometric and stylistic analyses. In fact, this head is composed of a significantly different percentage of metals. Furthermore, its stylistic appearance reminds to later examples

dated between 190s and 200s.¹⁴ It is reasonable to think that the two statues are not related and we will not discuss the boy's head further.

THE STATUE OF HADRIAN: THE HEAD

For the iconographical analysis of the statue, we will start from the best known and most remarkable feature, that is, the depiction of the head of the emperor (fig. 5). Typical Hadrianic somatic traits are clear: small and contiguous eyes whose carved iris looks to the left side, a large nose and high and voluminous cheekbones. The head slightly turns to the left, as emperor's portraits usually do. The wrinkles around the eyes and the nose testify clearly to his age. As usually depicted, the emperor has a well-groomed beard, sparser on the moustache and on the top of the cheeks, thicker under the mouth with three-dimensional moving strands. The hair is one of the most peculiar features, full of volume on the sides due to the combing, with



Fig. 5. Portrait of the bronze statue of Hadrian from Tel Shalem. Jerusalem, Israel Museum (photo authors).



Fig. 6. Portrait of a marble statue of Hadrian. Rome, Palazzo Venezia (photo D-DAI-ROM-74.1670).

nine small curled strands divided on the forehead. All the locks go towards the left side and their size is similar, except the central one that is larger. The fringe, going from one ear to another, covers most of the forehead so as to make it look rather low. Unlike the hair in the upper part of the head, consisting of smooth and parallel bands, the back hair is characterised by large three-dimensional and wavy strands, realised with a vortex.

Thanks to the classification of the hair, known from many specimens in marble with some variations, the portrait can be attributed to the *Rollockenfrisur* or *Terme 6818* type, recognised for the first time by Max Wegner.¹⁵ The type is rather consistent, at least in its general lines. There are only a few minor variations in the separation between the hair on the forehead: these variants are well evident in the replicas preserved in Palazzo Venezia in Rome (fig. 6) and in the Museum of Alexandria in Egypt. In some cases, among which the above-examined portrait is included, a small intermediate strand is inserted between the biggest strand in the middle and the one immediately to the right. This feature is clear if we look to the replicas of Bergen, Alexandria and probably in a portrait preserved at Cairo.¹⁶ The type undoubtedly reflects an image of an older emperor, one that is

more realistic than, for example, the *Stazione Termini* or *Chiaramonti 392* types.¹⁷

Hadrian started a long tradition of his portraiture. The seven known types, distributed in his twenty-one-year reign, are not always easily related to the political events at their origins. The dating of the *Rollockenfrisur* prototype is conventionally placed between 118 and 121, due to the presence of this portrait on the coins minted in these years.¹⁸ As argued by Klaus Fittschen,¹⁹ the images on the coins dated to 118 show an emaciated face, unlike the *Rollockenfrisur* type portraits, characterised by greater fullness and roundness of his appearance. Furthermore, Cécile Evers cites other comparisons with coins of 119-121, 121-122, and 119-124/125.²⁰

It is very likely that the head of Hadrian from Tel Shalem belongs to the third type of the emperor's portraits; however, this prototype was used from 119 or 121 onwards. We do not know when and for which event the type was codified. For the 119 option, Wegner proposed a connection with the beginning of the third consulate. At the same time, the year 121 CE might coincide with the beginning of the emperor's journey to the provinces of the Empire.²¹ It is perhaps not a coincidence that the portrait types named *Rollockenfrisur* are found with a certain homogeneity not only in Italy but also in the provinces, especially in the East: Greece (Athens, Epidauros, and Piraeus), Egypt (Alexandria), Turkey (Perge), Lebanon (Beirut), and Israel (Tel Shalem).²² Moreover, among all the specimens found, the Tel Shalem portrait has a more austere and rigid appearance due to the incisiveness of his traits and the realistic nature of his visage.²³ In this sense, Fittschen finds its inspiration in Hellenistic dynasts' portraits,²⁴ but it is better to find a connection with portraits of Trajan.

Furthermore, the Tel Shalem head is characterised by its excellent quality and perfect proportions, which distinguish it from other replicas, like those from Egypt, Beirut, and Perge. Therefore, it seems likely that the portrait of Hadrian from Tel Shalem is a replica made by an important workshop or a skilled sculptor who owned a valuable model to copy.²⁵

Foerster has offered a contrasting theory aiming to put the date of this production to the final years of Hadrian's reign.²⁶ This hypothesis is based on the volume of beard and eyebrows, the engraving of the irises and the greater depth of wrinkles. However, as already shown by Evers, the group of 'pseudo-variants' elaborated by Foerster is based on unimportant criteria, since bronze statues usually have the eyes made of a different material or, at most, engraved irises, so this cannot form the

basis of a timeline.²⁷ Moreover, the greater or lesser prominence of the beard or eyebrows, or the different depth of wrinkles, have to be seen as the artistic expressions of different craftsmen. In addition, we should consider that the portrait from Tel Shalem is the only original bronze *Rollockenfrisur* type found. The proposal made by Foerster to post-date the portrait of Tel Shalem²⁸ is due to the need to find evidence to support a connection between the presence of this statue and the suppression of the Bar Kokhba revolt in 135 or 136 CE.²⁹ In this case, we should consider it as a sort of *lectio facilior*, without taking into account the social and ideological implications of the presence of the military contingent of the *Legio VI Ferrata* in the territory. Given the large number of statuary types depicting Hadrian, there is an unlikely connection between the portrait from Tel Shalem and the celebration of the victory over the rebels in the region, which occurred over a decade later.

Although the high-quality portrait is part of a standardised production, the cuirassed torso is

unusual yet extraordinary in terms of history and iconography. The anatomical breastplate with raised borders is the best-preserved part, decorated on the chest with a frieze showing six fighting characters that we will discuss below. The armour might be fixed with shoulder straps (*epomydes*), not visible here because of the presence of the two drapes of the mantle descending from the neck to the shoulders, and of the *cingulum*, knotted in the middle and fixed under the band at its borders. The anatomical armour frames are perfectly symmetrical, but the arrangement of the body is suggested by the higher right shoulder and the upper edge of the neck. This posture indicates that the torso of the statue had to be straight, while we have to suppose that his arms and, consequently, his legs had to be placed differently. The head was slightly turned towards the left, the right arm was raised and perpendicular to the torso, while the left arm was carried along the body. The upper part of these arms with the attack on the shoulder and a part of the fringed lambrequins



Fig. 7. Back view of the statue of Hadrian from Tel Shalem. Jerusalem, Israel Museum (photo authors).

(*pteryges*) are preserved. Moreover, small fragments of two lines of lambrequins, placed to protect the pelvic area, are also preserved: the first order was made up of short and smooth semi-circular plaques, which followed the curved edge of the cuirass, while the second line was probably characterised by the presence of longer and fringy *pteryges*. Many fragments of the torso and a piece of a toe also remain, but it was not possible to connect them with the statue during the restoration work. Finally, the backside (fig. 7) is decorated with a double branch of vegetation growing from a tuft of acanthus and developing in a specular way in three spirals, ending in the same number of flowers.

Therefore, as for the reconstruction of the statue, the emperor was probably standing, with the right arm raised and the forearm bent to support a spear, while the opposite arm had to be covered to sustain the cloak. The legs should have been arranged in a chiastic way related to the arms, with the right leg in a straight position and the left one bent.³⁰ On the contrary, Gergel argues that the right leg would have been flexed. He supposes that the emperor could be overwhelming a barbarian in a statuary group recalling those belonging to the type named *Hierapytna* (fig. 12).³¹

The imperial ideology is remarkable in this portrait: Hadrian gave legitimacy, as a self-celebration of his power, to a series of statues portraying him in military gear, in which the allegorical message of the power of Rome and of the emperor on the subjected people was clearly shown.³²

If the setting of Hadrian's figure is easily found in many marble examples, the type of armour and other components of military clothing are very uncommon. Thanks to the support of a few fragments of the lower part, the cuirass is comparable with three other specimens dating back to the Hadrianic period or to slightly later. In these statues, a double row of undecorated plates and a second line of fringed *pteryges* are evident. In particular, a statue of Hadrian from Thasos³³ and another one attributed to Marcus Aurelius, found at the Nymphaeum of Olympia, come to mind.³⁴ In contrast, the cuirass, undecorated except for the chest, may be attributable to a type of classic inspiration, with anatomical armour lacking shoulder straps.

A good piece of comparison regarding both the breastplate and the *pteryges* is a statue from Luni.³⁵ The shape adopted for the *paludamentum* is different from any other known specimen. The floral pattern on the back, instead, is very common in Roman era cuirasses, usually depicted on the front side. This configuration is found in the abovementioned statue from Luni, which has branches on the

chest, as well as in a torso probably depicting Claudius from *Minturnae*, where some branches surround the figurative scene,³⁶ and a statue from Susa with branches below.³⁷ As a back decoration, the spirals are a rather anomalous feature. Similar motifs are found on an Augustan or Julio-Claudian statue from Ostia, which is decorated with plant shoots on the upper part and Nereids riding sea monsters on the lower part. This statue was sold by the auction house Sotheby's in 2013.³⁸ There is also a cuirassed statue from Athens dated to the Hadrianic era with a decorated back, although in this specimen two griffins are depicted.³⁹

THE STATUE OF HADRIAN: THE TORSO

The most controversial and debated element of this statue is undoubtedly the fighting scene placed on the breastplate (fig. 8). It is certainly noteworthy that the location of the depiction and the type of representation are unusual, since symbolic or apotropaic elements usually appear in the abdominal area, as in the case of a bronze cuirassed statue showing Germanicus discovered in 1963 at *Ameria*,⁴⁰ which has a detailed portrayal of Achilles' attack against Troilus on the abdomen and of a Scylla on the breastplate. Despite the different position from the Tel Shalem torso, it is possible to note a similar spatial and iconographic conception on the *Ameria* statue: the scene occupies too large of an area and, together with the representations on the chest, it distorts the anatomical partition of the armour; likewise, a 'narrative' scene is clearly in contrast with usual depictions. Among the rare examples of a decorated pectoral area, we should mention a late Republican cuirassed statue from Naxos showing the punishment of Dirce. Under the *cingulum*, there is a small illustration of the struggle between Heracles and the Nemean lion.⁴¹ There is also a group of seven cuirassed statues, dated to the Julio-Claudian age, with a depiction above the *cingulum* of a Lapith striking a centaur. The group comes from different parts of the Roman East, in particular five statues come from Tenos,⁴² one from Delos⁴³ and one is preserved in Munich but probably comes from a Greek island (possibly also from Tenos):⁴⁴ they could be considered as the most direct antecedents for the characteristic scene on the chest. Similarly, another type of breastplate, attributed to Nero, reproduces on its chest the god *Helios* standing in a chariot with arimaspians and griffins underneath.⁴⁵ Mention should also be made of two marble trophies, the first one in Rhodes,⁴⁶ whose chest represents a lion biting a bull and the second one from Cos, today in Istanbul,⁴⁷



Fig. 8. Relief decoration of the breastplate of the statue of Hadrian from Tel Shalem, with numbered fighters. Jerusalem, Israel Museum (photo authors).

depicting on its chest a very special aegis and a lion attacking a deer. Furthermore, as already claimed,⁴⁸ complex figurative motifs were usually depicted on the armour of statues until the Hadrianic age including some unusual solutions adopted in the provinces, for example, a Bosnian torso from *Carnuntum*, decorated exactly on the chest.⁴⁹

The scene on the armour of Tel Shalem is divided in three groups of naked fighters armed with a round shield, a helmet, and a short sword. The perspective produced by the overlapping of the characters emphasises the prominence of the central group, while the lateral ones are in the background. The central group shows the final moment of the fight: the left character (fighter 3), who only wears a wide-brimmed helmet with a rounded and protruding upper termination, raises his right arm holding a sword, ready to deal the final blow to his opponent (fighter 4), who is lying on the ground even if his bust is still upright. The latter also wears a wide brimmed helmet whose terminator is hidden by the shield of the first character. The defeated person, then, is helpless since he has neither shield nor sword.

On the left side, two seemingly identical characters (fighters 1-2) are fighting: they both hold a sword and a round shield and wear a wide brimmed helmet, surmounted by a long plume. Indeed, it seems clear that the same compositional scheme is symmetrically repeated: in fact, the largest difference is the alternation of the weapons. Fighter 1 is sharply bent backwards, his right leg is bent and the left one stands upright, he holds the sword with his straight right arm, while the left arm holds a shield protecting his body. On the opposite side, the same figures are repeated (fighters 5-6): the fighter 6 is identical to the fighter 2, which occupies the same position in the left group while the fighter 5 differs from fighter 1 in his left arm: in this case, in fact, the arm is raised and is apparently without a shield, while the right arm is hidden by the central group. Furthermore, this character, unlike the others, has a full beard.

Vermeule was the first who proposed identifying the relief on the breastplate as a representation of a historical event, namely the uprising of the Maccabees, or a mythological one, like the story of Cadmus and the dragon's teeth.⁵⁰ However, Foerster

has an entirely different view:⁵¹ he, in fact, develops a very detailed line of reasoning to support his vision of the scene as depicting the mythological final battle between Aeneas and Turnus. In this case, it would be a reference to the origins of Rome, in line with Hadrianic policy, but also an allegorical parallel with the defeated Jewish populations. This hypothesis would be corroborated by the identification of the helmets: the central group, in fact, wears a Phrygian type helmet, while the other groups have an Italic type helmet, with plumes. On the other hand, Gergel starts from the mythological nature of the scene, suggested by the nudity of the figures, to suppose that the breastplate of Hadrian could depict the episode of the Seven against Thebes.⁵²

In this way, studies devoted to the exegesis of the iconography of the Tel Shalem statue have tried to connect it with mythical or historical representation throughout iconographic analysis alone. A sort of heroic nudity is a common feature of all the characters, as is usual for Greek mythological scenes. However, there are some missing features, such as cloaks, that are fundamental in the heroes' clothing. Moreover, the helmets are too atypical and - except for the fighter 5, who is bearded - the characters lack a clear differentiation.

Likewise, it is difficult to find a narrative thread in which the reader might see a gradual change in the conditions of the struggle. It seems likely that three canonical and standardised scenes, taken from a well-codified repertoire, are depicted here. It would be strange that these subjects, as Gergel has claimed, had been represented during the Hellenistic period, because we cannot find any kind of contemporary iconographical comparison.

Gergel has argued in the past that the torso and the head do not belong to the same statue, because the head is too large and the torso is too rigid and lacks the *paludamentum*, replaced by a kind of scarf, made separately and covering both shoulders, since the *gorgoneion* or an equivalent symbolic representation is lacking on the chest. The torso would instead be without arms and would belong to a middle or late Hellenistic era trophy.⁵³

We cannot agree with this hypothesis: besides the archaeometric analysis, which, as mentioned, confirms the pertinence of the parts, we have to keep in mind that the torso is rigid, but its shoulders are not straight: a very clear inclination of the line of the clavicles is visible. We need to remember, then, that different manufacturing is evident in the bronze sculptural pieces, especially if we look at the head and the body, made by two distinct hands. Finally, Gergel has not tracked

stylistic and iconographic elements to support a dating to a mid- or late-Hellenistic period: the iconography of the subject was probably created during the late Republican or Augustan period. From a stylistic point of view, in fact, it seems difficult to hypothesise an older dating since the stylistic and compositional coherence, typical of Greek-Hellenistic art, is absent. There is instead a reference to standardisation and immediacy, characteristic of the Italic culture. The various proportionate elements of the torso and the head, that is of high quality, must have been made in two different workshops during the same period, subsequently joined in the military camp.

THE DEPICTION ON THE BREASTPLATE

The scene of the fighters depicted on the breastplate recalls very common battle scenes in Greek and Roman art. There are several examples of this in both the western and the eastern parts of the Roman empire. During the entire imperial age, this kind of representation are used in many different battle scenes, such as amazonomachies and other mythical fights. They derive from the long tradition of the *monomachiai* scheme of Greek origins.⁵⁴ As said above, previous studies have led their analyses of the depiction on the breastplate toward a mythological interpretation.⁵⁵ However, the scene could have commemorated a real event, even if it used a codified visual media.

The iconographic scheme is adopted even in *munera* representations.⁵⁶ After Louis Robert wrote his important monograph, *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*,⁵⁷ our knowledge about gladiators in the East has increased, especially during the last decades.⁵⁸ In particular for Iudaea, from the 2nd century CE there was a new phase of entertainment building activity, including the erection of real amphitheatres in Caesarea (1st half of the 2nd century);⁵⁹ Legio (2nd century);⁶⁰ Scythopolis (2nd century);⁶¹ Eleutheropolis (2nd half of the 2nd century).⁶² Gladiatorial images were probably widespread in daily life in this geographical and historical context.

The fighters upon the *lorica* therefore resemble the gladiator figures. The most common pattern is that of fighter 1, who, as said above, is symmetrically repeated in the depiction of his opponent and, with some variations, in the two characters of the right group. One of the most prominent examples of this pattern is on the bronze helmet of a *contraraetiarius* from Pompeii (fig. 9),⁶³ where a naked gladiator wearing a round shield appears in the centre of the scene. We can also find a clear comparison with the fighters 2 and 6 in a number of



Fig. 9. Detail of naked gladiators on a bronze helmet from Pompeii. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (photo D-DAI-ROM-83.2116).

monuments, such the famous frieze of the funerary building of *Lusius Storax*.⁶⁴

The scheme of the central group is very common; it is already found in Greek mythological scenes but it is still used for the decoration of the middle and late imperial sarcophagi.⁶⁵ For example, a similar model to fighter 3 can be clearly seen in a fragment of Civitella San Paolo.⁶⁶

It is very common to find scenes where the winner is standing on the left, ready to serve the killing blow to the defeated person, prone on the ground on the right side. Examples come from: a funerary monument relief found in Pompeii, where three different levels are depicted and a similar scene is placed in the middle of the central level;⁶⁷ a relief which decorated a mausoleum at Fiano Romano,⁶⁸ moving toward East, from a funerary monument from Bulgaria, found in the city of Tatarevo.⁶⁹

Nonetheless, some features make it difficult to be certain of the connection between the warriors on Hadrian's breastplate and the gladiators. In particular, their helmets and the absence of clothes put them in a mythological sphere. About the helmets, we can recall that five warriors, even if the fighter 4 is not completely visible, wear a wide-brimmed helmet, while the fighter 3 wears a similar helmet, with a rounded and feeble protruding end. According to Foerster, the form of the helmet evokes the so-called 'Phrygian' helmets and simple hats.⁷⁰ In the gladiatorial iconography, there are no similar exemplars of this type and the protuberance is less pronounced. The

only different helmet is worn by the bearded warrior in the right group, which, unlike the others, seems to have short cheek-pieces. Gergel has unconvincingly proposed a connection with Boeotian helmets, used during the Hellenistic period by the Bactrian kings,⁷¹ while Foerster finds, more appropriately, a reference to the Italic helmet, because of the form and the high plumes.⁷² Similar helmets were also worn by gladiators, who in the Republican period took the clothing of conquered peoples,⁷³ including the ones of the Samnites.⁷⁴ As already reported by Foerster, then, they might be gladiators, but he adds that this scene is 'certainly [...] not a gladiatorial battle'.⁷⁵ Even if the closest comparison is with gladiatorial helmets, it is necessary to emphasise that following the Augustan reform, gladiatorial classes acquired a definite canonical configuration with standard paraphernalia, like helmets with masks and cheek-pieces.⁷⁶ However, this standard practice is not always rigorously applied in the artistic representations.

The suggested interpretation could conflict with the nudity of the warriors. In fact, it is challenging to define which type of gladiators they were, if indeed they were gladiators. After all, naked arena warriors are very unusual, even if some are depicted on various objects. In addition to the above-mentioned figure of a naked gladiator on the helmet of a *contraraetiarius* from Pompeii,⁷⁷ we can recall a 2nd century mosaic found in Reims, in France,⁷⁸ showing two fighting warriors dressed only with short swords and helmets with cheek-pieces lacking the mask, one with a round shield (fig. 10).⁷⁹ The last known example is illustrated on a lamp found not far from the statue under analysis, in the Palestinian village of Beit Nattif (fig. 11).⁸⁰



Fig. 10. Detail of a mosaic floor from Reims depicting a duel between two naked gladiators. Reims, Musée historique de Saint-Rémy (photo Wikimedia Commons).



Fig. 11. Clay lamp from Beit Nattif decorated with a pair of naked gladiators (after Baramki 1936, Pl. VI, 1).

Accordingly, although it is conceivable to hypothesise about gladiatorial scenes, we cannot firmly postulate these warriors were gladiators, even because any interpretative choice would constitute a *unicum*. The resemblance with gladiatorial shows is probably due to the cultural background of the artist, more than to the willingness to allude to a real *munus* offered by the emperor.⁸¹

It is much more likely to postulate an interpretation of the scene as a performance, perhaps a sort of 'theatrical' battle show.⁸² We know that the Romans had *ludi castrenses* or *armaturae*, which were intense and spectacular forms of training, often with connotations of entertainment,⁸³ '*propiorque gladiatorum armorum usum*'.⁸⁴ Ancient weapons were utilised for this kind of show to evoke a sort of 'fiction'. The above-mentioned helmets could be a strong evidence for this interpretation. Arrian's *Tactica* confirms that there was a close connection between exercise and entertainment, and these *exercitationes* encouraged the soldiers to show their abilities to entertain the civilian public.⁸⁵ Furthermore, an inscription carved on an altar discovered in the headquarters of the *III Legio Augusta* was found in *Lambaesis*, which reported the speech Hadrian gave after he attended a military exercise.⁸⁶ Ancient sources noted Hadrian's attention to soldiers' lives.⁸⁷ Hadrian's purpose was probably to offer a model to soldiers through trainings and mock battles, as we can read on one of the preserved fragments: '*ad hanc exercita[tionem, quae verae di]micationis imaginem accepi[t]*'.⁸⁸

The hypothesis that the depiction on the breastplate of the statue of Hadrian could show a military exercise is intriguing, but still difficult to prove, because it has no other comparisons and the warriors, as seen before, are depicted as heroes more than legionaries.

Another, more plausible, hypothesis is that the statue was erected to remember a military victory



Fig. 12. Marble statue of Hadrian from Hierapytna. Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzeleri (photo authors).

that occurred before the Bar-Kokhba revolt, according to the dating of Hadrian's head. After the death of Trajan, many territories rose up against Roman rule.⁸⁹ Hadrian had to suppress these revolts, especially in Iudaea, Egypt and Cyrenaica. In the Palestinian area, the actions made by Lusius Quietus, who was governor of Iudaea in 117 CE and who had previously fought against the Jewish community of Mesopotamia, probably provoked the rebels.⁹⁰ For example, the Talmud reports that the city of Beitar was destroyed 52 years after the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem, namely in 117/118.⁹¹ Quietus probably brought several units of Mauri cavalry with him to Iudaea as a *vexillatio* of *Legio III Cyrenaica*, later replaced by *Legio VI Ferrata*. A suppressed rebellion seems to be confirmed by a Latin epitaph of *Tettius Crescens* who recorded his participation in four military expeditions, in Dacia, Armenia, Parthia and Iudaea.⁹² It is remarkable that Pavlina Karanastasi recently connected the creation of *Hierapytna* type statues with the victory of Hadrian against the uprising in the eastern Mediterranean (fig. 12).⁹³

On the base of these data, the event shown on the statue could evoke the Hadrian's suppression of the rebellion broken out at the end of Trajan's rule. An unambiguous interpretation is still difficult. We need to explore the historical and geographical context, together with the relationship between Hadrian and the army, in order to shed light on this analysis.

HADRIAN AND THE ARMY IN IUDAEA

Many sources accused Hadrian of abandoning territories conquered by Trajan. Nonetheless, they report also that the emperor had a great knowledge of the army and its equipment, together with the strictness of soldiers' lives.⁹⁴ Hadrian's attention to the military training is particularly confirmed by Cassius Dio, who praises the emperor for his valour and expertise in military affairs:

'Hadrian travelled through one province after another, visiting the various regions and cities and inspecting all the garrisons and forts. Some of these he removed to more desirable places, some he abolished, and he also established some new ones. He personally viewed and investigated absolutely everything, not merely the usual appurtenances of camps, such as weapons, engines, trenches, ramparts and palisades, but also the private affairs of every one, but of the men serving in the ranks and of the officers themselves, - their lives, their quarters

and their habits, - and he reformed and corrected in many cases practices and arrangements for living that had become too luxurious'.⁹⁵

Focusing on Iudaea, the number of Roman soldiers probably increased after the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem (fig. 13). Under Hadrian, the legionary force was doubled⁹⁶ and Iudaea became the home of two legions, the *Legio VI Ferrata*, stationed in the north, and the *Legio X Fretensis*, in the centre and south of the region. After the revolt of 66-70, the legion X *Fretensis* was stationed in the province. We do not know when the second legion was sent. As said above, a *vexillatio* of *Legio III Cyrenaica* was probably sent to help Quietus against the revolt of 117 and was replaced by *Legio VI Ferrata*. The majority of soldiers was stationed in the cities, but we have fragmentary evidence on the presence of military camps far from the cities. The *Legio X Fretensis* was stationed in Jerusalem, yet some units were presumably located in a camp found 1,5 km northwest of Bet Guvrin, later renamed Eleutheropolis.⁹⁷ It seems likely that two auxiliary units, one cavalry and one infantry, were in the camp. In addition, the findings of bricks of the Tenth Legion can be a clue for the presence of several of its units. The proposed size of the fort and the finds are strictly similar to the Tel Shalem fort.⁹⁸ It is possible that both forts were founded



Fig. 13. Allocation map of military camps in Iudaea (map by authors)



Fig. 14. Fragments of inscription of Tel Shalem arch. Jerusalem, Israel Museum (after Bowersock 2003, 176, fig. 1-6).

before the outbreak of the Bar-Kokhba revolt. After that event, it was enlarged. A second legion was sent to Iudaea at the end of the reign of Trajan or at the start of the reign of Hadrian. The presence of *Legio VI Ferrata* was confirmed by the discovery of a *tabula ansata*, preserved in the Palestine Archaeological Museum (currently Rockefeller Museum).⁹⁹ The camp of *Legio VI Ferrata* was erected near the site of Legio, in the Jezreel Valley.¹⁰⁰ As mentioned above (fig. 3), there was a *vexillatio* of *Legio VI Ferrata* at Tel Shalem.

The connection between the administrative system and military activity is self-evident. Hadrian received his military education under Domitian, and primarily under Trajan. He was focused on military activity and he consequently decided to strengthen the borders of the Roman empire, abandoning territories that were not completely pacified. He chose to obtain soldiers' loyalty and devotion through his travels, personally analysing the conditions of the troops and their athletic preparation, creating a real 'military culture'.

HADRIAN'S TRIP IN IUDAEA

Hadrian stayed in Iudaea in 130 CE.¹⁰¹ Emperors' visits were usually an occasion for the erection of monuments: this was probably the case of a hypothesised arch erected in the Tel Shalem camp (fig. 14).

The event that led to the erection of this arch has not yet been clearly identified: only a few fragments of the inscription (six) and we cannot be sure about the dating. According to Werner Eck,¹⁰² the inscription was part of a monumental arch wider than 11 meters, inscribed with large letters. The language used for the inscription is Latin instead of Greek, more common in the eastern part of the Mediterranean Sea. The authority that created the arch could be the governor of the province, a military unit or the Senate of Rome. Eck has reasonably rejected the first hypothesis for the lack of space in the last line for both the name and the title of the governor.¹⁰³

Eck supposes that whether the arch was erected by a military unit or the Senate is not significant (although he finally concludes in favour of the Senate); by contrast, we consider it fundamental for its dating. His reconstruction, in fact, has the primary purpose of showing that the arch was erected after the suppression of the Bar Kokhba revolt in 136 CE, because it was a clear assertion of Roman power against the rebels. In this case, it is simple to identify 'SPQR' as the authority that decided to erect the arch. The monumental structure, together with the use of Latin language, had to represent the renewed power of Rome. For this reason, Tel Shalem was not an arbitrary choice of location, but probably was selected for having been the scene of a battle. Eck's reading is the following:

IMP · CAE[S DIVI T]RA[IANI PAR]
TH[I]CI F · D[IVI NERVAE NEP TR]AIANO
[HADRIANO AUG]
PON[T]IF M[AX TRIB POT XX IMP I]I · COS
· [III P P S P Q R]

It seems very difficult to complete Hadrian's titles, mainly in the third line.

On the other side, Glenn Bowersock has strongly criticised this position, dating the arch and the inscription to the year 130.¹⁰⁴ In his view, only two chronological indications appear in the inscription, the 14th *tribunicia potestas*, and the 3rd *consulatus*. Furthermore, the name of a legion, either the Tenth Fretensis or the Sixth Ferrata, might fill the final gap.

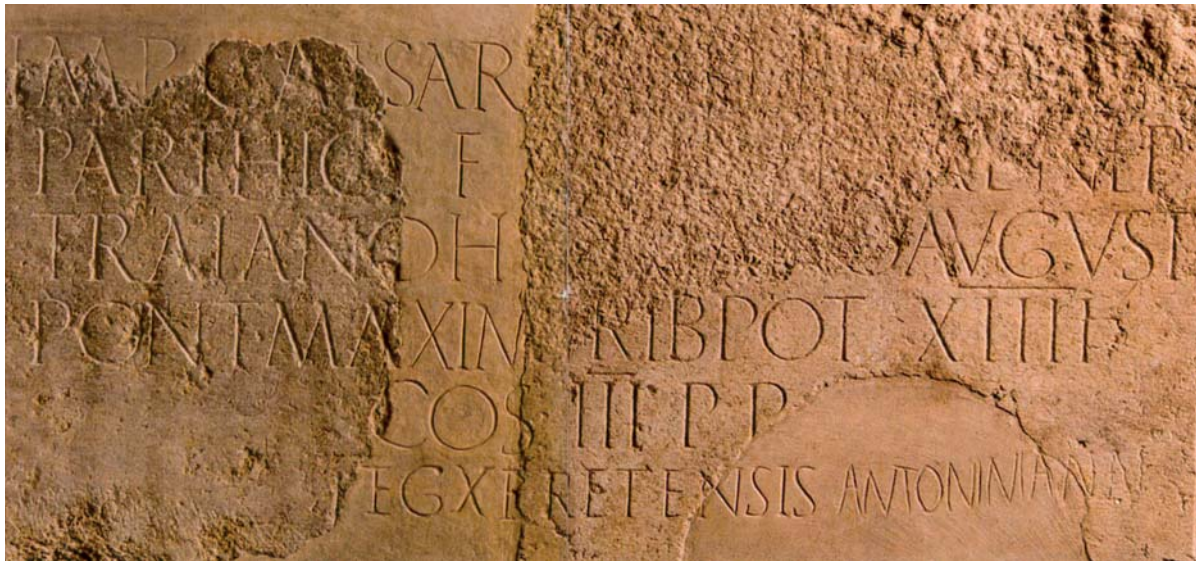


Fig. 15. Honorary inscription from Jerusalem dedicated by Legio X Fretensis to Hadrian. Jerusalem, Israel Museum and Studium Biblicum Franciscanum (photo authors).

IMP · CAE[S DIVI T]RA[IANI PAR]
TH[I]CI F · D[IVI NERVAE NEP TR]AIANO
[HADRIANO AUG]
PON[T]IF M[AX TRIB POTESTAT XIII]I · COS
· [III P P LEG X FRET]

Bowersock prefers the name of the *Legio Decima Fretensis*. However, the discovery of the above-mentioned *tabula ansata* let us follow Mor's suggestion about the presence of a *vexillatio* of *Legio VI Ferrata* at Tel Shalem.¹⁰⁵

About the dating, we agree with Bowersock and Mor, believing that the arch was erected during the emperor's visit in 130 CE: in fact, it was not the only one. We know that the city of Gerasa dedicated a triumphal arch to him¹⁰⁶ and Petra might have done the same.¹⁰⁷ However, the most important comparison comes from Jerusalem, where a fragmentary inscription was found during the excavations outside the Damascus Gate in 2014 (fig. 15). The fragment is the missing part of an inscription discovered previously, in the late 19th century, and published by Clermont-Ganneau in 1903.¹⁰⁸ According to a recent examination,¹⁰⁹ we can read:

IMP · CAE[SARI DIVI TRAIANI]
PARTHIC[I F DIVI NERV]AE NEP
TRAIANO[HADRI]ANO AVGVST
PONT · MA[XIM] TRIB POT XIII *vacat*
vacat C[OS] III PP *vacat*
vacat [EG X F]RETEN[SIS]

The scarcity of evidence was one of the arguments used by Eck to affirm that the dedicator of such an honorary inscription could not have been a legion. Indeed, before the discovery of the abovementioned inscription, there was only one example, made during the Parthian wars near Dura Europos. Here, the *Legio III Cyrenaica* dedicated an arch in honour of Trajan's victory not far from the city of Dura.¹¹⁰ The argument has been already rejected by Bowersock and Mor, and the inscription of Jerusalem reinforces the hypothesis that a legion might be the builder of the arch.

CONCLUSIONS

Imperial visits were an occasion for the erection of both monuments and statues.¹¹¹ Among the dedicatory inscriptions attesting to this, we can cite here that on a base found at Caesarea Maritima, written in Latin and placed under a statue dedicated to Hadrian during 130 CE by the *beneficarii* of Tineius Rufus.¹¹²

Even more than Caesarea, the city of Scythopolis was connected with Hadrian, as several inscriptions show. Above all, a dedicatory inscription found in the agora of the city but not yet published mentioned Hadrian's visit to Scythopolis.¹¹³ A second inscription, published for the first time by Clermont-Ganneau, was probably the base for a statue of the emperor himself. It was dedicated by *Legio X Fretensis*.¹¹⁴ indeed, it is possible that a unit of the legion was sent to welcome the Emperor.

In the light of the data collected, it is very likely that the cuirassed statue of Hadrian was dedicated in 130 CE, during his stay in Palestine.

The depiction on the breastplate is still a *crux desperationis* in the history of Roman art. None of the hypotheses we have suggested here can be fully confirmed, but they do provide a solid explanation, considering the background of the statue and its historical context. The common praxis of the decorative programmes on cuirassed statues does not allow us to think that the artist wanted to recall an imperial *ludus* or a *munus*. In this case, the statue would represent a *unicum*, expressly conceived for the Tel Shalem camp. Nonetheless, it is undeniable that the imperial visit produced a monumental memory among the soldiers. The statue is therefore further evidence of Hadrian's efforts to reinforce the Roman presence, including the army, in the thorny socio-politic context of Iudaea before the Bar-Kokhba revolt.

NOTES

- ¹ We kindly thank Prof. Matteo Cadario, who read the draft and gave us many useful suggestions that have surely improved the paper. Every mistake is our responsibility.
- ² Inv. Nrs. 75763 (head), 75764 (body). Vermeule 1978, 99-101, n. 179B; Foerster 1980, 107-110; Vermeule 1981, 100; Foerster 1984; Wegner/Unger 1984, 118; Fittschen/Zanker 1985, 50, n. 49, replica 21; Foerster 1985; *Treasures* 1986, 230, n. 117; Gergel 1991; Evers 1994, 119-120, n. 51; Lahusen/Formigli 2001, 194-197, n. 116; Laube 2006, 168-170, n. 66; Oppen 2008, 230, n. 64; Rabe 2008, 145-146; Dayagi-Mendels/Rozenberg 2010, 127-128; Ojeda 2011, 79, n. 68; Cadario 2014, 109.
- ³ The discovery had an immediate and great echo among media, such that *The New York Times* on 5th of August 1975 (less two weeks from discovery) devoted an article to it, written by Terence Smith (Statue of Hadrian Is Found in Israel By a N.Y. Broker).
- ⁴ The Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums carried out investigations in three different archaeological seasons in 1975, 1976 and 1978. See Foerster 1985, 139.
- ⁵ Portraits of reigning emperors were usually placed in the *principia* of the camps (Domaszewski 1972, 90-95).
- ⁶ The limited information on the excavation is reported by Foerster (1985, 139), who refers to a complete future edition, which has not yet been published. The results of the geophysical surveys recently conducted by Buess and Heinzelmänn have been recently published (Buess/Heinzelmänn 2012).
- ⁷ Tzori 1971.
- ⁸ See below, notes 102-105.
- ⁹ The first restoration was completed already in 1980 and the statue was exhibited. However, in 1982 a large part of the back was found and other restorative measures were needed (Shenahav/Bigelaizen 1985).
- ¹⁰ Craddock 1985.
- ¹¹ Another significant element about the correspondence of the various parts of the statue is provided by the comparisons made by Lahusen and Formigli 2001, in particular

472, taf. 1; 478, taf. 3: it is clear that the amount of lead calculable in the various parts of the statue is comparable with contemporary and later examples. Indeed, the amount of lead significantly increased from the beginning of the 2nd century and it remained substantially unchanged until the collapse of Roman empire (Lahusen/Formigli 2001, 478).

- ¹² We wish to thank Prof. Massimo Vidale for his helpful suggestions and scientific support in archaeometric matters.
- ¹³ Gergel 1991, 247-249.
- ¹⁴ One head of a young boy from Catania, Museo Comunale. See Backe-Dahmen 2006, F74.
- ¹⁵ Wegner 1956, 13-15, 56. About the type, see mostly Fittschen/Zanker 1985, 50-51 n. 49; Evers 1994, 233-240.
- ¹⁶ Evers 1994, 237.
- ¹⁷ About the real physiognomy of the Emperor Hadrian. see Lippi et al. 2002.
- ¹⁸ Wegner 1956, 56.
- ¹⁹ Fittschen/Zanker 1985, 50-51 n. 49.
- ²⁰ Evers 1994, 239-240.
- ²¹ About the journeys of Hadrian, see Halfmann 1986, 188-210; Syme 1988; Højte 2000, 235.
- ²² Evers 1994, 240.
- ²³ In the case of Tel Shalem replica, it should be noted that the absence of the horizontal wrinkle is a common feature of all the replicas of the type.
- ²⁴ Fittschen/Zanker 1985, 51.
- ²⁵ Gergel 1991, 236 raises the possibility that the portrait has been imported from Rome or Greece or Asia Minor.
- ²⁶ Foerster 1985.
- ²⁷ Evers 1994, 237-238.
- ²⁸ Foerster 1985, 141-143.
- ²⁹ The Bar Kokhba Revolt has inspired a copious literature. The latest book concerning this topic is Mor 2016, to which we refer for a complete bibliography.
- ³⁰ For the setting of the figure, common to a large number of specimens, see, for example, the statue of Holconius Rufus from Pompeii (Cadario 2004, 150-151, tav. 19, 2, with bibliography).
- ³¹ Gergel 1991, 234. About the type, see Gergel 2004; Bergmann 2010; Karanastasi 2012-2013.
- ³² We can remember here the abovementioned (see note 31) *Hierapytna* style.
- ³³ Cadario 2004, 392-393, tav. 51.4.
- ³⁴ Stemmer 1978, 49-50, IV 7, taf. 30,1; Cadario 2004, 384-385, tav. 50,5.
- ³⁵ Cadario 2004, 117, tav. 16,1.
- ³⁶ Stemmer 1978, 24, II 3; Cadario 2004, 181, tav. 24,4.
- ³⁷ Stemmer 1978, 76, VII 1; Cadario 2004, 191, tav. 26,4. Foerster 1985 mentions even other examples, like a statue from Villa Albani and another one from Cadiz, see Stemmer 1978, 71, taf. 1,1; 85, VII 20, taf. 59, 3-4.
- ³⁸ *Sotheby's* 2013, 48-51, n. 51 (with bibliography).
- ³⁹ Cadario 2004, 373-374, tav. 48, 2-5.
- ⁴⁰ La Rocca 2011, 228-229, n. 3.6 (M. Cadario); Salcuni 2014 with bibliography. Rocco 2008 has considered this statue a *pastiche*, in which the breastplate of a statue of Mithridates VI was placed under the head of Sulla and then Germanicus. This theoretical re-use of bronze statues, also hypothesised to the specimen found at Tel Shalem, is widely adopted by several scholars, but criticised and rejected by Cadario 2004.
- ⁴¹ Gergel 1991, 244-245, fig. 13, assumed it was a statue representing the triumvir Marcus Antonius because of the presence in the middle of an image of Dionysus. Cadario 2004, 304-308, tav. 38, 1-6.
- ⁴² Cadario 2004, 295-301, tavv. 36, 1-4, 37, 1.

- ⁴³ Vermeule 1966, 60, n. 229.
- ⁴⁴ Cadario 2004, 295-301, tav. 37, 2.
- ⁴⁵ We know two exemplars, one from *Caere* and one from *Susa*. See Stemmer 1978, 96-97, VIIa 2 (*Caere*); 76, VII 1 (*Susa*); Cadario 2004, 189-190, tavv. 26,1-2; 27.
- ⁴⁶ Rabe 2008, 186, n. 58.
- ⁴⁷ Rabe 2008, 186, n. 62.
- ⁴⁸ Cadario 2004, 356.
- ⁴⁹ Noelke 2012, 424, abb. 33.
- ⁵⁰ Vermeule 1978, 101.
- ⁵¹ Foerster 1985, 155-157.
- ⁵² Gergel 1991, 245-246.
- ⁵³ Various examples in Gergel 1991, 240.
- ⁵⁴ Hölscher 2000², 21-42.
- ⁵⁵ Foerster 1985, 145-147.
- ⁵⁶ Most usual types of gladiators' depictions are analysed in Flecker 2015, 79-87. On Hadrian's breastplate, we can find the Flecker's *Bewegungsschema* 1.
- ⁵⁷ Robert 1940.
- ⁵⁸ It is easy to see the extent to which a properly Roman element was spread even among non-Roman peoples, in this case specifically within a Semitic population. See Weiss 2014 for a recent general study on gladiatorial and, more generally, on Roman and late antique spectacles in *Iudaea*.
- ⁵⁹ Reifenberg 1950, 46; Reifenberg 1950-1951, 25; Roller 1982, 100-102; Golvin 1988, 256; Dodge 2009, 34 (fig. 4.2); Weiss 2014, 61-81, 108-115.
- ⁶⁰ Schumacher 1908, 173-175; Weiss 2014, 61-81, 108-115.
- ⁶¹ Foerster/Tsafir 1987-1988.
- ⁶² Kloner/Hübsch 1996; Dodge 2009, 34 (fig. 4.2); Weiss 2014 61-81, 108-115, figs. 2.2, 2.18, 2.21.
- ⁶³ Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: La Regina 2001, 380, n. 104.
- ⁶⁴ Chieti, Museo Archeologico Nazionale d'Abruzzo: Papini 2004, 138-143, figs. 57-62; Flecker 2015, 205-209, A 27.
- ⁶⁵ Foerster 1985, 146-147.
- ⁶⁶ Civitella San Paolo, near the door of Palazzo Abbatiale: Junkelmann 2000, 124, abb. 195; Flecker 2015, 212, A 31.
- ⁶⁷ Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. Lo Monaco 2008, 150, cat. I.3.4; Flecker 2015, 238-242, A 55.
- ⁶⁸ Capena, Museo Nazionale di *Lucus Feroniae*: Flecker 2015, 213-216, A 34 C; Gazzetti 2016, 157-160, fig. 1.
- ⁶⁹ Sofia, National Archaeological Institute with Museum: Papini 2004, 194-196, fig. 89.
- ⁷⁰ Foerster 1985, 148-150.
- ⁷¹ Gergel 1991, 247.
- ⁷² See Foerster 1985, 148-150 for examples. About the question, see especially Caldelli/Polito 2004; Tagliamonte 2009.
- ⁷³ Coarelli 2001, 153.
- ⁷⁴ For the *Samnes* as gladiatorial category, see Caldelli 2001.
- ⁷⁵ Foerster 1985, 149.
- ⁷⁶ During the last years of the first century BCE, the open face helmets were eventually enclosed: the circular brim replaced the neck roll, while the cheek-pieces became much larger, leaving only a small part of the face uncovered. Probably during the first years of the first century CE, the cheek-pieces already surrounded the face completely. Further improvements, attributed to the Emperor Claudius on the base of the words of Suetonius (*Claud.* 34), consisted in the bending and lowering of the brim on its sides. This change gave protection against lateral blows. Finally, the eye holes were replaced with larger breaches, defended by nets (for a detailed description on the shape of the gladiatorial helmets, see Coarelli 1966, 91-93).
- ⁷⁷ See note 63.
- ⁷⁸ Reims, Musée Historique Saint-Rémi: Kazek 2012, 380, fig. REIMS n. 2.
- ⁷⁹ There is another example from France in a gladiator frieze on a glass cup found at Chavagne-en-Pailles and nowadays in New York, Corning Museum of Glass (Dunbabin 2016, 188, fig. 7.14). It is not clear if the gladiators here depicted are naked or not. A similar scene is represented on one more glass at the Corning Museum of Glass: the so-called *Zirkusbecker*, found at Sophrone, in Hungary, and decorated with amphitheatrical scenes (Whitehouse 2001, 63).
- ⁸⁰ Baramki 1936, 5-6, pl. VI, 1.
- ⁸¹ *SHA, Hadr.* 19, 2: *In omnibus paene urbibus et aliquid aedificavit et ludos edidit* (In almost every city he built some building and gave public games). From here on, all the English translations are taken from *Loeb Classical Library*. *Cass. Dio* 69, 10, 1: ἐποίει δὲ καὶ θέατρα καὶ ἀγῶνας, περιπορευόμενος τὰς πόλεις (He also constructed theatres and held games while he travelled about from city to city).
- ⁸² Foerster 1985, 156, nt. 106 had already outlined that 'it should be emphasised that one cannot exclude the possibility that our representation records a *lusus* - the dramatic performance that reenacts the main events of a battle, like the *lusus troiae*'. However, this hypothesis seems to be wrong.
- ⁸³ Busetto 2015, 156.
- ⁸⁴ Livy, *Epit.* 44, 9, 5 and 40, 6, 5-6.
- ⁸⁵ Busetto 2015, 157.
- ⁸⁶ *CIL* VIII, 2532 and *CIL* VIII, 18042. The inscription is very damaged. A new edition of the text is in Speidel 2006. See also Le Bohec 2003, Galimberti 2007, 111-116 and Busetto 2015.
- ⁸⁷ *Cass. Dio* 69, 9, 3: ἐγύμναζε τε αὐτοὺς πρὸς πᾶν εἶδος μάχης, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐτίμα τοὺς δὲ ἐνουθέτει, πάντας δὲ ἐδίδασκεν ἅ ῥη ποιεῖν. καὶ ὅπως γε καὶ ὁρῶντες αὐτὸν ὠφελοῖντο, σκληρὰ τε πανταχοῦ τῇ διαίτῃ ἐχρήτο, καὶ ἐβάδιζεν ἢ καὶ ἵππευε πάντα, οὐδ' ἔστιν ὅποτε εἴτε ὀχήματος τότε γε εἴτε τετρακύκλο ἐπέβη (He drilled the men for every kind of battle, honouring some and reproving others, and he taught them all what should be done. And in order that they should be benefited by observing him, he everywhere led a rigorous life and either walked or rode on horseback on all occasions, never once at this period setting foot in either a chariot or a four-wheeled vehicle).
- ⁸⁸ *CIL* VIII, 2532, Frg. C (*latus dextrum*).
- ⁸⁹ *SHA, Hadr.* 5, 2: *nam deficientibus iis nationibus quas Traianus subegerat, Mauri lacescebant, Sarmatae bellum inferebant, Britanni teneri sub Romana ditione non poterant, Aegyptus seditionibus urgebatur, Libya denique ac Palaestina rebelles animos effere* (For the nations which Trajan had conquered began the revolt; the Moors, moreover, began to make attacks, and the Sarmatians to wage war, the Britons could not be kept under Roman sway, Egypt was thrown into disorder by riots, and finally Libya and Palestine showed the spirit of rebellion).
- ⁹⁰ The episode of the revolt of 117 is still under debate. For more information and bibliography, see Capponi 2018.
- ⁹¹ Capponi 2018, 99-100.
- ⁹² *AE* 1929, 167: *L. Tettius Crescens / domo Roma / vix(it) ann(is) (vacat) / expeditionib(us) interfui(t)/ Daciae bis*

- Armeniae / Parthiae et Iudaea / se vivo sibi feci(t)*. See Pucci ben Zeev 2005, 244-247.
- ⁹³ Karanastasi 2012-2013.
- ⁹⁴ Fronto, *Princ. Hist.* 2, 8-9; *SHA, Hadr.* 10, 2 - 11, 1. About the relationship between Hadrian and the army, see Galimberti 2007, 95-122.
- ⁹⁵ *Cass. Dio* 69, 9, 1-2: Ἀδριανὸς δὲ ἄλλην ἀπ' ἄλλης διαπορευόμενος ἐπαρχίαν, τὰς τε χώρας καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπισκεπτόμενος, καὶ πάντα τὰ φρούρια καὶ τὰ τεῖχη περισκοπῶν τὰ μὲν ἐς ἐπικαιροτέρους τόπους μεθίστη, τὰ δὲ ἔπαυε, τὰ δὲ προσκαθίστατο, αὐτὸς πάντα ἀπλῶς, οὐχ ὅπως τὰ κοινὰ τῶν στρατοπέδων, ὅπλα λέγω καὶ μηχανὰς καὶ τάφρους καὶ περιβόλους καὶ χαρακώματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐνὸς ἐκάστου, καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ στρατευομένων καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν, τοὺς βίους τὰς οἰκίσεις τοὺς τρόπους, καὶ ἐφόρων καὶ ἐξετάζων: καὶ πολλὰ γὰρ ἐς τὸ ἀβρότερον ἐκδεδηγημένα καὶ κατεσκευασμένα καὶ μετερρῦμισε.
- ⁹⁶ Isaac 1990, 106.
- ⁹⁷ Zissu/Ecker 2014. It is intriguing to remark here that from the site of Kh. 'Arâk Hâla, where the authors have discovered the military camp, a limestone cuirassed statue, in a fragmentary status, was found by Charles Clermont-Ganneau (Clermont-Ganneau 1896, 441-442). He believed it represented Septimius Severus, but the item is currently untraceable and the only available documentation, constituted by two drawings made by M. Lecomte, does not allow us to establish if the interpretation and dating given by Clermont-Ganneau were right.
- ⁹⁸ Zissu/Ecker 2014, 310.
- ⁹⁹ This *tabula ansata* (Iliffe 1933, 121-122, n. 2, pl. XLIV, c.) is comparable to the abovementioned one, found at Scythopolis (fig. 3).
- ¹⁰⁰ Tepper 2007, 62.
- ¹⁰¹ Halfmann 1986, 193, 207; Højte 2000, 235.
- ¹⁰² Werner Eck was the first that linked the inscription with a possible erection of an arch. See Eck/Foerster 1999.
- ¹⁰³ Eck 2003, 157-158.
- ¹⁰⁴ Bowersock 2003.
- ¹⁰⁵ Mor 2013, 87. In addition, according to Zissu/Ecker 2014, 293, *Legio VI Ferrata* was broadly stationed in the northern part of the province, while *Legio X Fretensis* was in the south. Nevertheless, there are several clues of different units deployed in the region.
- ¹⁰⁶ Welles 1938, 401-402, n. 58.
- ¹⁰⁷ We have few fragments of a monumental arch in the city, but there is no way to clarify which emperor was honoured. About this arch, see Tracy 1998; 1999.
- ¹⁰⁸ Clermont-Ganneau 1906, n. 6, 487-495.
- ¹⁰⁹ Avner et al. 2014.
- ¹¹⁰ Gould 1933; Fink 1936.
- ¹¹¹ Kleiner 1992, 238 notes that: 'There are more surviving portraits of Hadrian [...]. This was owing to two factors: because Hadrian was emperor for twenty-one years and because statues of him were erected in cities throughout the empire in anticipation of or in appreciation of his visits'. Højte 2000 says some controversial words about the fact that imperial visits influenced the practice to erect statues in honour of the Emperor. His study is exclusively focused on the analysis of the inscriptions of every kind of base of statues devoted to only three emperors: Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. Talking about Hadrian, Højte says: 'His travels in the west seem to have left no trace at all, but in the east, particularly in the provinces of Achaëa and Arabia, did his travels exert some influence on the decision to erect statues' (Højte 2000, 231). However, one page later he concludes saying that: 'The epigraphic evidence from the statue bases of Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius show that imperial visits generally did not motivate cities or individuals in the provinces to immediately erect statues of the emperor' (Højte 2000, 232). In a more recent work, Højte 2005, 159 confirms that the emperor travelling activities served as immediate occasion for erecting his portrait in a few exceptional cases.
- ¹¹² *CIIP* II, 1276.
- ¹¹³ Mazor/Najjar 2007, XIII; Mor 2013, 88, n. 48; Eck 2014, 109.
- ¹¹⁴ Clermont-Ganneau 1897, 171; *CIL* III, 13589; 14155.14. The picture of the inscription is in Mor 2016, 186, fig. 2.7.

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The representation of wigs in Roman female portraiture of the late 2nd to 3rd century AD

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Abstract

*The purpose of this article is to take a significant appurtenance of feminine fashion - the wig - and demonstrate its ideological function. We know that Roman women wore wigs in 'real' life. References in the literary sources and rare yet significant examples of surviving wigs and hairpieces provide solid evidence for the use of wigs by Roman women. However, the explicit depiction of wigs seems to have been restricted to a selection of women's portraits dated to the late 2nd to 3rd century AD. This consequently marks a significant development in female representation, confined to a specific historical context. The purpose of this article is to understand why it was that these portraits presented women bewigged. What was the ideological function of these portraits and how can this more broadly inform our understanding of the cultural priorities of this era?**

INTRODUCTION

A half-figure bust in the British Museum depicts a young woman, with full but ideal features, expressive smile and large eyes (*fig. 1*). The bust reaches down to the hips and is draped in a gap-sleeved tunic tied at the waist and a mantle diagonally slung across the front from right to left. The arms of the bust are broken off at the elbows, but close examination reveals that the most likely reconstruction is for the figure's arms to have been raised up in a gesture of *orans*.¹ This is supported by the raised eyes and smile of the woman - all indicative of a prayer state. The portrait can be dated to the Late Severan period on the basis of the hairstyle: the hair is parted in the middle and pressed into even waves and sits in a flat cap on the head. This cap of hair, with oblong low bun, is of a style worn by the majority of women in the Late Severan period. Most notably, the imperial mother, Julia Mamaea, is depicted in her portraits wearing a variation of this hairstyle.² In this instance, however, large sections of drilled and plastic ringlets cluster in front of the ears and fall onto the shoulders. The contrast between the opulent ringlets of natural hair framing the face and the regularly chiselled flat cap is stark.³ In fact, the young woman is very obviously wearing a wig.⁴ This realisation raises an important question for the modern viewer: why did the sculptor go to such lengths to articulate the presence of a wig? Given the simplicity of the woman's chosen

hairstyle it is hard to understand the necessity of the wig, either in 'real' life or in iconographic terms. Even the sculptor seems to be more concerned with the aesthetic effect of the loose curls of 'natural' hair than with the wig, which remains unfinished at the back of the head. And yet this element was important, so important that the sculptor signposted its existence.

The portrait is not an anomaly. In the Severan, Late Severan and, to a reduced extent, in the broader 3rd century notable examples of women's portraits wearing wigs exist.⁵ It is not particularly astonishing that Roman women could and did wear wigs and hairpieces in 'real life'. The literary sources provide a proliferation of references to the practice and the accompanying trade in hair.⁶ We even have sparse but important examples of preserved Roman hairpieces and wigs.⁷ Nevertheless, it is only in the late 2nd to 3rd centuries AD that wigs are explicitly depicted in a significant number of women's portraits. What was it that drove this iconographic phenomenon and what can this tell us about the Roman rhetoric of feminine adornment in this period?

The purpose of this article is to take an appurtenance of feminine fashion - the wig - in order to explore and demonstrate its ideological function through placing this attribute in its broader iconographic and historical context. This is particularly important in the context of the late 2nd to



Fig. 1. Half-figure bust of a young woman wearing a wig, Late Severan, from Rome. British Museum (photo © The Trustees of the British Museum).

3rd century which has been subject to a very specific historical interpretation: the military conflicts and 'crises' of these eras, especially from the Late Severan era on, have resulted in a focus on the male portraits whose three-day military beards, shorn heads and vigorous expressions extol masculine *virtus* ideals in line with historiographical conceptions of a highly militarised era.⁸ Alternatively, portraits of the earlier Severan era are most frequently read as regressive and dependent on Antonine fashions.⁹ This, however, is only one side of the late 2nd to 3rd century story. Roman women's portraits provide different, but complementary iconographic opportunities. To deconstruct and understand the virtues and roles these portraits present is not only to better understand the position of women in Roman society but also to reveal many of the normative values of the time. The wig offers the perfect vessel through which to address this balance. This attribute was something 'new' in Roman women's iconography at this pivotal period and yet it drew upon and expressed many long-established Roman ideals of

elite feminine virtue. Just as a Roman man could instil his portrait with the qualities of a philosopher, a soldier, a cultivated elite, a politician or even a god, through the style and extent of his facial hair, so too could a Roman woman's hairstyle, or in this instance her wig, help her communicate a wide range of feminine roles and ideals.¹⁰ I argue that the wig could function, like earlier Roman women's elaborate hairstyles, as a symbol of status, economic power, modesty and, ultimately, feminine *cultus*. Through the lens of the wig we may consequently better understand not only elite Roman women, but also broader cultural priorities in this key historical period.

This article will be divided into two sections. The first section briefly discusses how we can tell if a portrait is depicted wearing a wig and the period confines of this phenomenon. The second section considers the motivations behind being depicted wearing a wig in your portrait: i. practical explanations; ii. following imperial fashions, the 'Julia Domna effect'; iii.-v. the positive virtues and ideals a woman could express by wearing a wig and how these both reflect and help shape 3rd century definitions of feminine *cultus*.

WHO WAS WEARING A WIG, AND WHEN?

What clues did the ancient sculptor leave to indicate that his subject was wearing a wig and how can we, the modern viewer, identify these? To return to our example of the young woman's bust in the British Museum, the wig is communicated in several important ways. First, large sections of 'natural' hair fall onto the shoulders, in front of the ears and on the forehead; second, the wig itself differs dramatically in style from this natural hair, in its overly regular, consistent and neatly pressed pattern of waves. That is, the wig contrasts sharply with the 'natural' curls of the girl. This example dates to the Late Severan period where we find some of the most explicit examples of wigged portraits. To take another good and comparable example, a head of a Late Severan woman in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, probably a female relative of the Emperor Elagabalus with whom she shares a familial likeness, depicts the woman with a thin, long wig defined by evenly pressed waves, which fall low on the neck (figs 2-4).¹¹ Again, the wig is made overt by the large clusters of 'natural' hair in front of the ears and falling free onto the shoulders. Further, the distinction between 'real' hair and wig is underlined by the stylistic differences between the two: the 'natural' hair defined by lustrous drilled curls; the wig by flat artificially formed pressed waves of hair. As in the case of the British



Figs 2-4. Head of an Imperial(?) woman, front, left and back. Late Severan, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (photo Ole Haupt © Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen).

Museum bust, the carving of the wig has not even been completed at the back, but remains roughly finished (fig. 4). The decision not to complete the hairstyle at the back in part reflects display context, and the priority of completing that which would be seen. Further, the back of the head was probably the last area to be carved and thus the most likely element to be left unfinished. Nevertheless, in the case of the British Museum bust it is significant to contrast the completion of the drapery around the shoulders at the back and the generally excellent high-polish finish of the portrait bust with the unfinished wig. In both instances, the compromise of leaving the wig unfinished did not undermine the women's portraits, but instead contributed to a distinction between artificial and natural hair. In other examples, especially dating to the earlier Severan period, wigs are signposted to the viewer, but without the expression of such large sections of escaping 'natural' hair. A portrait bust of Julia Domna, from Italy, and now in the





Figs 5-6. Bust of Julia Domna ('Gabii' type), front and detail of right profile, Louvre (photos author's reproduced with kind permission of the Louvre, Paris).

Louvre, depicts her wearing her hair in the 'Gabii' type (figs 5-6).¹² This style was defined by a large halo of hair, parted in the centre and pressed into waves framing the face.¹³ The hair is then gathered into a bun which covers the entire back of the head and which consists of abstractly formed segments, presumably intended to evoke a thick and loosely braided bun. In this instance, the hair appears to 'sit' on the head: the hair is not drawn up from the scalp and into the style as we might expect if it were formed from the woman's 'natural' hair. Further, thick, symbolic curls of escaping hair are depicted on the cheeks of the portrait. In other depictions of Julia Domna wearing this hairstyle, the wig is emphasised by the addition of a thick drilled line between the hairline and the face.¹⁴ Similarly, Julia Domna's 'Lepcis' portrait type again reveals the wig to be a central element. This portrait type also consists of pressed finger waves of framing hair, however, in this instance the hair falls lower, almost reaching the shoulders, before being formed into an oblong, plaited and coiled bun at the back of the head.¹⁵ This could, as in the case of Julia Domna's portrait head in Munich Glyptothek, be deeply undercut and drilled, enhancing the impression of the separateness of the hairstyle. Yet, even more



Fig. 7. Miniature bust of Julia Domna ('Lepcis' type), Stockholm National Museum (photo © Ode Kaneberg, Stockholm National Museum).



Figs 8-9. Bust of a woman, front and right profile. Mid-Severan. Roma, Musei Capitolini (photo author's, © Roma, Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali).

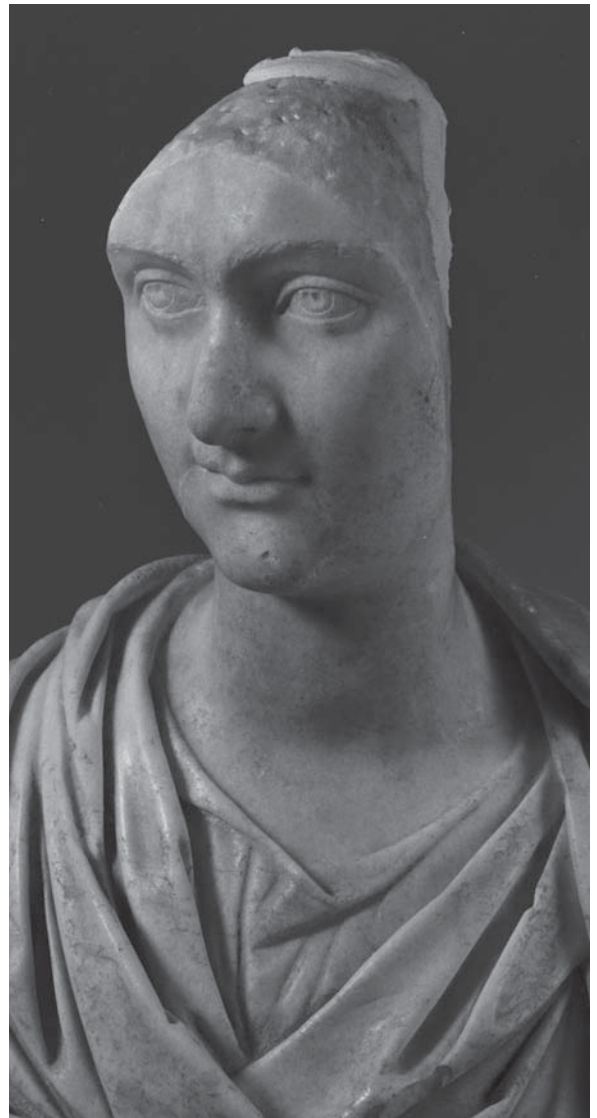
persuasively, this hairstyle is frequently combined with loops of 'real' hair on the cheeks, for example, the miniature bust of Julia Domna, possibly from Sardis, now in Stockholm National Museum (fig. 7).¹⁶ Here huge loops of natural hair are carved on the face and wisps of hair are formed on the forehead. It is in collaboration that these sculpted 'signposts' underline the presence of the wig as a central element to Domna's portrait type.

Both of Julia Domna's main portrait hairstyles (Gabii and Lepcis type) are commonly worn by other contemporary women. Given long and healthy hair this style could have been achieved without the addition of a wig.¹⁷ Nevertheless, for some women the use of the wig was clearly central to the look and is a feature signalled in their portraits. For example, a woman's bust in the Museo Capitolino depicts a Severan date woman wearing her hair in a style closely related to Domna's Lepcis type (figs 8-9).¹⁸ In this instance the augmented braids hairstyle is defined by decorative twisted braids and a large plaited and coiled bun. At the top of the forehead and on the cheeks strands of 'real' hair escape, again suggesting that this hairstyle was created with the aid of a wig.

A final important distinction in deciding whether a woman is depicted wearing a wig is how the

hair is formed at the nape of the neck. The large orbs of hair characteristic of Late Antonine portraits, for example those of imperial wife Crispina, are clear precursors to Severan women's hairstyles.¹⁹ Further, Antonine women's portraits frequently depict escaping curls on the cheeks and at the sides of the neck. However, in most cases an examination of the nape reveals the hair to be combed up into the large halos of hair.²⁰ It is still possible then that these styles were a hybrid of wig and natural hair but, unlike in the case of many later Severan women's portraits, the issue remains ambiguous.

In a small number of Severan examples the effect could be intensified through the application of a separately carved 'wig' (figs 11, 12, 18). Fittschen, in his discussion of these portraits, correctly observes that in the majority of instances the portraits have been recarved and the new separately carved hairpieces applied as part of this process.²¹ Similarly, Hirst and Salapata, when discussing separately carved and pieced sections of Roman portraits, argue that practical production issues, often incumbent on portrait re-use, may explain many of these separately carved hairpieces.²² Both these arguments are sound and certainly provide core practical motivations for applying separately



Figs 10-12. Bust of Julia Domna (?), with separately carved hairpiece, carved from a Trajanic-Hadrianic portrait bust. Front (with headpiece on), front (with headpiece removed), headpiece. Stuttgart, Landesmuseum Württemberg (photos © Landesmuseum Württemberg, Bildarchiv).



Fig. 13. Fragment of marble sarcophagus relief, c.190-210 AD, Liebieghaus Skulpturensammlung (photo © Liebieghaus Skulpturensammlung, Frankfurt am Main).

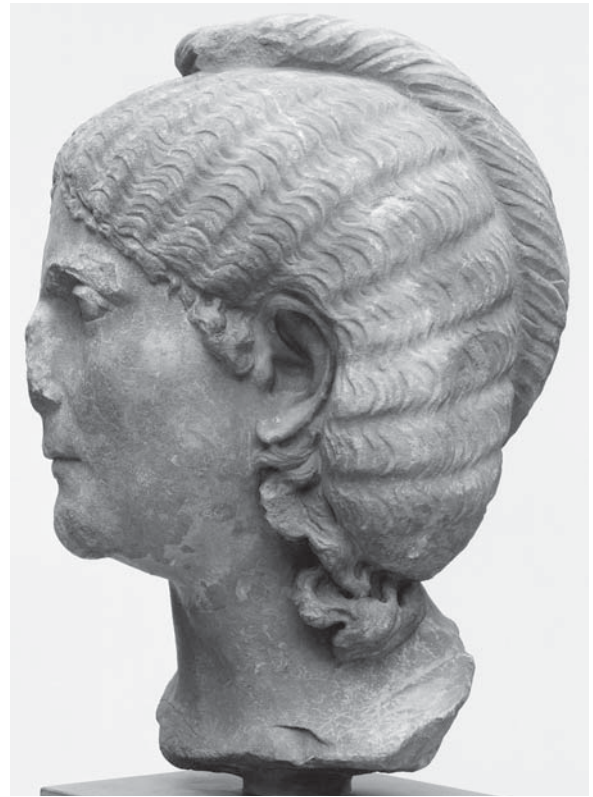
carved hairpieces. However, in a number of instances these hairpieces fulfilled a dual function, both aiding the transformation of the portrait into a new subject and accentuating a key fashionable element of the woman's portrait: the wig.²³

This argument is supported by the fact that separately carved hairpieces belong to a specific historical period. Of the thirty-five examples listed by Fittschen, seven date to the Late Antonine period (one portrait of Faustina Minor; two portraits of Crispina), twenty-six are Severan (eleven portraits of Julia Domna) and two are private portraits of Middle Severan women.²⁴ This is logical as these are the eras when reuse of portraits was becoming more common and also when the fashion for large orb-like hairstyles and/or wigs in women's portraits necessitated large amounts of additional marble not always available if reusing a portrait.²⁵ Separately carved hairpieces could consequently provide a means of successfully transforming a portrait and asserting a fundamental aspect of the late 2nd to 3rd century woman, her modish wig.

A good example of a woman's portrait wearing a separately carved hairpiece, probably intended to evoke a wig, is provided by a bust in Stuttgart (figs 10-12). This portrait bust in its current manifestation depicts a Severan woman, probably Julia Domna, with an intact, separately carved 'wig' and has been carved from an earlier (probably early 2nd century AD) portrait bust.²⁶ That the hairpiece was intended to evoke a wig is suggested by the curls of 'natural' hair etched on to the cheeks of the woman's

face and the fact that no attempt has been made to integrate the separately carved section with the rest of the woman's portrait as we find on many other examples of pieced hairstyles.²⁷ Similarly, a bust of an unidentified woman in the Museo Capitolino, which was re-carved from an Antonine portrait and prepared for a now lost Severan hairpiece, reveals an innovative way of utilising elements of the original hairstyle.²⁸ The head is roughed to a peak, and made ready for the hairpiece. However, tufts of the portrait's original hair on the forehead and on the neck remain, presumably intended to contrast with the artificial 'wig' simulated by the now missing hairpiece. These examples demonstrate how separately carved hairpieces could be utilised to intensify the expression of a woman's wig.

That separately carved hairpieces could be used to emphasise the adornment of a wig is further confirmed by a fragment of sarcophagus relief in Frankfurt which depicts a woman's portrait bust in encircling mantle bust-format supported by framing maenads and sitting above an acanthus calyx (fig. 13).²⁹ The woman is depicted wearing an orb-shaped, 'separately carved wig' of the style worn by Julia Domna (Gabii type). This wig is expressed by the large section of 'natural' hair on the forehead, the incised line between wig and face and the contrast of the naturally waved 'real' hair and the precisely pressed waves of the wig. This relief is important as it underlines and confirms the function of separately carved pieces to depict wigs in Severan women's portraits. As Bart-



Figs 14-15. Portrait head of a woman (from a bust?), front and left profile, wearing a tightly pressed wig ca 260 AD. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (photos Ole Haupt © Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen).

man argues, separately carved hairpieces are not always symbolic of wigs. However, it is no coincidence that most separately carved hairpieces date to the Severan era when wigs were the dominant fashion in women's portraits.³⁰

On the basis of the criteria discussed above it is possible to identify wigged female portraits. However, this is not an exact science and secure identification of wigged portraits is dependent on a significant combination of sculpted *sign-posts*, to summarise: i. clusters of escaping 'natural' hair either on the cheeks, forehead or behind the ears; ii. contrasts between naturalistic portrait/'real' hair and artificial or abstractly formulated hairstyle which appears to 'sit' on the head; iii. a thick drilled or chiselled line between head and hair; iv. no attempt to express that the hair has been drawn up from the scalp especially at the nape of the neck and around the ears; v. addition of a separately carved hairpiece. Applying these gauges, it is clear that this was a fashion specific to the Severan era.³¹ Prior to the Severan era the only compelling evidence for women's portraits depicting styles created with foreign/false hair is

provided by the 'separately' fashioned fronts of women's portraits in the late first to early 2nd century AD.³² Women's portraits in this period present a huge proliferation of elaborately tiered and complexly designed hairstyles.³³ These styles are presented in great detail. However, they frequently include framing bands, which create a divide between face and hair and seem to be separate from the women's 'natural' hair.³⁴ In these cases the contrast between the regularly patterned, smoothly modelled sections and the naturalistic evoked hair behind indicates the use of hairpieces. These depictions, consequently, provide a useful precursor to our wigged women, and can help us think about the positive associations of wigs and hairpieces as items of adornment and elaboration, as I discuss below. Nevertheless, these phenomena remain distinct: hairpieces supplement and enhance the woman's natural hair while wigs present a more fundamental attempt to cover and transform it. Further, I have found no evidence for a logical progression from women's portraits depicted wearing hairpieces to those wearing wigs.

The question of 'wig' or 'not wig' remains ambiguous for many 3rd century women's portraits. However, as we move towards the mid to late 3rd century the dominant fashion seems to be for hairstyles which have been created using the women's natural hair - this is clearly indicated by the way in which the hair is combed and drawn from the hair-line/scalp into the chosen style.³⁵ Yet, in some instances wigs are explicitly represented, for example a woman's portrait head in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (figs 14-15).³⁶ On the basis of the woman's large twisted parting braid this portrait can be stylistically dated to the Late Gallienic period (ca 250-270 AD).³⁷ According to the criteria laid out above the woman appears to be wearing a wig: wiry small curls of 'real' hair frame the face, while large sections of escaping curls fall on to the shoulders. This 'natural' hair is drawn from under the main cap of styled hair which 'sits' on the head rather than being created from hair drawn up from the scalp. Finally, the stylistic contrast between the loose escaping curls which fall onto the shoulders and the neatly pressed and regularly styled wig is evident. This head may be compared to the bust of a woman in Rome, Centrale Montemartini collection, which presents a closely related hairstyle: the woman's wiry strands of hair are formed into a cap, with a large twisted parting-braid and clusters of drilled curls behind the ears.³⁸ However, in this instance these loose curls seem to be drawn from the same body of hair as the styled cap and when viewed in profile the hair around the ears is depicted pulled up from the scalp. These portraits demonstrate how two contemporary mid-3rd century women could be depicted wearing the same style, but one wearing a wig the other using their 'natural' hair. This raises the question then why were certain late 2nd to 3rd century women depicted wearing wigs in their portraits? To understand this, we need to consider the function of wigs in Roman society and the possible positive associations of wig wearing.

WHY DID ROMAN WOMEN WEAR WIGS IN THEIR PORTRAITS?

Practical explanations

A range of practical reasons can be provided for why Roman women might have worn wigs in real life. For example, they offered a solution for women who suffered from baldness or thinning/damaged hair. Two female mummies from the Kharga Necropolis in Egypt have very short, balding hair, one of these was discovered with a sim-

ple strip hairpiece of human hair and linen.³⁹ In these instances the poor hair growth, especially considering their young ages, was probably a symptom of typhoid.⁴⁰ The wigs could have been to mask the effects of this disease. Old age and accompanying health issues could also bring on thinning hair and even baldness. Alternatively, Fletcher suggests that, at least in Egypt, hair may have been intentionally kept short to guard against head lice. In her analysis of human hair samples from Egyptian contexts, Fletcher notes that head lice were rife in cases where hair was kept long and clean.⁴¹ An easy and effective solution to this problem was to shave the head and wear a wig or alternative head covering. Given the long tradition of wig wearing in Egypt, this may have been an especially popular option in this region. Finally, wigs or hairpieces could be worn to cover or supplement hair damaged by the various dyeing, heating and cosmetic treatments Roman women inflicted on their hair. Ovid describes his mistress Corinna wearing a wig after her hair was destroyed by dye.⁴² However, none of these practical motivations explain why women would depict themselves wearing wigs in their portraits. If wigs were a last case resort for women without the necessary natural hair to complete a fashionable style, we would not expect them to be overtly depicted in women's portraits, as that would defeat the merely practical purpose of a wig.

For the same reason there is no logical relationship between complex hairstyles and the depictions of wigs in Roman women's portraits. As noted above, prior to the Severan era it is difficult to discern if a portrait depicts a woman wearing a wig/hairpiece or if the style has been fashioned exclusively from the subject's 'natural' hair. Some of these hairstyles are very elaborate and the sculptor often seems to have gone to great lengths to demonstrate how the style was executed.⁴³ As Bartman asserts, these hairstyles were complex but 'well within the realm of grooming possibility'.⁴⁴ Stephens correctly observes that Roman women's portraits present hairstyles in such detail as to indicate that these were based on real styles rather than imaginative fantasies of the sculptor.⁴⁵ Her reconstructions indicate that with time, and thick healthy hair, Roman women could have created the elaborate hairstyles represented in their portraits without the aid of hairpieces or wigs.⁴⁶ It does not follow then that wigs were necessitated by these styles. For example, we may consider the two mid-3rd century women's portraits, discussed above, which depict highly comparable hairstyles, however, one seems to be formed through the

addition of the wig, while the other is not (figs 14-15).⁴⁷ It is consequently not the style which necessitates the representation of a wig in a woman's portrait. Further, in many cases even if wigs were utilised, this is not an element expressed by the sculptor. To explain why wigs were depicted in women's portraits it is consequently necessary to look at a more positive set of explanations for wig wearing.

The 'Julia Domna effect'

Explanations for wigged women's portraits have traditionally focused on Julia Domna, the first imperial woman to be depicted wearing a wig in her portraits. It has consequently been assumed that Domna introduced a fashion for wearing wigs, which private women emulated in 'real' life and advertised in their portraits: we might call this the Julia Domna effect.

The wig was a central aspect of Domna's portraits, as discussed above. This is reflected by the fact that the large loops of escaping hair on the cheeks are commonly reproduced in Domna's portraits (figs 5-7).⁴⁸ We not only find them on her sculpted portraits, but also on many of her coin portraits.⁴⁹ Even private commissions such as the sardonx cameo of Domna, in the guise of a winged victory, are careful to include her distinctive orb-hairstyle in combination with a lock of escaping hair on the cheek.⁵⁰ In this respect, private women's portraits, all over Empire, appear to have not only been influenced by Domna's hairstyle but also by the use of a wig to create it. For example, the statue of Claudia Antonia Tatiana, a notable elite woman in Aphrodisias, depicts her wearing her hair in style closely modelled on Julia Domna's 'Lepcis' hairstyle, defined by thick pressed waves which almost reach the shoulders before being gathered into a bun at the back of the head.⁵¹ The sculptor is careful to emphasise that Tatiana is wearing a wig, through the combination of a thick drilled hairline, small wisps of escaping hair on the forehead and finally large loops of escaping hair on the cheeks.⁵²

Much has been made of Julia Domna's Syrian heritage and it has consequently been assumed that wigs reflect her 'foreign' cultural influence on Roman women's fashion.⁵³ For example, Gauckler argued that Severan women's wigs were in some way associated with religious customs adopted from Syria.⁵⁴ This conclusion, however, reflects the fact that Gauckler focused exclusively on separately carved wigs and consequently understood this as an exceptional feature only expressed by a

small selection of portraits. This fashion was of course far more broadly spread and cannot have been connected to one specific religious ritual. It remains to consider if this fashion even had a specific 'Eastern' quality. There is some evidence among the Syrian portrait reliefs of women wearing wigs.⁵⁵ In one instance, a section of a column monument from central Roman Syria in the Beqaa valley close to Qartaba, the women depicted in bust-format appear to be wearing large wigs beneath their headdresses.⁵⁶ This example has been dated by Parlasca to the Antonine period, thus preceding the Severan fashion. It is possible then that Julia Domna, influenced by a fashion for wigs in Syria, transmitted this trend through her own portraits.⁵⁷ However, wigs would not have been viewed as 'foreign' curiosities in other parts of Empire. References in literary sources to the use of wigs and hairpieces confirm that they were common amongst the Roman elite and that a range of options existed to serve an individual's requirements. For example, Nero is described as wearing a hairpiece to disguise his identity while on delinquent nights out.⁵⁸ Various literary references are made to the wearing of *capillamentum* (a full wig), for example in Petronius' *Satyricon* the narrator is adorned with a wig of golden curls taken from the mistress of the house's boudoir.⁵⁹ The quick adoption and emulation of this fashion by private women reflects the fact that for the Romans the wig was not an unusual feature and did not have particular 'Eastern' connotations.

Alternatively, Bartman has suggested that wigs may have initially become key to Severan portraiture as Domna wished to imitate Antonine styles, but may not have had the natural hair to complete the look.⁶⁰ Julia Domna's hairstyle is certainly developed from that of Faustina the Younger and, as has been observed by many scholars, this similarity was calculated, in line with broader Severan iconography, in order to draw a strong ideological link between the Severan dynasty and that of the successful Antonine reigns.⁶¹ Yet, it does not explain the prominence of wigs in Julia Domna's portraits as, while inspired by Faustina's, Julia Domna's hairstyles were distinct: her Gabii type was defined by a large orb of pressed waves of much greater volume than any style worn by Faustina.⁶² Julia Domna consequently utilised the wig in order to develop a distinct and recognisable imperial portrait. However, Domna was not alone. An inspection of private women's portraits indicates that in the Late Antonine to Severan period there is a discernible shift towards more assertive depictions of wigs in line with these fuller orb hair-

styles. This raises the question of how non-imperial women related to this attribute and whether their depiction wearing a wig was just straightforward imitation of imperial style

The fashion for portraits depicting women wearing wigs neither ended with Julia Domna, nor appears to have been exclusively dependent on emulation of her hairstyles. For example, the bust of a mid-Severan woman in the Museo Capitolino depicts its subject clearly wearing a wig modelled after Julia Domna's Lepcis type hairstyle (figs 8-9).⁶³ However, despite the relationship between this hairstyle and that worn by Julia Domna, this is not straightforward imitation. Instead, the woman's wig is defined by decorative twisted braids. This example reflects how private woman's portraits could reflect and be influenced by imperial fashions while expressing individual taste and nuance. This point becomes even clearer when looking at later wigged women's portraits (figs 1, 2-4). For example, Late Severan wigged hairstyles, while developed from earlier Severan fashions, are distinct as they depict the women wearing their hair styled into a thin cap which sits close to the head. What is interesting about these Late Severan examples is the variation we find. The closest imperial parallel is to the hairstyle of Julia Mamaea.⁶⁴ However, if Mamaea's portraits depict her wearing a wig this is not explicitly articulated, in contrast to these Late Severan women's portraits with their large clusters of escaping curls.⁶⁵ These portraits demonstrate not only the many subtle variances which defined Late Severan women's portraits, but also how the depiction of a wig could further distinguish their subjects. At least by the Late Severan period the wig cannot be understood as a foreign attribute imposed on Roman society by the imperial women. As is well demonstrated by D'Ambra, in reference to women's portraits of the Flavian and Trajanic periods, women were just as concerned with expressing group identity, and competing with one another, as imitating imperial led fashions.⁶⁶ To understand and interpret fashions for wigs in women's portraits, imperial and private, it is consequently necessary to place them within the context of broader female self-styling and its associated virtues.

The ethics of female adornment: cultus

'Learn what treatment may enhance your face,
girls,
and the means by which you must preserve
your looks.

Cultivation commanded the barren earth to
render Ceres'

'gifts', the stinging brambles, to perish.

Cultivation removes bitterness from the juice
of fruits,
and the grafted trees receives acquired wealth.
Cultivations give pleasure. Soaring hills are lined
with gold,
the black earth lies hid beneath superimposed
marble.'⁶⁷

The ancient literary sources are littered with moralising and comical attacks on female attempts at beautification and adornment.⁶⁸ Yet it is significant that the carefully styled and often elaborate hairstyles we find represented in Roman women's portraits, private and imperial, indicate a positive and respectable set of ideals associated with certain forms of female self-styling. And yet 'fashion', with its connotations of temporality and modern associations of superfluity, does not quite encapsulate the significance and ideological weight of such elements of adornment or female style in their Roman context.⁶⁹ To explain these aspects of Roman female representation *cultus* provides a more appropriate and historically relevant term. *Cultus* is broadly defined as 'labour' and 'care' and encompasses a wide range of actions which seek to improve, refine or advance upon the natural or original state of things.⁷⁰ *Cultus* is consequently associated with a large range of human processes from agricultural cultivation, to technological advances, to education of the mind and most relevantly here to refinement of physical appearance, through dress, ornament or self-styling. As Johnson aptly explains, in Roman literature *cultus* is more frequently 'aligned with progress and civilisation' and as such can find itself in antithesis to nature which it seeks to develop.⁷¹ This is well expressed in the above passage where Ovid describes how nature has been improved upon through *cultus* or, as translated here, cultivation. The intervention of *cultus* results in a rich and improved natural environment in which berries are sweeter and monumental architecture adorns the landscape.⁷² These forms of *cultus* are thus directly compared by Ovid to his main topic, the cultivation of the female physical appearance. In this text Ovid goes on to extol the advantages, and indeed virtue to be found in a young woman who cultivates her physical appearance:

'But *your* mothers gave birth to tender girls:
you want your bodies swathed in gold-embroidered garments,

you want to variegate your scented locks by means of style,
 you want to have your hands admired for their precious stones;
 you adorn your neck with gems sourced from the East,
 so large that it is a burden to bear two of them on the ear.
 But this is not unworthy behaviour: you must be anxious to please ...⁷³

Ovid consequently presents another side to the moralising attacks on female adornment, dress and beautification we more commonly come across in Roman literature.⁷⁴ His tone may be humorous, but this text expresses the association between *cultus* and feminine self-styling and the significant value, that could be placed on these forms of feminine preparation. *Cultus* is an enduring value. As Fejfer summarises, *cultus* was one of the 'most powerful and dramatic visual messages a Roman woman could espouse.'⁷⁵ And its importance was undiminished in later historical eras.

For this reason it has been suggested by Bartman, D'Ambra and Olson that wigs and hairpieces, like elaborate hairstyles, should be understood as another important way in which Roman women expressed their culture and refinement or *cultus*.⁷⁶ For example, the funerary relief in Frankfurt, which depicts a woman wearing a separately carved 'wig', is indicative of the high-status placed on this attribute, which has been carefully signposted to the viewer (fig. 13).⁷⁷ A sarcophagus relief allowed the patron to be depicted in as grand and excessive a manner as they desired, hence the framing maenads and opulent acanthus calyx.⁷⁸ It is consequently interesting that the most significant and individual aspect of this woman's portrait representation was her wig. This was not a passing whim but a central aspect of the woman's identity, so significant that she chose to have it immortalised in her tomb portrait. Wigs consequently formed part of a broader selection of symbolic elements which contributed to the definition of a Roman woman as a cultivated and virtuous individual.⁷⁹

Cultus, however, was and remains a rather subtle and elusive quality, comparable to the British virtue of class. It could encompass a multiplicity of qualities and behaviour from economic prosperity, to social standing, beauty and erotic power, to education and intellectual capabilities.⁸⁰ Definitions of *cultus* were consequently subject to context, nuance, emphasis and change over time. It is not enough, therefore, to say that wigs were pow-

erful symbols of *cultus*. We need to unpack what this meant, especially in the 3rd century. Prior to the Severan era *cultus* could be expressed most effectively through women's elaborate hairstyles. This begs the question then: why wigs? Which aspects of *cultus* did wigs most effectively express and what can this tell us about late 2nd to 3rd century priorities?

Wigs were expensive commodities, clear symbols of conspicuous consumption. For example, we may take the rare, and to my knowledge unpublished, discovery of a completely preserved wig in the first century AD tomb of a mother and son, Aebutia and Carvilius Gemellus, just off the Appian Way.⁸¹ Aebutia was wearing the wig of auburn hair, which was contained within a gold net. In this respect the wig and net worked together to convey status and wealth. This is supported by the other symbols of conspicuous consumption discovered in Aebutia's tomb: a large gold ring another luxurious insignia of the family's wealth. The wig and gold net consequently belonged in the same category as these elite trappings: it was an expensive adornment.

The time, skill and craftsmanship which went into making a full wig of human hair was considerable, as demonstrated by Stevens Cox's examination of a Pharaonic Egyptian wig in the British Museum.⁸² The vast differences in date between the two wigs must be borne in mind but the fundamental technique described by Stevens Cox was probably common to most wigs in the ancient world. Like the wig of Aebutia, the wig in the British Museum was made completely from human hair, the wig's 'reticulated foundation' was formed of tightly plaited hair. Long strands of hair were then 'anchored' to this net: pulled through, twisted and secured in place through the application of beeswax.⁸³ This example gives us an idea of the skill and time that went into constructing a wig in the ancient world.

Even if we discount the cost of the skilled labour involved in constructing a good quality, full wig, evidence in the literary sources indicates that the materials used, especially the human hair, could prove an expensive commodity. Most notably, an extract in the *Digest* includes *capilli indici* in a list of luxury goods, alongside spices, precious stones, expensive fabrics, eunuchs and exotic animals - all subject to custom dues.⁸⁴ This example is important as it also reveals an added criterion of luxury: the type of hair used. Hair of different pigments and types drawn from the corners of Empire or, in the case of Indian hair, beyond Roman borders seems to have been particularly desirable.

This trade in foreign hair is well documented in the literary sources. For example, Martial instructs: 'If you wish to change your superannuated hair, white headed lady, accept balls from the Mattiaci. Why go bald?'⁸⁵ This extract is informative as to foreign origins of much of the hair being sold in Rome and the association of this trade with Roman conquest. Ovid and Martial both refer to '*captivos crines*'. Ovid's mistress's wig was made from golden Germanic hair.⁸⁶ Similarly, Martial asserts 'Chattian foam lights up Teutonic locks. You can be smarter with captive hair.'⁸⁷ The focus on the foreign tribes from which this hair was sourced is indicative of the hair's luxurious and colonial associations. There was a strong aesthetic preference for the blond hues of this northern hair. It is for this reason that Martial, when complimenting Lesbia's hair, describes himself sending her a sample of hair from a Northern people, 'to let you know how much yellower is yours.'⁸⁸

These references evidence the Roman trade in hair and the high value placed on foreign hair - especially that of pigment and type less attainable amongst the Mediterranean cultures. The desire for this hair, which presumably would have contrasted strongly with the wearer's natural hair, reveals a lack of concern for 'natural' looking wigs or hairpieces.⁸⁹ In sculpted portraits polychromy, as Schauenburg proposes, may have also been utilised to signal wigs or hairpieces.⁹⁰ This is supported by examples of separately carved hairpieces in coloured marble.⁹¹ In these instances a coloured stone would not only have positively asserted the presence of a wig, but would have created a parallel between the exotic, foreign stone and the foreign hair from which these wigs could be constructed.

An excellent comparison is provided by the numerous examples of women's portraits with 'separately' fashioned fronts, of early- to mid-2nd century date.⁹² For example, we may take the head of a woman in the British Museum which wears a hairstyle formed of three tiers of hair and a large plaited bun.⁹³ The geometric patterns of the plaited crests appear false. This is particularly true of the first framing band, which is defined by a repetitive and patterned wave and which appears to 'sit' on the head rather than be formed of hair drawn from the scalp. In front of the ears large curls of hair peek from behind this border and, in contrast to it, are drawn from the woman's 'natural' hair. It has been suggested that these crests of hair could easily be created using the woman's natural hair, perhaps moulded over stiffened fabric or leather.⁹⁴ Alternatively, however, these may



Fig. 16. Terracotta statuette of a woman wearing a wig, being attended by a maid from El-Djem, ca 190-210 AD. Louvre (photo © Louvre)

have been created with hairpieces. This suggestion is supported by the example of the Petrie Museum 'orbis', a preserved hairpiece which closely recalls the tiers of this Trajanic woman's hair.⁹⁵ This hairpiece was constructed with the aid of 62 bronze pins, which clearly worked as an opulent construction, a decorative piece of display. As this example reveals, hairpieces could function as ornamental extensions, much like jewellery and other decorative elements.⁹⁶ Hairpieces of this time would have successfully signalled the wearer's affluence and must have been effective status markers in fashionable, elite Roman society.

This evidence indicates that Roman hairpieces transcended purely practical concerns and functioned as fashionable accessories - blatant and advertised to others. This is indicative of wider



Fig. 17. Fragment of a mid-3rd century relief, from Dacia. Turda, Muzeul de Istorie (photo © Muzeul de Istorie Turda).

fashions in women's hairstyles: the proliferation of references to women dyeing their hair unnatural hues and the complex nature of Roman women's coiffures is reflective of a preference for elaborate, heavily styled and artificial designs.⁹⁷ Bartman correctly asserts that for Roman women hair was not arranged to appear naturally attractive so much as to signal the complex processes, skill, time and ultimately taste of the owner who instigated the creation.⁹⁸ The obvious contrast, frequently made in Roman reliefs and other iconography, is between the unkempt 'natural' hair of the barbarian woman and the controlled and cultivated, if artificial, styles of the fashionable Roman lady.

This is reflected by representations of seated women having their hair arranged - scenes symbolic of the cultivated and civilised private realm. For example, a sandstone pillar monument from Neumagen (Gallia Belgica), which dates to the mid-3rd century, depicts a woman having her hair dressed by multiple *ornatrices* alongside other scenes of family unity, learning and the reception of clients.⁹⁹ Depictions of this kind come from all over Empire.¹⁰⁰ For example, a terracotta statuette from El-Djem in North Africa depicts a similar scene: a woman draped in expensive clothes sits with her feet on a footstool while an *ornatrix* dresses her hair (fig. 16).¹⁰¹ In this instance the woman is wearing a Severan orb-hairstyle, of the type worn by Julia Domna in her 'Lepcis' type, with evenly pressed finger waves, which fall onto the shoulders. The way the hair sits on the head suggests that this could be a wig being styled. Finally, a fragment of a 3rd century relief from Dacia presents

a seated elite woman being attended by another woman, presumably her maid (fig. 17).¹⁰² Above her head is an etched comb which acts as a symbol of this cultivated, feminine realm. She wears a heavy orb hairstyle defined by thick finger waves. However, here the hair is drawn up the back of the head and forms a parting braid, which we see on the crown of the head. This is indicative of a mid-3rd century date. With her left hand, the maid appears to be arranging a veil, which is attached to this hairstyle. The way the style sits on the head again is suggestive of a wig.

Wigs should consequently be understood as part of the vocabulary of this elite, cultivated realm. A good wig was a clear symbol of elite luxury and wealth. However, the possession of a wig alone did not instil the wearer with *cultus*. Wigs were associated with a cultivated manner of behaviour and leisured elite lifestyle. Wearing a wig with dignity and style demanded a certain composure and elegance on the part of the wearer. Horace, for example, describes a woman's high wig falling off, while Ovid relates his dismay on being greeted by a woman who, in a rush, puts her hair on awry.¹⁰³ These instances are indicative of the obvious comic potential of wig wearing. They also reveal the genuine need to affix a wig or hair-piece correctly and the care and leisure required to wear one in a dignified fashion without mishap. To wear a wig on a day-to-day basis was to claim a certain type of refined, elite lifestyle.

The above discussion reveals the potential for wigs to express status and thus assert the refined and cultivated position of the wearer. These elite associations gave wigs important symbolic power and must in part explain their inclusion in some women's portraits. However, it remains to understand how wigs worked within their late 2nd to 3rd century context. To answer this question, it may be helpful to think about how wigs were incorporated into depictions of women in this era.

In formam deorum and wearing a wig

That wigs were understood as an appropriate costume for the cultivated Severan woman is reflected by a number of sarcophagi reliefs. For example, a sarcophagus fragment, from Rome and now in the Villa Albani, depicts a seated woman holding a stringed instrument (possibly a lyre) in her hands, a clear symbol of the cerebral private sphere.¹⁰⁴ On her head she wears a typical Late Severan wig as indicated by a deep line between the hair and around the ear and small wisps of 'real' hair escaping above the ear. In this instance the woman's

musical attribute may assimilate her with the Muses, a popular association on late 2nd to 3rd century sarcophagi, while the long strands of hair falling on to her right shoulder and the wet drapery of her tunic imbue her with the virtues of Venus.¹⁰⁵ Here the woman's instrument, divine costume and wig all contribute to the impression of her as an erudite and refined figure.¹⁰⁶

Depicting women in the guise of a goddess in order to instil them with virtue was not specific to the Severan or later 3rd century.¹⁰⁷ However, of interest here is the way that the addition of the wig allowed the patron even more effectively to layer elements of the mythical and ethereal with 'real' aspects of 3rd century female adornment and style.¹⁰⁸ This is reflected by the relatively common depiction of 3rd century women in this way. For example, a statue of a Late Severan woman, apparently discovered in the Forum in Palestrina, also depicts its subject in the guise of Venus, with large escaping tresses of hair on her shoulders falling from beneath her neat Late Severan wig (fig. 18).¹⁰⁹ Here the woman's wig is explicit, the Late Severan cap of hair has been separately carved, and care has been taken to depict an escaping fringe of 'real' hair. The two 'Venus' locks, which fall in thick bunches onto the shoulders, also appear to come from beneath the separately carved wig. Similarly two portraits of the same unidentified woman, now in the Ince Blundell and Museo Capitolino collections, depict her wearing a heavily drilled wig with parting braid, of the Late Severan style, but with large tresses framing the face and falling onto the shoulders in lustrous ringlets (figs 19-20).¹¹⁰ Here the ideal appearance of the woman has led Fittschen to suggest, I think correctly, that she is depicted in the guise of a goddess, probably Venus.¹¹¹

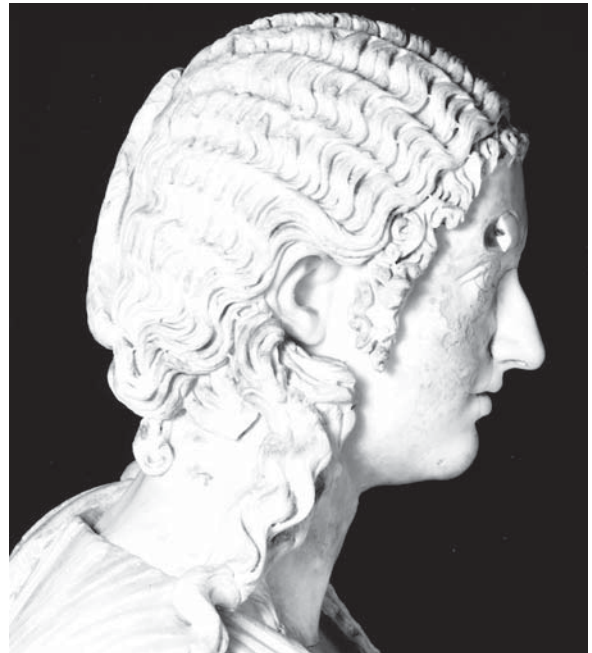
The combination of divine attributes or 'costumes' and cultivated 'real' wigs is reflective of a 3rd century focus on packing portraits with status heavy iconography.¹¹² This is exemplified by a sarcophagus, from Rome and now in the Villa Doria Pamphili (fig. 21).¹¹³ The relief depicts husband and wife half-figure bust portraits, positioned on a large shared statue base. The woman, as is customary in these depictions, is positioned behind the man and is turned towards him. Both husband and wife grasp scrolls.¹¹⁴ The postures of the portraits, shared statue base and matched attributes underline the relationship between the couple while their costumes assert the separate gender associations.¹¹⁵ This sarcophagus is indicative of a heightened 3rd century emphasis on the cultivated private sphere at the core of which was the harmony and resultant



Fig. 18. Woman depicted in the guise of Venus and wearing a wig. Late Severan. Museo Chiaramonti, Musei Vaticani (photo © Vatican Museum)

prosperity of the marital bond.¹¹⁶ This is reflected by the large numbers of sarcophagi, from all over the Roman Empire, which depict husband and wife portraits often defined by attributes or apparatus of the learned intellectual sphere.¹¹⁷

On the Doria Pamphili sarcophagus the woman's dress represents her in ideal terms with tunic slipping off her right shoulder and billowing mantle. A long 'Venus' lock falls onto her right shoulder. This tress in combination with her drapery imbues the woman with the virtues of Venus. D'Ambra has argued that 'Venus conveys



Figs 19-20. Portrait head of a 3rd century woman (ca 210-238 AD) restored on ancient but not belonging statue, front and right profile. Liverpool, Ince Blundell Hall (photos © National Museums Liverpool, World Museum).

not only standards of beauty but also....*cultus* (cultivation).¹¹⁸ Perhaps it is appropriate then that once again we find the ideal costume of Venus combined with a modish Severan wig. Juxtaposed with her toga clad husband, who grasps a scroll, symbolic of his public or more generally learned rank, the woman here expresses her cultivated status and divine virtues. Brown has argued, referring to 3rd century paired portrait *tondi* on sarcophagi, that the elite woman of this era 'had been swept, by her cultivated husband, into the charmed circle of shared excellence'.¹¹⁹ This may have been the intended impression of these paired portraits, as is reflected by the woman's often supportive role standing behind her husband. However, as Ewald and Birk have both identified, in the late 2nd to 3rd century a significant 'emotional re-evolution of the marital relationship' can be identified.¹²⁰ In this cultural context, certain forms of Roman femininity or *cultus* became representative of this world and the virtues inherent to it. For example, the scroll was an increasingly popular attribute on 3rd century sarcophagi - as often held by a woman as a man.¹²¹ It acted as shorthand for education and intellectualism, virtues symbolic of this cultivated sphere. In this cultural context the wig functioned as another important insigne of the cultivated private realm, holding symbolic value equivalent to

the lyre or scroll, or perhaps in certain contexts even more so, as the hair formed a part of a woman's day-to-day costume, an essential component of her constructed identity.

To return to the portrait bust of the young woman in the British Museum, which we began with (fig.1). If, as the raised arms suggest, the bust was depicted performing the gesture of an *orans* this would have asserted the *pietas* of the subject.¹²² *Pietas* was a central virtue in the canon of Roman feminine qualities, thus, while this bust must have been a specific commission, the gesture of *orans* would in no way have surprised the ancient viewer.¹²³ The simple wig in this context was the perfect crown for this young woman's virtuous, *cultus* laden portrayal, a symbol of *pudicitia*, taste, status and wealth.

Concealment and display

The examples of women depicted *in formam deorum* while wearing a wig reveal one final important aspect of this attribute: the ability to both conceal and display. The depiction of escaping locks 'real' and symbolic from beneath these women's wigs, vary from the subtle to the overt. However, in all instances the tension between what is displayed and what remains concealed is explicit. So what

was the purpose of this interplay between concealment and display?

A veiled woman's bust in the Metropolitan Museum, reported to come from the Greek Islands depicts its subject heavily draped (fig. 22).¹²⁴ Her confining mantle encompasses and moulds the bust: the right arm, which clasps a fold of fabric just below the neck, appears to strain against the restricting costume. *Pudicitia* is often used to refer to this posture and drapery formulation, which depict the woman veiled and, as in this bust, with her arms fully draped and one raised either to pluck at the drapery framing the face or to hold on to a fold beneath the neck.¹²⁵ The other arm is usually drawn across the waist in a further protective gesture. In this bust, despite the heavy drapery and demure pose, it is possible not only to see the outline of the breast but also the shape of the nipple beneath. Thus, the heavy drapery may generally evoke modesty but the shaped breasts and nipple are symbolic and indicative of her beauty, sexuality and fertile potential. The woman's drapery and posture consequently extol her modesty, sexuality and beauty simultaneously, but so does her hairstyle. The woman is depicted wearing a wig, as expressed by loops of 'real' hair which escape onto the cheeks. In a similar way to the veil, the wig serves a demure and modest function by covering the head and hiding the woman's natural endowments. However, it also teasingly reveals strands of the woman's natural hair beneath. In this way, the wig like the envel-

oping drapery, both conceals and displays, reinforcing not only the woman's *cultus*, but encompassed within this her *pudicitia*.¹²⁶

This emphasis on concealment and display may in part explain the effort expended to depict the increasingly simplified wigs of the Late Severan period. These cap-like coverings often seem to serve no obvious aesthetic function and the hairstyles they create could have been easily constructed with natural hair (figs 1-4).¹²⁷ We may wonder then what was the symbolic function of these woman's wig, if not to embellish and adorn the woman's portrait?

Myerowitz Levine, in her discussion of ancient Mediterranean hair dressing practices, compares ultraorthodox Jewish customs of wig wearing to other ancient forms of female veiling.¹²⁸ Wigs in this context act as symbols of the wearer's chastity and moral integrity.¹²⁹ To avoid anachronism it is important to remember that these cultural practices, while part of the same Mediterranean cultural milieu, are separated by centuries and are not directly related. Further, some Hasidic Jewish women take this transformative custom even further through the removal and thus rejection of the woman's natural hair beneath. Nevertheless, this comparison reminds us of the utility of the wig to cover and conceal the woman's hair in much the same way as a veil might. Yet, as exemplified by the Late Severan woman's head in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, these Roman portraits were not content with simply disguising the wom-



Fig. 21. Sarcophagus front, from Rome, ca 200-220 AD. Rome, Villa Doria Pamphili (photo D-DAI-ROM-7683).



Fig. 23. Veiled bust of a woman, ca 190-220 AD, front. New York, The Metropolitan Museum (photo (CC) The Metropolitan Museum, New York).

an's hair, but instead tease the viewer with escaping sections of beautifully styled locks (figs 2-4).

To draw another modern comparison, contemporary trends for 'modest fashion' amongst Islamic women - for example the Dolce & Gabbana hijab¹³⁰ - simultaneously assert the woman's modesty and expresses her fashionable status and wealth.¹³¹ These customs may not be historically related, but they reflect the same paradoxical preoccupations with concealing feminine beauty in order to assert the woman's moral austerity, particularly her modesty and associated chastity, and the equally

important desire to express the woman's beauty, taste and status. In the Roman imperial period this was a continual balancing act, subject to context and period trends. Wigs were important instruments in this ideological politics of feminine concealment and display.

The effect of many of these Late Severan hairstyles is ostentatiously modest. The simple cap-like hairstyles served a dual purpose: creating an understated modest appearance, while ensuring that the true beauty, status and ultimately *cultus* of the subject would not be overlooked. The wig

amplified this process. Just as was the case for other categories of ancient hair coverings, wigs could simultaneously adorn and veil the woman's head. This adornment consequently offered a spectrum of ideological possibilities for the wearer from modest concealment to overt display. This versatility must in part explain the popularity of the wig for expressing virtue and *cultus* in the late 2nd to 3rd century AD.

CONCLUSION

Traditionally, scholarship has defined the 3rd century as an era of 'crisis' and art of this period as expressing a hegemonic anxiety.¹³² This interpretation has largely been subject to revision and the whole nature and extent of the 3rd century 'crisis' has been redefined and problematized.¹³³ Nevertheless, the portraiture and iconography of this era is still dominated by a focus on the militaristic and vigorous masculine aspects of the male portraits. For example, Zanker, in his discussion of the reduction of mythical scenes on sarcophagi in the 3rd century, argues that while 2nd century art was preoccupied with the 'concept of *otium* as cultivated enjoyment', 3rd century art was defined by a 'new seriousness', as expressed most powerfully in the portraits of Caracalla.¹³⁴ Further, he suggests that the popularity of pastoral and 'philosophical' scenes on 3rd century sarcophagi may be indicative of a kind of iconographic escapism: 'coping strategies as the traditional concepts of the self faltered.'¹³⁵ However, as Borg has countered, these iconographic choices need not be symptomatic of emotional realignment or a psychologically charged cultural response to instability.¹³⁶ Instead, in the late 2nd to 3rd century we can identify a renewed desire to use portraiture to stress composite aspects of 3rd century elite status, most notably the luxury, and *cultus* of the learned private sphere. In this context depictions of women wearing wigs are symptomatic of the 3rd century desire to move away from allegorical and subtle assertions of feminine virtue to overt representations of elite status and position.

Third century women's portraits, far from being expressive of spiritual escapism or emotional turmoil caused by 'crisis', acted as a means of reconfirming a canon of well-established feminine virtues. Wigs were versatile attributes, adornments of wealth, status and ultimately feminine *cultus*. Further, their relationship to the woman's hair, the traditional focus for expressions of Roman female identity, gave wigs an expressive power. The perfect locus where the real and artificial could blend.

NOTES

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¹ My thanks to Dr. Susan Walker for discussing this portrait with me and for her suggestion that its arms were raised in a gesture of *orans*.

² For list of Julia Mamaea's 26 identified portraits: Fittschen/Zanker 1983, nos 33, 30-32. Wiggers/Wegner 1971, 200-217. Bergmann 1977, 29-30.

³ London, British Museum, inv. 1879,0712.13. Consists of two parts: (1) the ancient bust and head, which are carved from one block of white marble; (2) the modern foot. Purchased in 1879 from Alessandro Castellani, a Roman collector and dealer, indicating a probable Roman/Italian provenance. H: 68.6 cm. Smith 1904, 190-191, no 2009, 18, pl. 18 (unidentified woman C. 220); Bergmann 1977, 94, n. 388, 98; Wood 1986, 53-54, n. 21, fig. 17 (time of Elagabalus); Meischner 2001, 32, fig. 58 (218-225).

⁴ A wig may be defined as a covering for the whole head; a hairpiece as an addition designed to supplement the real hair on the head.

⁵ Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 109 n. 3.

⁶ For example: Mart. Ep. 12.23; 14.26; 27. Ov. Am. 1.14.45-6. V. Inf. . 42, 85, 86, 87, 97.

⁷ 'Petrie Orbis' and wig of Aebutia V. Inf. n. 81. For further examples of preserved hairpieces and wigs, from Egypt, see Fletcher 1995, esp. 414-419.

⁸ L'Orange 1973, 92; Wood 1986, 43; Smith 1997, 196-197.

⁹ Baharal 1992, esp. 118; Ehrenheim 1999; Fittschen 1978.

¹⁰ Roman beards and their meaning: Walker 1991; Zanker 1995, 198-266 (Hadrian's beard); Smith 1997, 196-7 (3rd century 'campaign beard'); Smith 1998, esp. 59-63 and 78-84 (2nd century beards); Vout 2006, esp. 99-101 and 115-123; Vout 2010, 56; Zanker/Ewald 2012, 259.

¹¹ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 825, H: 45 cm, tip of nose restored. Poulsen 1951, no 755 (Julia Paula); Poulsen 1974, no 145; Wood 1986, 52-53 fig.16; Johansen 1995, vol. 3 60-61, no 20.

¹² Louvre Inv. MR 638. Consists of two parts: (1) the head and draped bust sculpted from one piece of Luna marble; (2) the modern *tabula* and foot. H: 66.5 cm. Acquired by the Louvre from the Borghese collection in 1808. Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 27-28, no 28, replica no 12; Kersauser 1996, 360-361, no 165; Martinez 2004, 327, no 0628.

¹³ On Julia Domna (JD)'s portrait types: Fittschen/Zanker 1983, no 28, 27-28: list of 39 identified portraits.

¹⁴ For example, Bloomington bust of JD, Indiana University Art Museum, inv. 75.33.1. Consists of two parts: (1) the head and bust carved out of the same block of fine-grained white marble; (2) modern foot. H: 67.5 cm. Fittschen 1975, 153-154, with images. Kleiner/Matheson 2000, 81, no 42-43 with images; Marlowe 2013, 41-42, fig. 9. Also see the statue of JD in the Antalya Museum which depicts her with escaping curls of hair both on the cheeks and on the forehead: inv. A 3262, H: 1.98 m. Alexandridis 2004, 199, No 217, pl. 49, 1.

- ¹⁵ For useful summary of JD's Lepcis style see Ehrenheim 1999.
- ¹⁶ Stockholm National Museum Inv. NM SK 134. Consists of three parts: (1) head broken off and reattached (ancient); (2) the bust (ancient); (3) foot (modern). The head and bust are carved from the same fine crystalline yellowish-white marble and belong together as indicated by size and fit. H: 26.5 cm (excl. modern foot H: 5 cm). Given to the museum by Prince Oscar in 1868, he had, in turn, received it from F.W. Spiegelthal, the Swedish and Norwegian Vice-Consul in Smyrna. Spiegelthal participated in French excavations in Syria, Palestine and, as consul for Prussia, at Bin Tepe outside Sardis (1853). It is possible then that the bust came from any of these contexts (Ehrenheim 1999, 27-45, figs 1-5).
- ¹⁷ For a demonstration of how the Gabii and Lepcis styles may have been created using natural hair and ancient tools see Stephens 2008 and Stephens' YouTube channel: www.youtube.com/user/jntvstp?feature=watch.
- ¹⁸ Musei Capitolini Inv. 681, The head, bust, *tabula* and foot are complete and were carved from the same block of ochre white marble. H: 79 cm. Jones 1912, 305, no 59, fig. 75 (JD); Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 101-102, no 148, pl. 176-177 (mid-Severan).
- ¹⁹ For example, bust in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 725, H: 45 cm (with separately worked hairpiece). Acquired in 1888 at Hoffmann's auction in Paris. Fittschen 1982, 87, no 4 pl. 55.1-4: Crispina's second portrait type = post 180 AD. Johansen 1995, vol. 2, 236-237 no 98.
- ²⁰ For example see: Bust of an early Antonine woman, Museo Capitolino, Inv. 667, H: 63 cm; Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 74-75, no 97, pls 121-122 (Early Antonine); Bust of a mid-Antonine woman, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Inv. 856. Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 88 no 122, pls 154-155 (mid-Antonine); Head of an Antonine woman (imperial?) Museo Capitolino, Inv. 336, H: 26.5 cm, nose, bust and bustfoot have been restored. Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 26-27, no 26, pls 35-36 (Antonine imperial woman time of Lucius Verus).
- ²¹ Fittschen 2005, 88-95.
- ²² Hirst/Salapata 2004, 147.
- ²³ Many explanations have been given for these separately carved hairpieces: Gauckler 1910, 378-408 religious function; Used by women to keep their portrait up-to-date with fashion: Kleiner/Matheson 1996, 174. Argument largely rejected: Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 105.
- ²⁴ Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 104-6, no 155 n. 4. Also Fittschen 2005.
- ²⁵ Schauenburg 1967, 58; Fittschen 2005, 88-95.
- ²⁶ Württembergisches Landesmuseum, inv. 67/19, H: 59 cm. Hausmann 1975, 49-51, 127-128, no 16, 103-104, pls 49-51; Schlüter 1971, 167; Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 27-28, no 28; replica 29; Stutzinger 1983, 382-383, no 2; Baharal 1992, 110-118.
- ²⁷ For example, bust of a woman from Arausio (modern Orange) in Neuchâtel, Laténium parc et musée d'archéologie, inv. F-Orange-7, H: 73 cm. Sections of the hair, at the back of the head, have been separately carved and pieced, attached with plaster. Espérandieu (et.al.) 1925, 118, no 6741; Meischner 2001, 32, fig. 51 (218-225). Many examples like this see Hirst/Salapata (2004) and Herrmann (1991) for further discussion.
- ²⁸ Museo Capitolino, inv. 462, H: 68 cm. Bernoulli 1894, 46 (JD); Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 99-100, no 145, pl. 173-174 (Fittschen); Meischner 2001, 27 (207-218).
- ²⁹ Frankfurt, Liebieghaus, inv. 1503, H: 33 x W: 72 cm. Andreae 1965, 509; Schauenburg 1967: 45-63, figs 1-2 (ca 200 AD). Schauenburg (47 n. 18, figs 3-4) compares to portrait head of a woman wearing a separately carved hairpiece in Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano (inv. 564). Crawford 1917, 113 no 46; Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 106-107 no 155, n. 4 no 26; Fittschen 2005, 88-89, n. 19, figs 2-3: wig does not belong to current head.
- ³⁰ Bartman 2001, 1. Not always the case: *nero antico* Antonine woman's hairpiece also in the Museo Capitolino, (Inv. 469. Fittschen/Zanker 1983: 83, no 113, pl. 142-3, on a modern alabaster bust) the escaping curls in front of the ears and at the neck are carved out of the coloured stone as well as the rest of the hairstyle. There is consequently no distinction between 'natural' and false/foreign hair.
- ³¹ Many Late Antonine to Early Severan examples could be considered ambiguous. For example, an early Severan woman's head on a bust which belongs (?) from Rome, in Museo Capitolino, inv. 661, Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 95, no 138, pl. 164-165. Depicts woman wearing large orb hairstyle with chequerboard plaited bun which covers the entirety of the back of the head. The hair 'sits' on the head, but there is no deep drilled line around the parting and no escaping 'real' hair.
- ³² For example: Trajanic portrait bust, H: 53 cm Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 775, Johansen 1995, vol. 2 178-179; Trajanic woman's bust, H: 57 cm. The Metropolitan Museum inv. 14.130.7, Richter 1915, 24, fig. 2, Bartman, 2001, 20, n. 106, Zanker 2016, no 75, 191, 204-5; Trajanic woman's head, 31 cm The Metropolitan Museum inv. 20.200. Thimme 1976, 130, no 99. Bartman 2001, 11, pl.1, Zanker 2016, nos 78, 191, 210-12.
- ³³ Wegner 1956; Mannsperger 1998, esp. 70-75; Fittschen 1996.
- ³⁴ Bartman 2001, 10-11.
- ³⁵ For example: the bust of Aurelia Monnina, from Rome, recarved from a Severan woman's bust, AD 260s-270s / AD c. 193-217, H: 78 cm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. SK 444. Tieck 1832, 37, no 307; Blümel 1933, 49-50, 118; Bergmann 1977, 96-97, n. 397 (Gallienic date); Savoy 2011, no 50.
- ³⁶ Inv. 824, H: 34 cm. Poulsen 1951, no 751. Johansen 1995, 160-161, no 69.
- ³⁷ I agree with Bergmann's dating which places this in the Late Gallienic era (1977, 97, pl. 31.1-2).
- ³⁸ Rome, Centrale Montemartini (storage), inv. 2767, H: 55 cm. Bergmann 1977, 94-95, 97-98, 189, pl. 31.5 (Gallienic). Bergmann groups with head in Compiègne (Musée Vivenel, Esperandieu V 147, no 3900) and one in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (inv. 751) as they share the same geometrical shaped head and wiry chiselled strands of hair. Fittschen/Zanker 1983 114-115, no 172, pl. 201-202 (Late Gallienic).
- ³⁹ Twenty year old: Mummy no 58.2.2.4, Dundand et. al. 1992, 142, pl. 33.3-4; Fletcher 1995, 37-38, n. 31. Seven year old: Mummy no 20.2.1.4, Dundand/Lichtenberg 1991, 92-93; Dundand et. al. 1992, 51-52, pl. 24; Fletcher 1995, 37-38, n. 30. Compare to a strip hairpiece of leather and hair found in a burial context in Les Martres-de-Veyre (Audollent 1921, 163).
- ⁴⁰ Fletcher 1995, 37-38.
- ⁴¹ Fletcher 1994, 31-33; Fletcher 1995, 38.
- ⁴² Ov. *Ars am.* 1.14.45-50. For discussion: Olson 1999, 139 n. 119.
- ⁴³ For example the 'Fonseca' bust, (Museo Capitolino, inv. 434. H. (ancient): 39. Bust is modern. Fittschen/Zanker 1983 53-4, no 69, pls 86-7) famous example of the built-up Flavian hairstyle = at the centre of debates con-

- cerning whether these hairstyles could have been achieved with real hair.
- ⁴⁴ Bartman 2001, 105, no 1, 7-8.
- ⁴⁵ Stephens 2008, 119.
- ⁴⁶ *v. Sup.* n. 17.
- ⁴⁷ *v. Sup.* ns. 36-38.
- ⁴⁸ *v. Sup.* n. 12 and n. 16, figs 5-7
- ⁴⁹ For example: a gold aureus in the British Museum, mint of Rome, RIC4 578.
- ⁵⁰ Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Inv. GE 236, W: 10.6 x 16.3 cm. Megow 1987, 270 no B52, Pl. 46.8.
- ⁵¹ Displayed alongside the statue of her uncle L. Antonius Claudius Domestinus Diogenes, framing the doors to the city's council house. Smith 1998, 66-68; Smith 2006, 216-219, fig. 19, pls 76-77 (Lenaghan/Smith).
- ⁵² Wearing a wig: Smith 2006, 218 (Lenaghan/Smith).
- ⁵³ Hekler 1912, 44; Neugebauer 1936, 170; Hinks 1976, 85: Assyrian tradition imported by JD.
- ⁵⁴ Gauckler 1910, 378-408; Crawford 1917, 104-105, n. 3; Schauenburg 1967, 55, n. 73.
- ⁵⁵ For example, grave relief of Nardine 'aus Aleppo', from Antiochia. St. Petersburg, Hermitage, inv. A 450. Parlasca 1982, 17, n. 175, pl. 19.3 (Antonine).
- ⁵⁶ Beirut National Museum, inv. V 564. H: 1.98 m. Parlasca 1982, 19-20, n. 204, pl. 22.3; 23.1-2.
- ⁵⁷ Adoption of the wig as an Eastern, Assyrian fashion: Hekler 1912, 44; Neugebauer 1936, 170; Becatti 1966, 362; Hinks 1976, 85; Hill 1964, 8-9; Nodelman 1965, 116, 124. Baharal 1992, 110-120.
- ⁵⁸ Suet. *Ner.* 26; Juv. *Sat.* 6. 120-124. Olson 1999, 139 n.117.
- ⁵⁹ Petron. *Sat.* 110; Caligula is also described wearing a wig of this type (Suet. *Calig.* 11).
- ⁶⁰ Bartman 2001, 1-25.
- ⁶¹ Baharal, 1992, esp. 118; Ehrenheim 1999; Fittschen 1978.
- ⁶² For example, compare with bust of Faustina Minor in the Museo Capitolino (inv. 250), Fittschen/Zanker 1983, no 20, pl. 27.
- ⁶³ *v. Sup.* n. 18 and fig. 7.
- ⁶⁴ *v. Sup.* n. 2.
- ⁶⁵ *v. Inf.* n. 127.
- ⁶⁶ D'Ambra 2013; D'Ambra 2014, 162.
- ⁶⁷ *Ov. Medic.* 1-10 (translation Johnson 2016, 44)
- ⁶⁸ *Hor. Sat.* I.8.48-9; Juv. *Sat.* 6 esp. 501-504; Mart. *Ep.* 2. 66, 9. 37.
- ⁶⁹ D'Ambra 2014, 163.
- ⁷⁰ Johnson 2016, 16.
- ⁷¹ Johnson 2016, 16.
- ⁷² Johnson 2016 excellent commentary on this text, esp. relevant to discussions of Ovid's use of *cultus* 47-58. Also see Bonfante 1994, 6.
- ⁷³ *Ov. Medic.* 15-25 (translation Johnson 2016, 44).
- ⁷⁴ *v. sup.* n. 68.
- ⁷⁵ Fejfer 2008, 352.
- ⁷⁶ Bartman 2001; D'Ambra 2013, 163-175; Olson 2008, esp. 71-75.
- ⁷⁷ *v. Sup.* n. 29.
- ⁷⁸ Jucker 1961: identifies acanthus leaf bust supports as a motif specific to the funerary sphere. Also see Freyer-Schauenburg (1980, 118-125) who has updated and discussed Jucker's original groups of foliage supports.
- ⁷⁹ Myerowitz Levine 1995, 110-111.
- ⁸⁰ Olson 2008, ch. 4, esp. 106-112.
- ⁸¹ I owe the inclusion of this example to Dr. Joan Fletcher who was asked to consult on this find as part of a documentary: 'Carvilius: the Mummy of Rome' / 'Carvilius, un enigma dall'antica Roma' GA&A productions for National Geographic, www.youtube.com/watch?v=cwJ5nVvRNag.
- ⁸² Stevens Cox 1977, 67-70. Mummy wig, New Kingdom. Found in Deir el-Bahri BM, inv. EA2560. Strudwick 2006, 194-195; Bartman 2001, 14 n.69: wig.
- ⁸³ Stevens Cox 1977, 70, fig.2.
- ⁸⁴ *Dig.* 39, 4.16.7.
- ⁸⁵ Mart. *Ep.* 14.27 (translation Bailey, 1993) n. 27: tribe of the Chatti in the area of Wiesbaden or perhaps 'from Mat-tium', their settlement.
- ⁸⁶ *Ov. Am.* 1.14.45-46; Mart. *Ep.* 14.26. For discussion see Bartman 2001: 14, nos 70-71.
- ⁸⁷ Mart. *Ep.* 14.26.
- ⁸⁸ Mart. *Ep.* 5.68.
- ⁸⁹ Bradley 2009 on hair and colour, 174-178.
- ⁹⁰ Schauenburg 1967, 57.
- ⁹¹ For example, Severan woman's head carved from white marble with separately carved wig made of onyx marble, H: 29 cm, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Inv. 2741. Johansen 1995, vol. 3 54-55. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek: Bergmann (1981, 184) and Sande (1991, 81 no 67) believed wig to be a modern fake. Detroit Institute of Arts, white marble third-century head with separately carved hair-piece in dark stone. inv. 38.41. H: 25 cm. Kleiner/Matheson 1996, 174-5, no 130 (PJED) - authentic?
- ⁹² For example: Trajanic portrait bust, H: 53 cm Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 775, Johansen 1995, vol. 2 178-179; Trajanic woman's bust, H: 57 cm. The Metropolitan Museum inv. 14.130.7, Richter 1915, 24, fig. 2, Bartman 2001, 20, n. 106; Trajanic woman's head, H: 31 cm The Metropolitan Museum. inv. 20.200. Thimme 1976, 130, no 99. Bartman 2001, 11, pl. 1.
- ⁹³ Inv. 1805,0703.96, marble head on a modern bust, H: 57 cm. Bought by Townley from Jenkins for £25. Originally identified as Sabina, more probably Matidia, Trajan's niece, ca 120 AD. Smith 1904, 158, no 1898; Wegner 1956, 123.
- ⁹⁴ Bartman 2001, 10 n. 52: notes that modern stylists use cheesecloth or wire mesh to create a similar effect.
- ⁹⁵ Petrie Museum, inv. UC7833. Petrie 1927, 5, pl. 4; Corson 1965, 74; Allason-Jones 2005, 135; Fletcher 1995, 345, n.42, figs 819-820. Fletcher 2000, 499, fig. 20.4.b.; Fletcher 2002, 5.
- ⁹⁶ Berg 2002.
- ⁹⁷ Pliny's *HN* is especially informative on the topic of hair pigments: 32.67-68 (black), 30.134 (remedy for grey hair), 28.191 (red). Mart. *Ep.* 8.33.20 and 14.26 (to lighten hair). For further discussion of references to Roman hair dye in the literary record see: Olson 1999, 138-139 and Allason-Jones 2005, 133.
- ⁹⁸ Bartman 2001, 5-7.
- ⁹⁹ Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, inv. NM 184. Kampen 1981, 150 no 32, fig. 50. Scenes of this type seem to have been reasonably popular in this region between the 2nd and 3rd century AD, for example also in Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, inv. NM 314 and 462. Kampen 1981, nos 33, 35. Wilhelm 1932, pl. 34, 184 a; pl. 38, 185a12.
- ¹⁰⁰ For a compilation of *ornatus* scenes see Schumka 2000, 262-265, nos. 86-100 and Kampen 1981. For example the fragment of a late third-century sarcophagus from Isola Sacra depicts a woman in a tub-chair while three servants attend her - one stands behind her and styles her hair. Found in 1977 at S. Ippolito on the Isola Sacra. L. 193, H: 35 cm. Amedick, 1991, 136, no 86, pl. 107. 2-4; Schumka 2000, 263, no 90.
- ¹⁰¹ Louvre, inv. CA 3262, H: 135 cm. Kampen 1981, 152, no 38, fig. 85. Giroire/Roger 2007, 127, no 59 (Mathieux)
- ¹⁰² Muzeul de Istorie Turda. Micheli/Santoucci, 2011, 32, II 24.
- ¹⁰³ *Hor., Sat.* 1.45; *Ov. Ars am.* 245.

- ¹⁰⁴ Inv. 243, marble fragment, 108 x 57 cm. Bol 1998, 128-130, no 614, pl. 46 (C. Maderna-Lauter). Amedick 1991, 158, no 230, pl. 8.3.
- ¹⁰⁵ On women in the guise of Muses: Zanker 1995, 272; Huskinson 1999; Zanker/Ewald 2012, 234-237; Birk 2013, 133; Mols/Moormann 2016, 57-58. For alternative interpretations of Roman women in the guise of Venus see: Wrede 1981, 202 no 19 (long locks of hair like this indications of posthumous idealization or even deification); Zanker/Ewald 2012, 195-199; D'Ambra 1996 and 2000; Mols/Moormann 2016, esp. 44-46, 55-56.
- ¹⁰⁶ Birk 2013, 73-89: the learned figure.
- ¹⁰⁷ Mols/Moormann 2016 43 n. 121: earliest depiction of a woman in the guise of Venus, nude statue of Flavian woman (ca 70-80 AD), Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 711.
- ¹⁰⁸ Also see statue of a woman in the guise of Venus-Hercules, AD 200-225, Vatican Museums, Museo Gregoriano Profano. Mols/Moormann 2016, 55-56 n. 195, ill. 15: woman depicted wearing fashionable Severan hairstyle, divine 'costume' and attributes: 'compressed here into one figure, which gave her the qualities of Venus and Hercules.' For alternative interpretation see Zanker 1999 (identifies as Omphale).
- ¹⁰⁹ Musei Vaticani, Museo Chiaramonti, inv. 1306. Lippold, 1936, 743-744, pl. 80; Andrae/Köhler/Anger 1995, pls 1014-1018: discovered in 1778. Restored between 1779-1780 by Gaspare Sibilla.
- ¹¹⁰ Ince Blundell collection, Liverpool, inv. 59.148.52, portrait head restored on ancient, but not belonging, statue. H: 2.05 m. Ashmole 1927, 29, no 52, pl. 40; Fejfer 1991, 41-44, no 9, fig. 20-1; Capitolino: portrait head, probably cut from a statue, inv. 401. H: 38.5 cm. Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 109-110, no 163, pls 190.2-3 and 191 (probably wearing a wig, date first third of the third century). Bergmann 1977, 95, n. 396.
- ¹¹¹ Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 109, n. 163; Fejfer 1991, 43-44, n. 12: could also be a copy of a portrait mounted on a Venus type statue.
- ¹¹² Birk 2013, 70.
- ¹¹³ Villa Doria Pamphili, garden, L: 189 cm. Calza 1977, 295-297 no 3691, pl. 205 (wears a wig, based on drapery dates between AD 235-245); Kranz 1984, 208-209, no 86, pl. 48.1.
- ¹¹⁴ Birk 2013, 76: in the third century AD the scroll became a symbol of both the learned man and woman.
- ¹¹⁵ On gender roles on Roman sarcophagi: Zanker/Ewald 2012, 195-197; Birk 2013, ch. 3.
- ¹¹⁶ Ewald 2003, 569; Zanker/Ewald 2012, 252-263; Birk 2013, esp. 151-155; Borg 2013, 182-199.
- ¹¹⁷ For example, compare to sarcophagus front from Rome, displayed at the Villa Albani, in the wall of the *Galleria della Leda*. Depicts husband with military attributes, thus asserting his *virtus*, next to wife in the guise of Venus. Inv. 435, L: 224, H: 107 cm. Bol 1992, 303-306, no 368, pls 196-203 (C. Gasparri): dates to mid third century; Reinsberg 2006: no 123, pls 39.2; 41.1-2; 45.1-4. 'Balbinus' Sarcophagus: ca 240 AD. Rome, Praetextatus Catacomb. Borg 2013, 183, ns. 100-101, 87-88 (archaeological context) fig. 113. Reinsberg 2006, I. 3, 29-32, 107-109, 213-214, no 73, pls. 38, 39.1, 40, 42-43, 127.1. 'Brother's' sarcophagus: ca 270 AD. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 6603. Borg 2013, 190-191, n. 128, fig. 119. Reinsberg 2006, I.3, 54, 142-144, 203, no 36, pls 78.3, 83.4-6, 84-86, 87.1-4, 121.2, 127.3. Also see large numbers of garland sarcophagi at Aphrodisias which frequently depict husband wife paired portrait busts, Smith 2008 and Ögüs, 2014.
- ¹¹⁸ D'Ambra 2000, 102. Mols/Moormann 2016, 46 n. 138.
- ¹¹⁹ Brown 1988, 14.
- ¹²⁰ Birk 2013, 151-152 after Ewald 2003, 569.
- ¹²¹ Birk 2013, 76.
- ¹²² Alexandridis 2004, 79-8.
- ¹²³ For example, JD is twice attested performing the *orans* gesture: Alexandridis 2004, 80 nos 224 and 217, pls 50.3 and 49.1: panel relief on the gate of Argentarii and statue Antalya Museum, inv. A 3262, H: 1.98 m. In both instances only one arm would have been raised with the palm towards the viewer.
- ¹²⁴ H: 66 cm. inv. 30.11.11. Langlotz 1930, 4, no 28, pl. 13; Alexander 1931, 62-63, figs.1-4; McCann, 1978, 43, fig. 44 (first half of the third century AD); Mertens et.al. 1987, 144, fig. 112 (Severan). Zanker 2016 no 86, 189, 192, 225-226.
- ¹²⁵ *Pudicitia* type, Greek Origins: Dillon 2010, 87-91. Matheson 1996, 182-193: for the use of ideal mythological drapery formulations in Roman women's portraits to allude to symbolic types and ideals. This statue type went out of fashion in the early 2nd century AD, however, some later examples exist, for example: the Severan portrait statue of a woman in *pudicitia* pose in the Museo Capitolino, Salone 15, inv. 636. H. (without plinth): 1.81 m. Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 97-98, no 141, pl. 168. Face heavily cleaned and worked over as reflected by the loss of surface detail. Head and statue are unbroken.
- ¹²⁶ See Petron. *Sat.* 10-13: humorous tale of the widow of Ephesos for a good exemplar of *pudicitia*; Also Seneca, *Contr.* 2.7.3, on how a woman should best express *pudicitia*. Langlands 2006, discussion of the virtue of *pudicitia*.
- ¹²⁷ See also two 'wigged' Late Severan portraits in the Museo Capitolino: bust of a woman (inv. 428, on Pavonazetto bust (belongs?)), H: 86 cm. Fittschen/Zanker 1983, vol. 3, 108-109, no 162, pl. 189-190 and colour pl.; Meischner 2001, 58, fig. 156 (AD 260-270); head of woman (inv. 380, H: 33 cm, Fittschen/Zanker 1983, 108 no 161, pls 187-188 (Late Severan) has been identified as Julia Paula, but her hairstyle does not support this (see Wiggers/Wegner 1971, 167-173, pl. 42). Fittschen (1983, 108 n. 2) could be wearing a wig, but not certain in this instance.
- ¹²⁸ Known in Yiddish as a *sheitel* worn by orthodox Ashkenazic Jews. Myerowitz Levine, 1995.
- ¹²⁹ On the wearing of wigs by Jewish women: Weiss 2009; Fuchs 2012. Also Levine 1995, esp. 105: 'In Rabbinic texts, covered hair is the hallmark of female chastity in marriage'.
- ¹³⁰ Dolce & Gabbana 'Abaya collection' 2016-2017.
- ¹³¹ On the meaning and ideological function of Islamic veils: Fadil 2011; Zahedi, 2007 (Iran); Berger 1998.
- ¹³² Bianchi Bandinelli 1971, 1-21; L'Orange 1965, 1973, esp. 92; Wood 1981 and 1986, esp. 43 and 78.
- ¹³³ Bergmann 1977; Smith 1988 (review of Wood); Smith 1997, esp. 179-184; Bauer/Witschel (eds) 2007; Borg 2013; Smith/Swain/Harrison/Elsner (eds) 2007; Smith/Ward-Perkins (eds) 2016.
- ¹³⁴ Zanker/Ewald 2012, 259-262.
- ¹³⁵ Zanker/Ewald 2012, 262-263.
- ¹³⁶ Borg 2013, 178.

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E-CONTENT

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‘Ed era io stesso presente’ Giovanni Mariti fra Cipro e l’Italia: una scoperta a Larnaca ed una donazione all’Accademia Etrusca di Cortona (1767-1776)

Luca Bombardieri

Abstract

*Giovanni Mariti provides an account of the same archaeological discovery both in his Viaggi and in the later Dissertazione storico-critica. The episode, occurred in Larnaca in 1767, might be interpreted as evidence of the interest for the emerging traces of ancient Kition (and, more generally, for the early history of Cyprus) increasingly perceived in that period. In this wider context, Mariti firstly acted as a ‘participant observer’ and then as an antiquity dealer. Indeed, he collected some of the objects he found at Larnaca and transferred them to Italy in order to partially donate them to the Accademia Etrusca in Cortona. Arguably, this particular aspect also denotes a peculiar change of role in Mariti’s attitude from connoisseur to collector.**

A due cugini toscani si devono le prime notizie ‘archeologiche’ circostanziate che dall’isola di Cipro arrivavano in Italia. Entrambi viaggiatori e prolifici reporter, Giovanni Mariti prima ed in seguito Domenico Sestini viaggiano e soggiornano sull’isola nel corso della seconda metà del XVIII secolo, rispettivamente fra il 1760 ed il 1768 e nel 1783. La ricchezza e la varietà delle informazioni che possiamo ricavare dai loro resoconti di viaggio sono già riconosciute dai contemporanei ed ancora oggi arricchiscono significativamente la nostra conoscenza dell’isola nei suoi aspetti più vari e disparati, dalla cronaca politica, alla botanica e all’agricoltura, dalla geografia umana e linguistica all’etnografia e al folklore, fino all’archeologia e all’antiquaria.

La diffusione di ‘scavi archeologici’ sull’isola non è una novità di questo periodo. Se si escludono i casi di ritrovamenti sporadici di monete da parte del mercante fiorentino Alessandro Rinuccini e le iscrizioni trascritte a Cipro da Ciriaco di Ancona alla metà del XV secolo, tutte attualmente disperse e su cui gravano non poche difficoltà di attribuzione,¹ nell’ultima fase del dominio veneziano l’attività di ‘scavo’ aveva già assunto l’aspetto di un fenomeno dilagante a Cipro. In questo periodo, numerosi racconti odeporeici documentano l’esplorazione di siti archeologici con l’intento esplicito di recuperare materiali antichi, che rapidamente divengono popolari *souvenir* per pellegrini e, su scala maggiore, feticci antiquari a cui riconoscere un valore nel processo di legitti-

mazione ideologica dell’aristocrazia della Serenissima.² Sebbene risulti chiaro che Cipro fosse una fonte privilegiata di antichità per rifornire il mercato antiquario veneziano, rimane incerto tuttavia ricostruire l’arrivo in Italia di singoli manufatti in questo periodo.

I soli due casi documentabili ed ipotizzabili sono legati all’attività di Giovanni Maria Bembo, capitano di Famagosta fra il 1546 ed il 1548, e del suo successore ed in seguito luogotenente dell’isola Giovanni Renier. Il primo dei due personaggi è legato dalle cronache alla leggenda del cosiddetto ‘Sepolcro di Venere’, collocato per sua volontà a Famagosta;³ a lui medesimo successivamente si attribuisce l’arrivo a Venezia di un coperchio di sarcofago, oggi parte delle collezioni del Museo Correr.⁴ Più certe appaiono le notizie, suffragate questa volta da fonti contemporanee, relative alla spedizione del celebre ‘Sarcofago delle Amazzoni’, rinvenuto a Soli, spedito a Venezia da Ranier nel 1558 ed oggi, dopo numerosi ricostruibili passaggi, conservato presso il Kunsthistorisches Museum di Vienna.⁵

Con il passaggio dell’isola sotto l’egida della Sublime Porta e nei due secoli successivi, pur nel mutato quadro degli equilibri e dei rapporti con l’Occidente, non si rilevano inversioni di tendenza nell’attività di riscoperta dell’antichità dell’isola, tanto in termini di ricostruzione erudita che di attività di esplorazione sul campo.

Nel quadro degli accresciuti interessi per le antichità dell’isola nel Settecento, un ruolo di

primo piano, come detto, è certamente ricoperto dai due viaggiatori toscani Mariti e Sestini.

Più ricca è la messe di informazioni che si ricava dall'opera di Mariti che a Cipro trascorre un periodo significativo della sua esperienza di vita, che negli anni successivi al suo ritorno in Italia si trasforma in un punto di riferimento costante della sua opera. Sbarcato a Cipro nel 1760, Mariti prosegue inizialmente per San Giovanni d'Acri in Palestina, dove soggiorna i due anni successivi come procuratore e agente di commercio della compagnia inglese Wasson. Si trasferisce quindi nuovamente sull'isola, stabilendosi nella città di Larnaca al seguito del console inglese Timothy Turner, che ricopriva all'epoca anche l'incarico di viceconsole del Granduca di Toscana. Le relazioni di particolare favore con il console Turner consentono in breve a Mariti di assumere la carica di cancelliere del consolato, sostituendo il livornese Antonio Mondaini.

Proprio agli anni levantini è da riferire quasi per intero l'attività pubblicistica di Mariti, sia le opere di viaggio e le cronache (*Viaggi per l'isola di Cipro e per la Soria e Palestina fatti dall'anno 1760 al 1768, Istoria della guerra accesa nella Soria l'anno 1771. dall'armi di Aly-Bey dell'Egitto, Istoria della guerra della Soria proseguita sino alla fine di Aly-Bey dell'Egitto, Memorie istoriche di Monaco de' Corbizzi fiorentino Patriarca di Gerusalemme, Cronologia de' Re Latini di Gerusalemme, Dissertazione storico-critica sull'antica città di Citium, Istoria di Faccardino Grand-Emir dei Drusi, Memorie istoriche del Popolo degli Assassini e del Vecchio della Montagna loro capo e signore*), che i trattati scientifici (*Del Vino di Cipro, Della Robbia*).

Nonostante il diverso intento, è bene notare che le osservazioni naturalistiche e scientifiche sono parte rilevante negli scritti di viaggio, allo stesso modo in cui i trattati sono ricchi di note di colore. In questo equilibrio si delinea la colta divulgazione e si modula lo stile scorrevole che hanno procurato vasta eco contemporanea all'opera di Mariti, rendendolo addirittura celebre in Italia ed in tutta Europa.

La particolare suggestione dei suoi scritti deriva infatti proprio dalla percezione della sua normalità. Mariti non è un grande viaggiatore, inviato di corte, né un devoto pellegrino. È sì un uomo di cultura, membro dell'Accademia Etrusca di Cortona, Accademico dei Georgofili, ma non è uno studioso di professione. Ha interessi che spaziano e uno sguardo curioso e attento a cui si deve la capacità di vedere ciò che sfugge agli occhi del viaggiatore, condizionato dalla rapidità e dalla occasionalità, ma anche ciò che sfugge agli occhi

del pellegrino, abituato a leggere la Terra Santa alla luce di stereotipi religiosi.⁶ In un orizzonte più ristretto ed immediato gli scritti di Mariti si possono inquadrare nel clima riformatore di Pietro Leopoldo, in linea con l'impegno progressista del Granduca, come meglio mostrano i trattati scientifici che mirano evidentemente a trasmettere ad un pubblico non colto nozioni tecniche utili a ottimizzare la produzione agricola e artigianale.⁷

In un quadro più ampio la fortuna dell'opera di Mariti è anche indirettamente determinata dalle politiche espansionistiche europee in Oriente e dalle mire sull'impero turco in declino e disgregazione. È ben noto infatti lo sforzo compiuto delle cancellerie europee in quegli anni per commissionare, o promuovere opere di viaggio che potessero fornire notizie di dettaglio sulla topografia di luoghi ancora largamente inesplorati, ma anche informazioni sulle tradizioni, gli usi ed i culti e naturalmente sulle istituzioni e gli equilibri politici locali.⁸

LA MEMORIA DELL'ANTICHITÀ DI CIPRO:

FRA ERUDIZIONE ED OSSERVAZIONE PARTECIPANTE

In questo quadro, la memoria e la percezione dell'antichità dell'isola di Cipro attraversano l'opera di Mariti e quella di suo cugino l'abate Domenico Sestini, modulate sul doppio registro della ricostruzione erudita e della cronaca personale.

Il primo, certamente più convenzionale, è ottenuto attraverso il richiamo costante all'autorità degli autori antichi. Mariti fa riferimento ad una selezione ricorrente di autori nei suoi *Viaggi* e, ancor più evidentemente, nella sua opera più erudita: la *Dissertazione storico-critica sull'antica città di Citium*. In quest'ultima, oltre alla consueta *auctoritas* degli storiografi (*in primis* Plutarco, Cornelio Nepote e Giuseppe Flavio) e dei geografi antichi (Tolomeo, Strabone), Mariti ricorre al supporto di geografi e storici moderni, quali Stefano Lusignano e Tommaso Porcacchi, e al conforto delle osservazioni dei viaggiatori a lui contemporanei, in primo luogo Alexander Drummond, Richard Pococke e Carsten Niebuhr.

Come anticipato, tuttavia, la memoria dell'antichità di Cipro non è solo per Mariti un caso di erudizione libresca, ma la percezione di una esperienza personale, nata da numerose e puntuali 'osservazioni' archeologiche, che in alcuni frangenti divengono 'expertises' in prima persona.

È ancora la *Dissertazione* che ci offre, proprio per l'oggetto e per la sua natura, la più chiara esemplificazione della interrelazione dei due registri erudito e personale. Qui Mariti scrive con chiarezza:

Appoggiai allora il mio sentimento non tanto sulle rovine che ci danno un indubitato indizio d'esser stata lì quella Città, della quale inutilmente se ne cercano altrove gli avanzi, quanto ancora sulle osservazioni fatte dal Signor Cavaliere Niebuhr, uno di quei Viaggiatori stati già mandati nell'Arabia da Federico V. Re di Danimarca, e col quale nella sua permanenza fatta in Cipro nel 1766, fui più d'una volta sul luogo per meglio esaminare la cosa, giacché quanto alle rovine erano già cinque anni, che io le aveva giornalmente sotto gli occhi.⁹

Per meglio inquadrare il carattere, è bene ricordare l'occasionalità della *Dissertazione*, nata come risposta pubblica ad una lettera ricevuta da un non meglio identificato amico di Aix, il quale aveva dubitato dell'ipotesi di localizzazione dell'antica Kition, già avanzata da Mariti nei suoi *Viaggi*.¹⁰

È molto probabile che l'amico cui Mariti indirizza la *Dissertazione* sia Antonio Mondaini, *alias* Namindiù, con il quale Mariti aveva aver stretto amicizia durante il soggiorno cipriota. Namindiù è una figura importante anche per la produzione di Mariti, il quale vi si rivolge in numerose occasioni, facendo spesso affidamento su di lui come fonte fondamentale e utilissimo confronto. A Mondaini fa riferimento anche l'abate Sestini:

L'illustrazione di vari luoghi dell'Isola di Cipro si deve a due soggetti Toscani che hanno per molti anni soggiornato in questo regno, ed uno è il Sig. Giovanni Mariti Fiorentino mio amico, e cugino, e l'altro è il Sig. Antonio Mondaini Livornese, dal quale si aspettano molte interessanti notizie, e osservazioni, promettendoci di pubblicarle.¹¹

Informazioni che confermano questo stretto legame e, più in generale, gettano un po' di luce su questo enigmatico personaggio, si sono potute raccogliere grazie a un corposo manoscritto apparso nel 2003 e pubblicato per la cura di Rita Severis.¹² Il manoscritto che conta oltre 300 pagine ed è datato al 1785 contiene quattordici lettere, intercalate da alcuni componimenti in versi e accompagnate da quattro illustrazioni ad acquarello. L'autore, che utilizza lo pseudonimo Namindiù (letto anche Namindio), indica che il manoscritto è destinato a essere pubblicato a La Manon in Provence.¹³ Questa indicazione conferma che il destinatario della *Dissertazione storico-critica* e l'autore del manoscritto sono la stessa persona, lasciando ben pochi dubbi sulla identificazione fra Mondaini e Namindio (di cui è, oltretutto, anagramma perfetto).

SUL CAMPO

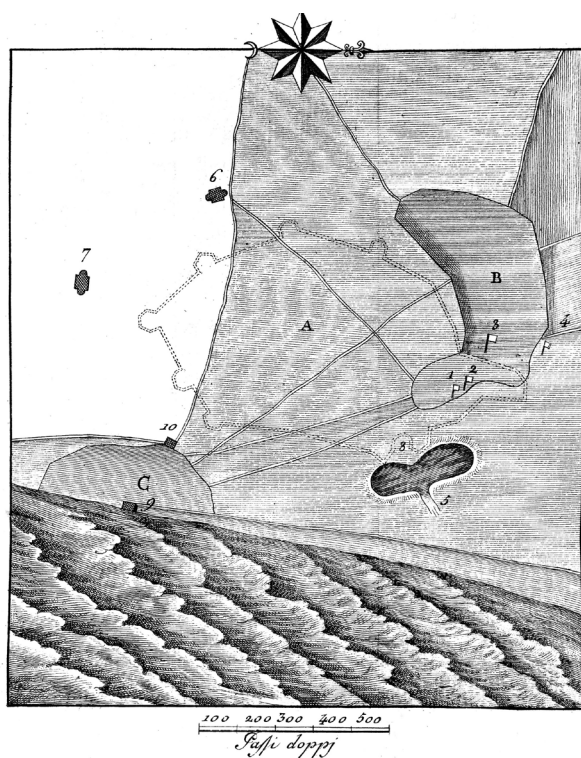
Come la gran parte degli occidentali presenti sull'isola, Mariti risiede a Larnaka, sede delle maggiori rappresentanze diplomatiche e centro del commercio internazionale sull'isola. Negli anni del suo soggiorno l'area occupata dall'antico insediamento, oggi al di sotto della moderna estensione di Larnaka e che scavi urbani regolari soltanto due secoli più tardi riveleranno corrispondere alla città di Kition, si trovava al di fuori dal tessuto urbano e costituiva, né più né meno, un cantiere aperto per il recupero di materiale edilizio da reimpiegare per la costruzione.¹⁴

L'interesse di Mariti non si esaurisce nella ricostruzione erudita, la distanza dello storico si accorcia attraverso la partecipazione in prima persona e si traduce in pratica sul campo. Mariti non promuove attivamente scavi, ma si inventa capace di relazioni convincenti per le autorità ottomane, fornendo a noi nella sua *Dissertazione* una prima carta 'archeologica', decisamente più puntuale dell'unica precedente prodotta nel 1738 da Pococke, con la localizzazione delle emergenze di cui è stato testimone e che descrive minuziosamente (Fig. 1):

Nel tempo della mia permanenza in Cipro, e più precisamente nel 1766, furono ritrovati a Setten-trione di Larnica, e in un luogo elevato molti Sarcofagi. Erano questi di una specie di tenerissimo marmo, e capaci di contenere un cadavere disteso, ma privi d'iscrizioni, ed in alcuni vi erano dentro più teste con dei piccoli vasetti di terra cotta pieni di ossa minute, che sembravano di uccelli.

Il terreno ove furono questi scoperti, apparteneva al Signore Zambelli Negoziante Veneziano, e nei quali s'imbarterono i muratori nel fare i fondamenti d'una casa, che appunto faceva lì fabbricare il detto Signore. Anzi poco mancò che tale scoperta non costasse a lui delle inquietudini, giacché i Turchi pretesero che egli avesse disturbato il riposo a dei defunti Musulmanni; ma fatto vedere che i corpi umani non vi erano disposti secondo il loro rito, e dimostrato che appartenevano a' tempi assai antichi, con qualche regalo tutto fu quietato.

Due altri Depositi, o piuttosto Stanze mortuarie si osservano ancora adesso fuori del recinto dell'antiche mura, e fosso di Citium. Ciascheduno è formato di grandi, ed enormi pietre bene unite insieme, le quali debbono essere lì state trasportate da alcune colline distanti dal luogo circa dieci miglia. Lo stesso amico mio per confermare che Larnica fosse un Sepolcreto, dice che si è abbattuto a vedere molti di tali Sepolcri fra i quali stima ragguardevole 'uno



36

SPIEGAZIONE

DELLA TAVOLA.

A Luogo ove era l' antica Città di Citium, e circonferenza della medesima.

B Sito della Città di Larnica.

C Borgo delle Saline.

1 } Consolato Inglese, e Vice-Consolato Imperiale, e Toscano.

2 } Consolato Francese.

3 Consolato Veneziano, e Casa del Sig. Zambelli pag. 30.

4 Porzione dell' antico Porto che si chiudeva, adesso ridotto a un piccolo Lago senza aver più comunicazione col Mare pag. 23. e 24.

5 } Antichi Sepolcri pag. 31.

6 } Luogo ove fu un' antica Torre; poi un Mulino a vento, oggi demolito pag. 24.

7 Castello sul Mare nel Borgo delle Saline.

8 Chiesa Greca di S. Lazzaro.

Fig. 1. L'area della città antica di Citium con l'indicazione dei luoghi rilevanti (da Mariti 1787, tavola fuori testo; su gentile autorizzazione della BCNF, Firenze).

ritrovatosi sotto la casa di un tal Yianni Orologiaio Cipriotto consistente in una grande camera a volta sostenuta da due archi, nella quale erano due Depositi con poche ossa dentro, alcune delle quali eccedevano l'ordinaria statura degli uomini più grandi dei tempi nostri'. Soggiunge che nel giardino della Casa detta Dei Tre Cipressi 'erano state scoperte al tempo che in essa abitava il Negoziante Francese Monsieur Hermitte fino a quattro camere sepolcrali di varie grandezze fabbricate sullo stesso modello delle precipitate, e altre ne erano state trovate in quei contorni'.¹⁵

Quanto a Citium ove resta da noi restituito, si sono trovati i fondamenti di assai vecchie fabbriche, i quali in tutti gli anni che io stetti a Cipro, seguivano a disfarli, essendo la maggior parte di pietre riquadrate, e grandi, che poi se ne servivano per i fondamenti di altre fabbriche, che costruivansi nella vicina Larnica; e creder devasi per cosa indubitata che Larnica, come presentemente si vede, è nata, ed ha avuto il suo accrescimento a carico delle rovine dell'antica Citium. Le anticaglie pure, che qui disti essere state trovate, fanno fede certa di esservi stata una Città. Di più tornato nel 1783 da' suoi Viaggi per altri proseguirne, il Sig. Abate Sestini mio cugino, essendo pure stato in Cipro, mi assicurò che

qui si erano trovati nuovi monumenti di antichità, e specialmente alcune iscrizioni Romane, che verranno da esso pubblicate nei suoi Viaggi. Ed egli è di costante sentimento, che lì, e non altrove debbansi cercare le rovine di Citium.¹⁶

Alcuni decenni prima di Mariti, il monaco russo Basil Gregorevich Barski che soggiornò a Cipro in svariate occasioni fra il 1726 ed il 1736, riporta numerosi dettagli relativi ai diversi quartieri che si erano sviluppati a Larnaca, indicandone i nomi: La Scala, il Castro e la 'vecchia Larnaca'. Nel disegno schematico della città che realizza nel 1727 si riporta anche il toponimo Bamboula, sito dell'antica Kition, senza tuttavia che vengano segnalati resti archeologici evidenti, emergenti o visibili.¹⁷

È plausibile che il monaco russo non fosse interessato a queste evidenze, dal momento che le fortificazioni dell'antica Kition risultano visibili e chiaramente individuate dal toponimo Citium nella pianta di Larnaca realizzata da Pococke, come abbiamo anticipato, e pubblicata nel suo *Description of the East* nel 1738.

Pococke è certamente il primo testimone non soltanto dei resti visibili, ma anche dei ritrovamenti archeologici casuali, frutto delle operazioni

di recupero di materiale per la costruzione. È interessante ricordare che egli stesso copiò senza poterle interpretare 33 iscrizioni fenicie iscritte su blocchi di fondazione in pietra, venti anni prima che l'abate Barthélémy interpretasse questa scrittura grazie alla bilingue maltese.¹⁸

Come riferito dallo stesso Mariti, anche Sestini descrive nel corso del suo soggiorno nel 1782 il ritrovamento a Kition di una serie di epigrafi, questa volta romane, fornendo a sua volta la trascrizione di alcune di esse¹⁹ (Fig. 2):

'Un giorno essendo a spasso con il Sig. Console De Vezin per vedere il luogo dell'antica Citium, che ora chiamano Kitèo, e che resta fra Larnica e il Borgo delle Saline, osservammo molti muri di vecchie fabbriche della medesima che scavavano per servirsi del materiale, e in tali scavi fu trovata una bella base di marmo bianco consagrada a Giove Ceraunio e a Venere Afrodite, con la seguente iscrizione, la quale fu acquistata da detto console. [...] Sul lido del mare vi è un Borgo che porta la medesima denominazione del Borgo delle Saline, ove sono diversi magazzini appartenenti ai Negozianti europei di Larnica, come pure diverse case rustiche di Greci e Turchi e fu in una casa di un Greco che ritrovai la seguente iscrizione latina. Ecco una dimostrazione delle Città di Citti nel dedicare qualche statua, od altro all'imperatore Nerva, che porta l'anno 96 di Cristo. Ora la presente iscrizione si ritrova presso il Sig. Cav. Ainslie, Amb. Britannico alla Porta Ottomana, per il quale ne feci l'acquisto; come pure di un'altra che aveva trovato il Sig. De Vezin, essendo scolpita in un chisto nero, dedicata dal Senato a Tiberio Claudio, Ilao Giusto Governatore dell'Isola. Appresso il medesimo conservasi altra Iscrizione, dove si fa commemorazione d'altro Governatore di Citium.

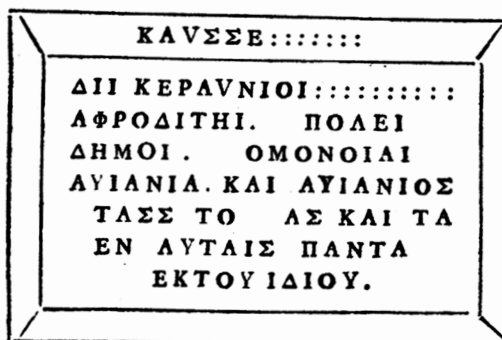
Come in seguito Mariti, anche Pococke rivolge un'attenzione particolare alle camere funerarie che venivano alla luce nei lavori di scavo, le cui strutture ipogeiche vengono descritte in questi termini:

'They have discovered a great number of ancient sepulchres in and about the city of Larnaca; I saw some built of hewn stone; in one of them I observed the stones were laid long the top like large beams, and others laid over them like a floor; there is another which ends at top in an angle, and both are of excellent workmanship and finished in the most perfect manner'.²⁰

Analogamente, più tardi, Drummond ammira *'the well dressed stones of a prodigious size'²¹* nell'a-

rea indicata poi da Niebuhr come *Ayia Phaneromeni*.²² Questa area corrisponde probabilmente ad una parte della necropoli sud ed una delle camere descritte dai nostri viaggiatori nel XVIII secolo, di cui abbiamo ampia testimonianza nelle fonti moderne successive,²³ (Fig. 3) è oggi trasformata in luogo di culto ed è ancora visibile al di sotto della moderna chiesa di Panayia Phaneromeni, grazie ai lavori di conservazione del Dipartimento delle Antichità di Cipro.²⁴ In particolare, la descrizione che ci fornisce Mariti corrisponde plausibilmente a due tombe a camera di epoca Cipro-arcaica, entrambe localizzate nella sua carta del 1787 con l'indicazione *antichi sepolcri* (Fig. 1, nn. 6, 7). Una di queste è certamente la tomba camera di Phaneromeni sopra menzionata e l'altra è probabilmente da collocare non distante da questa nel quartiere Sotiros.²⁵

In termini più generali, alle osservazioni 'archeologiche' pubblicate da Mariti, così come ai resoconti di Niebuhr e di Pococke, si fa riferimento fino ad anni recenti, riconoscendogli un certo valore documentario, per quanto difficile da



IMP. CAESARI. NERVAE. AVG.
P. P. COS. IL CIVITAS. CITIENSIVM.

I.
Η ΒΟΥΛΗ
ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΝ. ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΝ
ΥΛΑΟΝ. ΙΟΥΣΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ
ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑ. ΤΗΣ. ΝΗΣΟΥ

II.
ΕΝΙΚΗΝΤΗΝ. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟ.....
ΥΝΑΙΚΑ. ΠΟΣΕΙΔΙΠΠΟΣ ΦΡΟ. Ρ. ΑΡΧΟ.....
ΑΙΚΑΤΑ. ΚΙΤΙΟΝ. ΚΑΙ. ΒΟΙΣΚΟΣ. ΚΑΙ. ΟΙ.
ΚΥΝΑΙ.....

Fig. 2. Epigrafi trascritte dall'abate Domenico Sestini a Kition (da Sestini 1788, 142-144; su gentile autorizzazione della BCNF, Firenze).

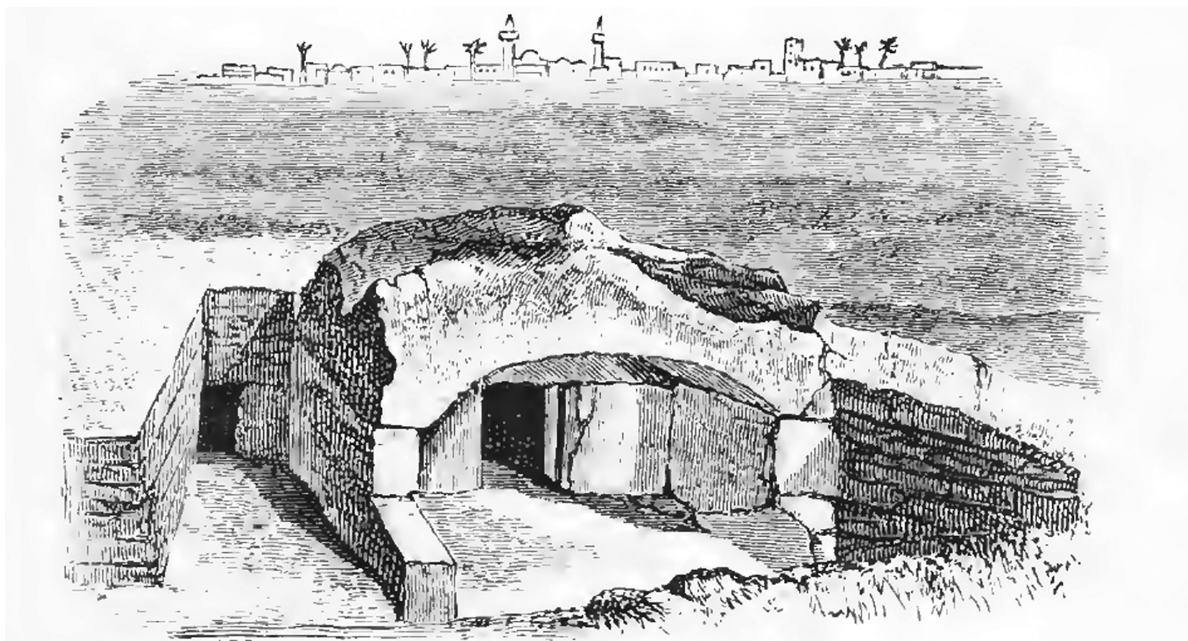


Fig. 3. Tomba a camera descritta e localizzata da Giovanni Mariti nell'area di Phaneromeni, come appariva a Luigi Palma di Cesnola (da Palma di Cesnola 1877, 49).

contestualizzare, anche nell'ambito delle indagini archeologiche sistematiche che ininterrottamente hanno interessato l'area dell'antica Kition (Fig. 4).²⁶

UNA SCOPERTA E UNA DONAZIONE

Nel quadro delle osservazioni archeologiche condotte da Mariti, tutte argomentate in modo da intrecciarsi con l'autorità degli antichi e dei moderni, nel comune intento di dimostrare la vera localizzazione dell'antica Kition, la narrazione di un singolo episodio avvenuto nel 1767 sembra rivelarsi particolarmente significativo.

Si tratta di una scoperta casuale, ma documentata direttamente da Mariti, che narra lo stesso episodio, in termini del tutto simili, sia nei Viaggi:

Io stesso l'anno 1767 m'incontrai a vedere uno scavo, che si faceva apposta per estrarre le pietre, fra le quali i lavoranti trovarono una testa di marmo bianco, rappresentante Antonino Caracalla, ed appresso molte medaglie Greche dell'Imperio Romano, di Settimio Severo, di Antonino Caracalla, di Giulia Domna, coll'iscrizione Greca, e nel rovescio il Tempio di Pafo colla leggenda KOINON KYPIQN, ed alcune con Caracalla da una parte, e Geta dall'opposta; ed oltre a queste, delle medaglie di Claudio Cesare Augusto coll'iscrizione latina, e nel rovescio una corona di lauro, nel mezzo della quale si legge

*KOINON KYPIQN. La testa suddetta passò in mano del Signor Timoteo Turner Console in Cipro di S.M. Britannica, che poi la mandò in Inghilterra, e alcune delle medaglie restano appresso di me.*²⁷

che nella Dissertazione:

Quanto poi alla totale, e ultima distruzione di essa non deve essere accaduta prima dell'anno 210 di N.S. come si può rilevare da alcune medaglie trovate fra le sue rovine, potrò anche aggiungere da una quantità di esse ritrovate poi spettanti a Settimio, ad Antonino Caracalla, e a Giulia Domna con l'iscrizione Greca, e nel rovescio il Tempio di Pafo con la leggenda KOINON KYPIQN, altre con la testa di Caracalla da una parte, e quella di Geta dall'altra. Essendone state trovate oltre a queste delle più antiche ancora, spettanti a Claudio Cesare Augusto con l'iscrizione Latina, e nel rovescio una corona di lauro, nel mezzo della quale similmente si legge KOINON KYPIQN.

Vi fu pure trovata in occasione di alcuni scavi fattivi nel 1767, una testa rappresentante Antonino Caracalla, ed era io stesso presente quando fu dissotterrata, appresso la quale furono trovate anche molte delle suddette medaglie, le quali insieme con la testa passarono in mano del Signor Timoteo Turner Console in Cipro di S.M. Britannica, il quale mandò poi la detta testa in Inghilterra.

*Delle medaglie ne fece generosa distribuzione fra i suoi amici di Cipro, e non poche ne favori a me medesimo, che al mio ritorno in Toscana io pure ne feci nuova distribuzione, e specialmente al Museo della celebre Accademia Etrusca di Cortona.*²⁸

Un elemento di forte novità è evidentemente presente in questa ultima versione, in cui l'attività dell'osservatore partecipante si trasforma in quella del collezionista. In questa nuova ed inedita veste, Mariti si fa tramite di un lotto di materiali archeologici che costituiscono a tutti gli effetti, una delle prime acquisizioni documentate di antichità cipriote in Italia.

Il confronto fra i due passi dei *Viaggi* e della *Dissertazione* in cui è descritta la stessa scoperta del 1767 è determinante e ci permette anzitutto di verificare che, se l'intento rimane il medesimo e così identici sono il frangente ed i termini in cui viene descritto l'episodio, la menzione della *nuova distribuzione* e della donazione al *Museo della celebre Accademia Etrusca di Cortona* è assente nei *Viaggi* ed è invece riportata nella successiva *Dissertazione*.

A questo episodio fa riferimento anche Luigi Tondo ipotizzando che Sestini *abbia avuto occasione di vedere, a casa del più anziano cugino, quel ricordo del Levante*;²⁹ sulla scorta dell'interesse e della nota competenza di Sestini numismatico, si sarebbe portati a includerlo nel numero dei non meglio specificati destinatari italiani della *distribuzione* delle monete cipriote della raccolta di Mariti.

Considerando dunque il periodo che intercorre fra il ritorno di Mariti in Italia, la pubblicazione del primo tomo cipriota dei *Viaggi* (1769) e la successiva pubblicazione della *Dissertazione* (1787)

possiamo accertare che la donazione all'Accademia Etrusca di Cortona sia avvenuta fra gli anni Settanta e la metà degli anni Ottanta del '700.

Una conferma puntuale in questo senso la troviamo all'interno dei resoconti delle assemblee dell'Accademia Etrusca e, più esattamente nel verbale del 12 Agosto 1776,³⁰ in cui si legge:

'[...] Il celebre signore Mariti nostro etrusco accademico continuando a stampare assai eruditi libri sopra i suoi viaggi ci hà donato il tomo VIII. e fù data la commissione al nostro Segretario, che lo ringraziasse, e che palesasse ancora al medesimo il piacere degli Accademici, che hanno avuto nel fare porre nella Serie delle Imperiali Medaglie di bronzo tre delle sue donateci col med(esimo) rovescio del tempio di Diana di Cipro colle lettere KOINON KYPIQN, una spettante a Caracalla, l'altra a Geta suo fratello, ed altra alla madre Giulia dei sopraddetti.' (Fig. 5).

I brevi resoconti presenti nei verbali delle assemblee, a differenza delle più ampie note redatte per le *Notti Coritane*, sono tuttavia di particolare importanza per la ricchezza di informazioni. Nel nostro caso, il verbale è determinante per stabilire la data della donazione (12 Agosto 1776) e la sua consistenza (tre monete di Caracalla, Geta e Giulia Domna). Se escludiamo il fraintendimento per il quale il redattore del resoconto accademico menziona il *tempio di Diana* al posto del tempio di Afrodite a Paphos (già menzionato nei *Viaggi* e nella *Dissertazione*), il verbale conferma la congruenza ed i dettagli dell'episodio così come lo ha riportato Mariti. L'episodio della scoperta e le vicende della donazione sono così chiarite.



Fig. 4. Veduta dell'area archeologica di Kition all'interno della moderna città di Larnaca (foto Autore).

Utile Sig.^{ro} mauro nostro Vostro Accademico con-
tinuando a stampare a sua couditi libri sopra i
suoi viaggi ci ha donato il Tomo VIII. e fu data
la commissione al nostro Segretario, che lo lingua-
zasse, e che palesasse ancora al medesimo il piacere
degli Accademici, che hanno avuto nel suo powe
nella Serie delle Imperiali medaglie di Bronzo tre
delle sue donateci col med. G. di Tempio di Diana
di Cipro colle lettere KOINON KYPPIΩN, una
spettante a Caracalla, l'altra a Seto suo fratello,
Ed a ltra alla madre Giulia dei sopraddetti

Fig. 5. Dettaglio del resoconto dell'assemblea dell'Accademia Etrusca del 12 Agosto 1776 (BCAE, ms 449, 62; su gentile autorizzazione della BCAE, Cortona).

Di questa prima donazione e delle tre *medaglie* giunte da Larnaca a Cortona non è facile ricostruire le tracce successive. I due inventari storici del Museo, conservati attualmente nella Biblioteca dell'Accademia e redatti rispettivamente nel 1783 e nel 1838 (quest'ultimo registra, in note successive, le variazioni fino al 1869; codici cartacei nn. 467-469), non offrono dati certi in merito all'identificazione del nucleo. È noto infatti che già sul finire del Settecento l'attiva politica di acquisizioni da parte dell'Accademia Etrusca aveva investito anche piccoli nuclei di materiali egiziani, arrivati a Cortona tramite donazioni di collezionisti privati mediate dai fratelli Marcello, Ridolfino e Filippo Venuti, antiquari e fondatori dell'Accademia cortonese.³¹ Il primo inventario del 1783 riporta un elenco dettagliato degli oggetti contenuti nel Museo, comprendendo le monete del medagliere, la descrizione sommaria

che viene fornita, tuttavia, non consente sempre di stabilire una corrispondenza certa con gli esemplari esistenti.³² Il successivo inventario completo, aggiornato fino al 1869, non riporta la descrizione ma registra numerandole le monete e medaglie contenute nei *plutei*, ovvero nelle vetrine esistenti nella Sala delle Adunanze dei Signori Accademici (codice cartaceo n. 469, foglio 90). Da questo documento, che consente di accertare la accresciuta consistenza della collezione numismatica dell'Accademia Etrusca, non è possibile risalire direttamente alla presenza del nucleo cipriota. È interessante rilevare, tuttavia, che in un documento intermedio redatto nel 1802 e contenente l'*inventario di tutto quanto è stato esitato di proprietà della nostra Accademia Etrusca* (codice cartaceo n. 470) si fa menzione della vendita, presumibilmente recente, di 44 pezzi di bronzo in *Medaglioni ed altro*. Non esistono purtroppo altre notizie rela-

tive a questo episodio, ed è pertanto impossibile stabilire in quale occasione e quali monete siano state cedute da parte dell'Accademia.

Il successivo riordinamento da parte di Pediani, la prima schedatura sistematica di Neppi Modona nel 1927, e la pubblicazione completa del *Corpus* da parte di Pancrazzi e Ronzitti Orsolini nel 1974, tuttavia, rivelano che la collezione numismatica cortonese include almeno un superstite della donazione cipriota di Mariti.

Fra le monete conservate a Cortona ed emesse sotto gli imperatori Settimio Severo, Caracalla e Geta, menzionati da Mariti nelle descrizioni delle *medaglie* rinvenute a Larnaca nel 1767, si conserva una moneta in bronzo di emissione provinciale cipriota (Fig. 6).

La moneta porta al dritto la raffigurazione della testa laureata dell'imperatore Geta rivolta verso destra, sovrastata dalla leggenda ΑΥΤΟ ΚΑΙC [Π CEI]ΤΙΜΙΟC ΓΕΤΑC. Al rovescio si vede la rappresentazione convenzionale della facciata del Tempio di Afrodite a Paphos, sovrastata da ΚΟΙΝΟΝ [ΚΥΠΡΙΩ]Ν ('federazione dei ciprioti').³³

È ben noto come l'indicazione *Koinon Kyprion* faccia riferimento ad istituzione religiosa cipriota responsabile dell'organizzazione di cerimonie sacre in onore di Afrodite e, al tempo stesso, referente per la circolazione delle monete in bronzo sull'isola, almeno dall'epoca dell'imperatore Claudio. Nel periodo della dinastia flavia e della dinastia dei Severi, il riferimento a questa federazione è associato con la raffigurazione di Zeus di Salamis o alternativamente con la rappresenta-

zione del tempio di Afrodite a Paphos, in cui si può osservare il betilo centrale che raffigura la figura aniconica della divinità.³⁴ La monetazione di questo tipo riferibile all'imperatore Geta si distingue per due varianti al dritto, in cui può essere raffigurato il torso nudo dell'imperatore che porta una lancia o, come nel nostro caso, la testa laureata dell'imperatore rivolta verso destra.³⁵

Non è in dubbio, perciò, che la moneta di Cortona sia stata destinata alla circolazione a Cipro.

La pubblicazione dei *Nummi veteres anecdoti* da parte dell'austriaco Josephus Hilarius von Eckhel nel 1775 testimonia che almeno una moneta di provenienza cipriota era già entrata a far parte del Medagliere Mediceo a Firenze³⁶, prima della *nuova distribuzione* di Mariti.

Se accettiamo che la moneta di Geta sia arrivata da Larnaca a Cortona con il piccolo lotto numismatico donato da Mariti nell'Agosto del 1776, possiamo a questo punto affiancarla alla già nota raccolta di antichità cipriote del Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca, formatasi in seguito grazie alla donazione di Monsignor Guido Corbelli, delegato apostolico per l'Arabia e l'Egitto sotto il pontificato di Leone XIII.³⁷ Il nucleo dei sei vasi ciprioti è costituito da materiali rinvenuti in Egitto, da contesti funerari prevalentemente databili al Bronzo Tardo, parte dell'ampia collezione di antichità che Monsignor Corbelli fece arrivare a Cortona in tre spedizioni successive, fra il 1891 ed il 1896, e che raccoglie oggetti acquistati sul mercato antiquario ad Alessandria, provenienti prevalentemente da el-Kab e Tebe.³⁸



Fig. 6. Moneta in bronzo dell'imperatore Geta (MAEC Cortona, Inv. 99801).

CONCLUSIONI

La possibilità di osservare oggi il superstite di una donazione archeologica così remota, così come quella di rintracciarne all'indietro il tragitto e l'approdo, rappresentano una acquisizione utile e un'occasione rara. Ma probabilmente più utile è vedere in questo episodio il paradigma di una trasformazione più rilevante che - per così dire - dal bozzolo del viaggiatore e dell'erudito vede spuntare l'antiquario ed il collezionista. Il primo chiuso nell'osservazione o nel rovello delle dispute, il secondo pronto a spiccare un volo più ampio e 'vanitoso'.

Fuor di metafora, risulta evidente nel profilo dei viaggiatori che soggiornano a Cipro nel XVIII secolo un differente approccio e una altrettanto varia percezione dell'antichità dell'isola e della sua memoria. Il monaco russo Barski negli anni '30 non menziona né annota alcunché, per quanto si trovasse davanti i resti della fortificazione urbana dell'antica Kition in tutta la loro monumentale evidenza, ad esempio. Tutto ciò non entra nel suo sguardo, non colpisce la sua attenzione e non viene registrato nel suo racconto. Di lì a pochi anni, è molto diverso lo sguardo di Pococke che addirittura trascrive e pubblica una serie di epigrafi che non può comprendere, con il solo evidente obiettivo di tramandare una traccia dell'antichità. Il suo interesse è quindi eminentemente guidato dal senso di meraviglia e dalla fascinazione per un passato, misterioso e indecifrabile quanto le iscrizioni che trascrive. Nel resoconto di Pococke prevalgono le osservazioni sulla ricostruzione erudita dell'antichità dell'isola, che del resto non è che una tappa del viaggio in Oriente, un capitolo di un racconto più ampio. Le annotazioni del viaggiatore inglese, tuttavia, rimangono largamente frutto di un'osservazione 'distante', che si pretende oggettiva e che, forse per questo motivo, non tracima mai nella partecipazione in prima persona. Un argine ed un confine vengono fissati senza possibilità di compromesso fra l'osservatore e l'oggetto, tanto più se l'attenzione si rivolge alle tracce dell'antichità.

Questo confine sembra attraversato con disinvoltura e tranquillità addirittura spregiudicata da Mariti soltanto pochi anni più tardi. L'attenzione con cui Mariti ricostruisce e riannoda la trama della storia più antica di Cipro si misura sia nell'accloramento della sua *Dissertazione* dedicata alla localizzazione dell'antica Kition, nata e consumata - come si è visto - dalla scintilla polemica di una disputa erudita, ma soprattutto si registra nella sua partecipazione personale. Maggiore ragione del

successo fra i lettori dei suoi resoconti di viaggio, la partecipazione in prima persona fornisce al racconto di Mariti un supplemento di coinvolgimento e di verità ed è l'effetto del calore del suo sguardo 'ravvicinato'. Questo diverso sguardo trasforma le tracce antiche dell'isola - anche le stesse non viste da Barski e osservate da Pococke - in novità, le evidenze in scoperte archeologiche. La sua partecipazione prende così la forma dell'expertise e l'enfasi si sposta sempre più sulla novità della scoperta. All'interno della sua opera, dal racconto dei *Viaggi alla Dissertazione*, la crescente importanza della scoperta archeologica, ed ancor più della testimonianza diretta che se ne può fornire, appare chiara. In questo senso, l'episodio del 1767 è esemplificativo suggerendoci però un passo oltre in una nuova direzione. La testa della statua dell'imperatore Caracalla e le monete che Mariti dice di aver visto dissotterrare *passando poi in mano* del console britannico Timothy Turner e da questa mano alle sue, costituiscono un lotto, una piccola collezione privata di antichità che si forma sull'isola. Questo 'archetipo' diventa in breve un uso comune e parte del fenomeno ampio e ben noto del 'collezionismo diplomatico' che a Cipro pare già un'abitudine sul finire del secolo XVIII, come ci testimonia il console francese Benoît Astier collezionista di monete³⁹ e che avrà ovviamente campioni celebri nel secolo successivo, da Luigi Palma di Cesnola a Robert Hamilton Lang.⁴⁰ Lo stesso breve arco in cui colloca la formazione e la donazione della piccola collezione cipriota di Mariti, segna l'apertura progressiva di nuovi orizzonti nel collezionismo *diacronico* di antichità orientali in Italia, come ci testimonia ad esempio la raccolta del Cardinale Stefano Borgia a Roma.⁴¹

Mariti, collezionista archetipico, è già collezionista tipico ed esprime in tutta evidenza la sua sottile vanità come una caratteristica connaturata al collezionista di reperti.⁴² Vanità trapela dalla sua proclamata generosità, pari solo a quella dell'amico e console ([delle monete] *al mio ritorno in Toscana io pure ne feci nuova distribuzione*) e si realizza definitivamente promuovendo la donazione all'Accademia Etrusca di Cortona nel 1776.

Illustre istituzione e preziosa, liberale, donazione che nei suoi intenti dovranno garantire al suo nome lustro immediato e sperabile futura memoria. Operazione, ai nostri occhi, (quasi) riuscita.

NOTE

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fornito utili informazioni relative ai documenti conservati presso l'Accademia Etrusca. Un particolare ringraziamento è dovuto a Patrizia Rocchini, responsabile dell'archivio presso la Biblioteca dell'Accademia Etrusca di Cortona. Allo stesso modo ringrazio Vera Martinoli (BNCF) per l'autorizzazione a riprodurre la carta originariamente inserita fuori testo nell'edizione originale della *Dissertazione*, conservata nel Fondo Magliabechiano della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze. Ringrazio infine Tommaso Braccini, Lorenzo Calvelli e Sabine Fourier per le osservazioni ed i suggerimenti che hanno arricchito questo contributo.

- 1 Calamai 1993, 133-134; Calvelli 2009, 33-34; 58-69.
- 2 Calvelli 2009, 332-333.
- 3 Guazzo 1553.
- 4 Scrinzi 1899-1900; Hermary 1985; Hermary 2015, 202-203; Calvelli 2012, 34.
- 5 Fleischer et al. 1998, 7-9; Calvelli 2009, 154-155.
- 6 Bombardieri 2012.
- 7 Venturi 1998, 106-107.
- 8 Pasta 2007; Natali 1950, 449.
- 9 Mariti 1787, 5.
- 10 Mariti 1769, 51-57.
- 11 Sestini 1788, 3.
- 12 Severis 2007.
- 13 Severis 2007, 21.
- 14 Nicolaou 1976; Yon 2011.
- 15 Mariti 1787, 13-14.
- 16 Mariti 1787, 22-23.
- 17 Yon 2011, 34.
- 18 Pococke 1738, 212, Pl. XXXIII; Barthélemy 1764.
- 19 Sestini 1788, 142-144; si veda anche Masson 1986 e Calvelli 2008.
- 20 Pococke 1738, 213, Pl. XXXII.
- 21 Drummond 1754, 153.
- 22 Niebuhr 1766, Fig. 6.
- 23 Nicolaou 1976, 162. Si veda in particolare Palma di Cesnola 1877, 49; Unger/Kotschy 1865, 527.
- 24 Gunnis 1936, 108; Nicolaou 1976, 160; Yon 2011, 35.
- 25 La prima corrisponde alla Nicolaou n. 55 (Nicolaou 1976, 200) che si trova virtualmente sul tracciato della porzione meridionale delle mura urbane di Kition; la seconda, di più incerta identificazione, corrisponde forse alla Evangelis tomb Nicolaou n. 25 (Nicolaou 1976, 182-183).
- 26 Nicolaou 1976; Karageorghis 1974; Yon 2006, 15-49; 2011, 35-37; Caubet et al. 2015, 13.
- 27 Mariti 1769, 55-56.
- 28 Mariti 1787, 28-30.
- 29 Tondo 1990, 55.
- 30 Biblioteca dell'Accademia Etrusca di Cortona, BCAE, ms 449 pp. 62-63.
- 31 Bruschetti et al. 1988, 7-9; Bettelli/Di Paolo 2004, 65; Gialluca 2011.
- 32 Pancrazzi/Ronzitti-Orsolini 1974, 5.
- 33 Pancrazzi/Ronzitti-Orsolini 1974, 216, Tav. XXI: 866.
- 34 Amandry 2017, 2.
- 35 Parks 2004, 26; Amandry 2009, 2-3.
- 36 Tondo 1990, 42.
- 37 Bettelli/Di Paolo 2004; Bombardieri 2011, 26.
- 38 Schiaparelli 1893, 317-338; Della Cella 1900, 3; Guidotti/Rosati 1986, 75-78.
- 39 Yon 2011, 38; Gilet 2005.
- 40 Goring 1988; Marangou 2000; Bombardieri 2015.
- 41 Langella 1999; Di Paolo 2012, 22-24.
- 42 Bombardieri 2018.

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Reviews

ROBERTO SPADEA (ed.), *Kroton. Studi e ricerche sulla polis Achea e il suo territorio*. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2014. 564 pp., figs, 137 pls, 8 maps (separate); 29 cm (Atti e memorie della Società Magna Grecia, quarta serie V). – ISBN 978-88-7689-277-6 / ISSN 1592-7377.

In the preface to this benchmark publication on the archaeology of the city of Kroton and its chora (South Italy, ancient *Magna Graecia*) editor Roberto Spadea recalls how, shortly before WWI, the Dutch archaeologist Alexander Willem Byvanck was the first to investigate tracts of the late classical fortification walls that once protected this famous Greek colony founded by Achaean migrants on the Ionian coast in South Italy. But while much information has come to light, especially since the 1970s' urban expansion, present-day Crotone does not easily disclose its classical past. Having been archaeological inspector of Crotone, Spadea is quick to point out the troublesome history of archaeological research into Kroton's classical urban topography and architecture due to the (initially) limited willingness of local authorities to facilitate research by the *Soprintendenza Archeologica* during building projects. Collaboration improved from the mid-90s on, resulting in greater archaeological visibility of Kroton's archaeology through professional excavations and the creation of a national museum and archaeological office. From Spadea's introduction we learn that Greek settlers founded Kroton somewhere between the end of the 8th and mid-7th centuries BC on a promontory dominating the mouth of the river Esaro. By the first half of the 7th century BC they already established an orthogonal plan of wide streets (*plateiai*) and smaller ones perpendicular to the latter (*stenopoi*) for the city to expand along. This layout of longitudinal parcels (*ad strigas*) would form the solid backbone of its urban development all through to the Hellenistic period. During the period of its existence Kroton added several grids to the initial layout, but with a different orientation in line with the bending coastline (in the publication best seen in fig. 3 on p. 138).

The present volume has three parts: *Topografia e Urbanistica*, *Materiali* and *Vari*. In my review I will concentrate on the first part, as this is the reason d'être of this monumental publication.

The discussion of Kroton's urban development comprises three basic contributions (Agnese Racheli, Givanna Verbicara/Enzo Lippolis/Ricardo Stocco) based on the complicated mosaic of urban archaeology. Spatial reference is provided in large-size foldable maps (in separate folder) that help to read the ancient city within the urban tissue of present-day Crotone and to appreciate the scale of the ancient city (estimated by Lippolis/Stocco at 618 ha). Orthogonal planning extended in the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic period on both sides of the river Esaro, all enclosed within an inland enceinte (ca 13 km). Lippolis/Stocco (121-142) give a

concise overview of the three constituent planning components of Kroton (south, central, north) while the folding maps show the actual spots where archaeological excavations were done within this huge area. These resulted in reconstructed tracts of the *plateiai*, *stenopoi* and *ambitus*, assumed location of the *agora*, the course of the inland fortification wall, the location of the necropoleis and the in ancient times more inland located ancient coastline. Phase maps 4-8 present the excavation windows in old Crotone near the promontory southeast of the Esaro where the earliest traces of Greek presence were found and show the reconstructions of the orthogonal plan including excavated quarters (*isolati*) and their infill with houses in seven phases (with detailed maps). Urban excavations have predominantly taken place southeast of the Esaro, an area considered the oldest part of the city which also features the promontory. Of the latter little is known archaeologically, except for scarce remains of a 4th century BC fortification wall. Was this the city's acropolis? This may well be as Livy mentions Kroton to have had an *arx*, dominating the harbours of the city.

As regards the urban excavations Racheli (pp. 13-65) focuses on the traces of the ancient city structure recovered inland of the promontory, while Verbicara (pp. 67-119) zooms in on the domestic architecture and traces of pottery workshops in this area, proposing two types of standardized houses, one purely domestic and one a combination of domestic and production facilities (mainly pottery production). So far the remains of six houses with dates between the Archaic and Hellenistic period could be (partially) excavated. Gregorio Aversa discusses building techniques employed in Kroton (pp. 289-307) and the scarce evidence for monumental architecture. Aversa and Verbicara report on the typology and finds of the tombs of the necropolis Carrara 3 covering the Archaic to Hellenistic period (pp. 143-179). Alfredo Ruga's contribution on the Roman phases of Kroton and the Roman settlement built on the land of Kroton's sanctuary at Capo Colonna (pp. 181-272) deserves special mention.

The section on Topography and Urbanism ends with a contribution by Cesare d'Annibale and Joe Carter (pp. 273-288), driving forces behind the systematic survey of Kroton's *chora* south of the city. They offer a brief overview of results of the campaigns of 1983-1986 and 2005-2008 in three phase maps (pre-and protohistoric, Greek, Roman/early medieval) with comments on the long term settlement dynamics. Relevant for the socio-economic context of Kroton is the significant number of Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic sites (375 in all) recorded in the survey testifying to intensive rural exploitation. The Archaic rural settlement pattern appears characterized by rural agglomerations rather than by dispersed farmsteads typical of the Classical/Hellenistic rural landscape. More detailed publication of the Croton archaeological survey is eagerly awaited.

Parts 2 (Materiali) and 3 (Varia) are dedicated to a number of high quality individual material culture studies: bronzes and terracotta's (with contributions by Latanzi, Spadea, Muleo, Pasqua), the coin hoard of Fondo Gesù (Arslan/Ruga), iconography of the mantle devoted to Hera Lacinia (Guzzo), a honorary decree from Capo Lacinia (Lazzarini) and a discussion of Pythagorean *mousei* (Caruso).

The material presented in this volume is clearly described and discussed, and bibliographically and visually well documented. However, the reader interested in the Topography and Urbanism part, reviewed here, should be prepared to put effort into combining the information given in the various texts with the information given in the folding maps, the figures in the text and the tables at the back of the book to obtain the full picture. This is worthwhile, however, as it gives an exceptional insight in the urban development of this major Greek colony once home to Pythagoras.

Peter Attema

CARLO PAVOLINI, *Eredità storica e democrazia. In cerca di una politica per i beni culturali*. Roma: Scienze e Lettere, 2017. 314 pp., ill.; 21 cm. – ISBN 978-88-6687-119-4.

Nonostante che i temi e i personaggi trattati in questo volume siano recentissimi, a un lettore italiano sembra che essi appartengano a un tempo lontano. L'impressione è causata dal repentino cambiamento politico dell'Italia con la formazione di un governo per cui - almeno finora - né i 'beni culturali' né l'istruzione sembrano problemi centrali; anzi, a giudicare da recentissimi provvedimenti, come l'abolizione dell'ingresso gratuito ai musei una domenica al mese, si ha l'impressione che l'attuale ministro più che elaborare progetti per il futuro, si limiti a una modesta inversione di rotta rispetto al suo predecessore. Comunque bisognerà attendere per vedere se ci saranno iniziative decisive in questo ambito.

Il volume di Pavolini entra con coraggio nel mezzo di una disputa che ha scosso il settore dei 'beni culturali' in seguito alle riforme introdotte dall'ex ministro del MIBACT (Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo) Dario Franceschini tra il 2014 e il 2017. Dico con coraggio perché in un'Italia eternamente divisa tra Guelfi e Ghibellini, dove prevale l'appartenenza un po' stolido al gruppo, piuttosto che la voglia di comprendere le ragioni altrui (segno dell'immatura democrazia del nostro paese), Pavolini cerca una propria via di analisi e valutazione delle nuove misure legislative. Non aderisce *toto corde* al gruppo dei fautori ad oltranza della riforma (rappresentati dalla figura dell'archeologo Giuliano Volpe, in particolare nella sua funzione di presidente del Consiglio Superiore dei beni culturali, l'organo consultivo del ministro) ma nemmeno a quello di coloro che con toni molto accesi l'hanno attaccata, trovando il loro polemico portavoce nello storico dell'arte Tomaso Montanari. Pavolini non assume - e lo fa espressamente - una posizione equidistante tra le due, ma entra nel dibattito con onestà intellettuale, competenza (è stato per

anni funzionario nelle soprintendenze archeologiche e poi professore universitario) e pazienza nel passare al vaglio le varie opinioni.

Il volume è diviso in cinque capitoli che sono strutturati per fornire al lettore un quadro d'insieme e poi lentamente condurlo ad argomenti più specifici. Nel riassumere le questioni trattate dovrò molto sintetizzare perché un lettore non italiano avrebbe serie difficoltà a orientarsi nella foresta legislativa che riguarda (e funesta) il patrimonio artistico italiano. I. Uno dei provvedimenti che ha suscitato maggiori proteste è stata l'istituzione delle Soprintendenze uniche territoriali, che hanno assunto le competenze un tempo parcellizzate tra soprintendenze archeologiche, storiche artistiche e architettoniche. Bisogna ricordare che un tempo, chiunque volesse intraprendere un'attività - costruire un edificio, restaurare la propria casa ecc. - doveva passare attraverso un iter burocratico lunghissimo con il rischio di ottenere pareri contrastanti che paralizzavano ogni iniziativa. Perciò l'istituzione della soprintendenza unica era necessaria ed era immaginabile che all'inizio avrebbe causato dei sommovimenti. Come Pavolini fa notare, i detrattori della riforma, invece di suggerire i possibili miglioramenti, si sono limitati a un'opposizione che oltre a non favorire il dialogo con il ministero, ha ottenuto l'irremovibilità di quest'ultimo nell'attuazione della legge. A ben guardare, questa, come tutte le riforme che si fanno in Italia, rivela un problema di fondo: l'impossibilità di fare cambiamenti strutturali in un paese cronicamente affetto da instabilità politica, per cui chi sta al governo si affretta a varare provvedimenti privi della lunga gestazione che ne garantisce l'applicazione e il funzionamento. Le soprintendenze uniche avrebbero avuto necessità di personale qualificato, come quello che in Francia esce dall'École du patrimoine; qui una Scuola del patrimonio è stata istituita a posteriori e finora nessuno si è accorto della sua esistenza.

II. Un altro provvedimento che ha suscitato perplessità e proteste è stato quello che ha scorporato alcuni musei considerati di rango superiore (Uffizi, Brera, Capodimonte ecc.) rendendoli autonomi, cioè svincolati dalle soprintendenze e chiamando a dirigerli personalità scelte con un concorso internazionale. Pavolini in questo caso si associa (senza fanatismo) a coloro che hanno criticato entrambe le iniziative: sarebbe un errore scorporare i musei dalle soprintendenze, dato che i musei italiani, a parte quelli nati da collezioni private, sono strettamente collegati al territorio; inoltre perché scegliere all'estero quando in Italia ci sono valenti funzionari che avrebbero potuto fare lo stesso lavoro? Nel primo caso bisogna ricordare che in precedenza questi grandi musei erano sotto la direzione del Soprintendente, che affidava la gestione della collezione a un funzionario, creando una situazione confusa; poi bisogna considerare che questi musei, pur essendo nati nell'Ottocento per accogliere le opere d'arte asportate dagli edifici ecclesiastici o i reperti archeologici provenienti dagli sventramenti urbanistici, non svolgono più questo compito, se non marginalmente. Riguardo al concorso internazionale si può discutere sulla scelta dei direttori ma non sulla forma di reclutamento, in linea con la prassi dei paesi più emancipati culturalmente.

II. Il secondo capitolo entra nel merito della democratizzazione della ricerca, cioè del libero accesso ai dati in possesso di varie istituzioni statali: fotografie, documenti d'archivio, relazioni sugli scavi archeologici, che molto spesso sono stati e sono ancora gestiti come beni personali e non come informazioni che dovrebbero essere messe a disposizione degli studiosi. È facile aver esperito il caso di un rifiuto a consultare documenti perché in studio da qualcuno...magari da vent'anni. Come non concordare con l'autore quando afferma che «la democrazia fa un passo in avanti quanto più liberamente si può riprodurre e diffondere l'immagine di un manufatto archeologico, di un'opera d'arte, di un libro o di un documento d'archivio?» (p. 111).

III. Nel terzo capitolo si affronta un'altra questione spinosa che ha visto anche qui il formarsi di due schieramenti (oltre a Volpe, l'archeologo Daniele Manacorda da un lato e il già citato Montanari dall'altro). Tutto parte dall'articolo 9, titolo I della Costituzione: «La Repubblica promuove lo sviluppo della cultura e della ricerca scientifica e tecnica. Tutela il paesaggio e il patrimonio storico e artistico della Nazione». La critica al passato è che le soprintendenze abbiano ben tutelato, ma solo tutelato, senza valorizzare ciò che proteggevano: musei, monumenti, siti e parchi archeologici ecc. I puristi o i difensori dell'*art pour l'art* vedono come fumo negli occhi ogni intervento che intacchi la sacralità del patrimonio, altri spingono per ricostruzioni in favore del turismo, uso dei monumenti per spettacoli (il Colosseo come teatro, rifacendo la piattaforma dell'arena), i parchi archeologici come spazio per installazioni di arte contemporanea, i musei per concerti e altro. Anche qui l'a., pur rivelando le sue preferenze, cerca di non cadere nel facile manicheismo, ma mette in luce le ottuse resistenze di una parte degli addetti ai lavori che poi offrono il pretesto agli altri per accusarli di passatismo e snobismo. Per comprendere come fare una buona valorizzazione bisognerebbe prendere esempio dal Museo Egizio di Torino, dove il direttore ha fatto del museo un centro di ricerca, uno strumento di democrazia senza ricorrere al 'sons et lumières', senza perdere di vista l'essenza dell'istituzione.

IV. In questo capitolo Pavolini affronta il problema del mondo del lavoro (meglio della precarietà e della disoccupazione) delle centinaia di laureati che il sistema dei 'beni culturali' italiano non riesce ad assorbire (bisogna però dare atto a Franceschini di aver promosso un migliaio di assunzioni).

V. Quasi come un'appendice, nell'ultimo capitolo viene affrontato il problema della sistemazione dei Fori Imperiali, dopo gli ultimi scavi, mettendo in luce l'intreccio di competenze tra architetti, urbanisti, archeologi, storici dell'arte e di come, la situazione attuale, sia il portato di impostazione ideologiche che hanno caratterizzato il nostro paese dal dopoguerra in poi.

Per un lettore non italiano non sarà facile comprendere tutte le sfumature di un dibattito per la cui comprensione si deve tenere conto anche della genesi del MIBACT (istituito nel 1975), un organo che doveva distaccarsi dagli altri ministeri per leggerezza e flessibilità e che è diventato nel corso del tempo un ministero appesantito dalla burocrazia come e più di altri. Il libro di Pavolini, per l'onestà intellettuale che lo per-

corre dall'inizio alla fine, è una testimonianza di cui tenere conto per comprendere i cambiamenti che negli ultimi tre anni circa hanno caratterizzato il patrimonio storico-artistico italiano, collocandolo nel quadro degli orientamenti politici e culturali contemporanei.

Marcello Barbanera

CHRISTOPHER A. FARAONE, *The Transformation of Greek Amulets in Roman Imperial Times*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018. 512 pp., 23 color, 104 b/w ills; 26 cm (Empire and After). – ISBN 978-0-8122-4935-4.

The Transformation of Greek Amulets re-examines existing notions related to the genre of Greek and Roman amulets. Faraone has pursued his interest in amulets for a long time, most notably in his earlier book *Talismans and Trojan Horses: Guardian Statues in Ancient Greek Myth and Ritual* (Oxford 1992). It should be noted that Faraone's work also includes many articles concerned with the topic – as the preface indicates a first article on amulets was published in 1988 (co-authored with Kotansky) and the bibliography to *Transformation* shows an impressive number of forthcoming articles. His work culminates in the volume under review here.

Faraone argues that the question 'is not why we are able to identify so many amulets in the Roman imperial period, but rather why we fail to find them in the preceding centuries' (p. 2). Faraone defines 'amulets' as objects which were placed on the body or on objects for beneficial purposes (in the widest sense of the word). He makes a convincing argument that it is *our problem* that we do not recognize particular earlier Greek objects as amulets because we do not see the explicit texts or images as we know from Roman examples. We should re-evaluate our expectations and when we re-examine the sources carefully we see that we can indeed distinguish other objects which, in pre-imperial times, were clearly used as amulets: 'these shapes and media were being used all along as amulets' (p. ix).

In the first part of his book Faraone shows convincingly that an investigation into those wearing amulets (most often females and children), and into the shapes and materials of items formerly not known as amulets, is revealing. The earlier Greek objects are discussed in combination with later Roman amulets as well as Greek and Roman literary texts, enabling us to see many more items from Classical and Hellenistic Greece as protective than before. We see that amulets worked on the basis of the ideas of 'like banning like'; confronting or threatening a threat; and the 'frozen gesture' through which rituals were made enduring and permanent. The second part of *Transformations* focuses on the late Hellenistic and Roman addition of images to the already existing genre of amulets, which make them more recognizable to us (and which have created confusion about the defining parameters of what amulets 'are', as noted above). Different protective images are discussed, mostly of protective gods and heroes in action or a symbol by which they are represented. Faraone shows that the depictions chosen for amulets were not 'just' interesting scenes but were, for example,

related to narratives of human vulnerability - and eventual success (as in the case of the particular depictions of Hercules). Miniature versions of 'bigger' gods start to appear because 'the neck of the individual was now the better point of defense against danger or disease than the door of the house or the gate of the city' (p. 242). We also see more and more 'Egyptian deities'. The third and final part of the book is concerned with texts, the second important transformation in the way amulets were created. Acclamations and prayers as well as incantations and speech acts are discussed here. New ways of expressing such texts appeared in the Roman period and we start seeing them on amulets.

Faraone's findings have their consequences: they result in the notion that we have mistakenly seen an extremely high increase in the use of amulets during the empire and should re-evaluate the importance we give to the persistent idea of an increase of religious practices in times of uncertainty or crisis. Another point is that the Egyptian and Eastern influence on the 'invention' of the amulets that has previously been argued should be rewritten: there were certainly influences, but in different ways and in a much earlier period than we first thought. The conclusion poses new issues and questions: I was personally most intrigued by the ideas of different 'lines of defense' against danger, from the city gate to the neck of the individuals. This notion will help us think about the warding off of evils in a more spatial way.

The Transformation of Greek Amulets consists of 408 pages in total: the main text of the book (three parts each consisting of three chapters and a conclusion) can be found on pp. 1-262; appendices on pp. 263-287; endnotes on pp. 289-408; a glossary on pp. 409-413; bibliography on pp. 415-455, and the indices at pp. 457-486. I provide this outline to illustrate the scope and learnedness of this book and its author, as well as the thoughtful way in which Faraone has cared for his reader. The author provides background knowledge in the shape of appendices and glossaries - which will be very helpful to the readers because the subject matter in hand is so specialized in terms of terminology and sources. The author also provides a truly extensive bibliography, useful for both scholars and students who wish to pursue the topic. The endnotes are extensive and well-annotated (although it must be said that I am not fond of endnotes - footnotes would have been so much more user-friendly). The volume is well-illustrated throughout, in a way that is not only functional but also adds to its attractiveness.

This volume goes beyond much of the literature in amulets because of its wide scope and historical angle. Its author has a wide overview of the source materials and the challenges it poses. His innovative ideas show how the materials can be employed in a new manner. The attention given to historical influences from Egypt and the Near East, as well as historical events and developments (such as epigraphic habit) which have influenced the use of amulets in antiquity is laudable. Still more genres might be taken into consideration as possible amulets, how would some votives, for example, fit into this new framework? I see *Transformation of Greek amulets* as part of a trend in scholarship which

revolves around the importance of embodiment and the materiality of religion, including places and objects. The approach chosen here is thought provoking and Faraone is very convincing in his argument. This book will be a standard work for many years to come.

Kim Beerden

STEPHAN T.A.M. MOLS/ERIC M. MOORMANN (eds), *Context and Meaning: Proceedings of the Twelfth International Conference of the Association Internationale pour la Peinture Murale Antique, Athens, September 16-20, 2013*. Leuven/Paris/Bristol, CT: Peeters, 2017. 527 pp., ill. in the text; 28 cm (BABESCH Suppl. 31). – ISBN 978-90-429-3529-7.

This impressive and substantial volume contains the proceedings of the Twelfth International Conference of the *Association Internationale pour la Peinture Murale Antique*, held at Athens in September 2013. The editors, Mols and Moormann, state in their preface that 'The main questions posed in the Conference were what messages images in wall painting, from the archaic to the late-antique (ca 700 BC-AD 500), convey to contemporary viewers in specific contexts and how they were received'. Given the venue, Greek art is well-represented in this volume, especially in the keynote lectures - Olga Palagia on Greek figural wall-paintings, and Hariclia Brecolaki et al. on the Archaic panels from Pitsa, Corinthia.

The volume offers a fine overview of current scholarship on the contextualisation of ancient art, although each author has just a few pages to outline their arguments, and so readers would need to consult their other works for much of the supporting evidence. Since there are a total of 81 individual papers (including ones based on posters presented in Athens), regrettably it is impossible to mention here all of the excellent contributions, let alone comment on them.

Aside from the two (longer) keynote lectures, the papers are organised into six main sections emulating the conference programme, with the inclusion of posters: 'Text, Site and Context', 'Motifs in Ancient Painting', 'Greece', 'Turkey, the Near East, and North Africa', 'Roman Italy', and 'Europe Outside Greece and Italy'. This organisation by location is a departure from recent previous volumes - the proceedings of the eleventh conference replicated the sequence in which authors delivered papers at the conference, while the tenth was organised by topic (such as the relationship of painted decoration with other materials, iconographic and chronological problems, contexts of new discoveries, and integrated decorative systems), which thus necessitated a topographical index.

There is something relevant to all scholars interested in ancient art in terms of both location and subject. As would be expected for a conference on the context of ancient wall painting, numerous papers focus on the art of Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Stabiae (Allroggen-Bedel, Augris, Barbet, Baronio, Carucci, Dardenay, Derwael, Federico, Helg/Malgieri, Helg/Malgieri/Pascucci, Koponen, Marko, Muslin), and

Ostia (Conte et al., David et al., Falzone, Marano). As the editors acknowledge, there is less focus on provincial paintings, though some of these are included in regard to Spain (Guiral Pelegrín et al., Íñiguez Berrozpe), Turkey, the Near East, and North Africa (Bianchi, Guimier-Sorbets, Michaeli, Rozenberg, Santucci, Tober, Vibert-Guigue), and Eleusis (Vavlekas). In terms of subject, aside from the focus given to ancient sources in papers grouped in the 'Text, Site and Context' section, and on iconography in the 'Motifs in Ancient Painting' section, several papers consider technique and technical analysis. There are papers on stucco relief (Boislève), clay (Cavari/Donati), pigments (Bugini et al.), the composition of painted plaster (Murgia/Zerbinatti), and 3D modelling (Chiabrando et al., Clarke).

The scope of the volume is admirable, encompassing a great range of subjects, locations, and chronological periods. Unsurprisingly, some areas receive more coverage than others, for instance Pompeii is covered by more authors than Spain, and wall-painting in Britain is not represented. The papers are written in a range of languages - predominantly English and Italian, with some in French or German, although sometimes there are English-language abstracts for papers written in other languages. Perhaps interestingly for an international volume on ancient wall-painting, just four papers are written in German (Busse, Dörfler, and two by Thomas).

Each article is enriched by high-quality colour illustrations of adequate size within the text, rather than in a separate volume (as in the proceedings of the eleventh conference), which makes it easier for the reader to clearly view these artworks and increases the clarity of the authors' arguments. Each contribution also contains a brief abstract, notes, a bibliography, and the institution and contact details for each author. The lack of indices, general or otherwise, is a missed opportunity, especially for scholars interested in different techniques and materials, or subjects and iconography, but the arrangement of content means a topographical index is not necessary, and in the preface, Mols and Moormann summarise some of the topics and other links between papers.

Carla Brain

S. SCHMIDT-HOFNER/C. AMBOS/P. EICH (eds). *Raum - Ordnung. Raum und soziopolitische Ordnungen im Altertum*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2016. 441 pp., 50 figs, 23 cm (Akademie-Konferenzen, 18). ISBN 978-3-8253-6429-8.

This edited volume on space - organization ('Order') and the sociopolitical organisation in Antiquity is a very welcome addition to a growing literature which looks beyond architecture in the pure descriptive way by taking it to an integrated interpretive level. After a preface to the introduction, an introduction paper by M. Redepenning addresses the core issue of space and the complexity of space in the context of social geography. Both first chapters set the tone for the rest of the volume. The rest of the book is divided into four sections containing a total of 12 contributions. The book finishes with a biographic list of the authors while there

is no index, often missing in edited volumes while nowadays easily produced.

For section one, R. Dubbini investigates the organization of public spaces as part of the emergent polis of Corinth in the Archaic period, and its social, political, economic and religious organisation. By studying the architectural remains of the city from the 9th to the 6th century BCE, it becomes clear how the polis formed itself through processes of increasing social hierarchy whereby private architecture started to become separated or transformed into public spaces in specific city quarters over time. Her study illustrates the architectural planning reflecting the changing social organization from initially segmentary to more centralized forms of socio-political organisation. Especially the increased amount and complexity of waterworks and the elite-funded monumentalisation of the polis testify to these changing trends.

Through Early Minoan and palatial architecture on Crete N. Vander Beken discusses the role of architecture in structuring communities as well as the role of performative activities in the processes of community-building. His diachronic take to the various architectural expressions points to the active role they play in structuring Minoan society. His approach, he claims, can be applied beyond Minoan cultural context, illustrated by Maran's work (references given). The reviewer sees a very similar relation between 'performing' and the 'becoming of the architectural feature' (i.e. when under construction), being an equally powerful process of production and reproduction of socio-political structures in Mycenaean societies as when the end result is considered (e.g. B. Santillo-Frizell, *OpAth* 22-23, 1997-1998, 103-116; A. Brysbaert, *Arctos* 45, 2013, 49-96; ead., *Analecta Prehistorica Leidensia* 45, 2015, 69-90).

U. Thaler builds on his previous work and this has now culminated in his most recent publication (*me-karo-de. Mykenische Paläste als Dokument und Gestaltungsrahmen frühgeschichtlicher Sozialordnung*, Bonn 2018). A main argument is that space and architecture itself can be seen as a network of elements facilitating or obstructing communication by various groups. The Mycenaean palaces of Tiryns (Argolid), Pylos (Messenia) and Mycenae are investigated by means of applying Space Syntax for the social role the spaces played in people's lives. The method, developed by B. Hillier and J. Hanson in 1984 (*The Social Logic of Space*) and well-known by now in the archaeological context shows indeed that space was socially constructed or obstructed. A totally independent study conducted and presented by H. Stöger in the Monumentality workshop (9-10 Dec. 2016, Leiden University) produced an almost identical space syntax image of the palace of Tiryns, confirming the usefulness of the method. In Thaler's paper the richness of the evidence becomes alive when combined with other evidence. His detailed study of painted plaster of walls and floors (esp. Tiryns and Pylos), door thresholds, pottery and meat consumption remains (esp. Pylos) convincingly shows certain trends comparable across the palatial centres, but also significant differences. These places clearly were both in-and exclusive through their levels and types of access (processions, feasting and

economic activities), depending where you were on the social ladder and for which occasion you came in. The socio-political organization, through its architecture, made clear to the Mycenaeans who they were, in their various identity formation processes.

Section two starts with C. Lecompte who challenges the Greek-based notion of city-state as applied to the Late Uruk period Mesopotamia and redefines this. Although the city cannot be separated from the hinterland, studying this region in its own context enhances the understanding that both city and hinterland impacted each other, and that such interactions already took place earlier than hitherto understood. The role of irrigation was key in these geopolitical processes. These state formation processes, which included politically and culturally defined territories for both city and hinterland, took place around 3000 BCE and were one of the earliest documented by written texts in which spatial organization can be seen. Especially in South Mesopotamia, the role of the villages in the hinterland are key in illustrating that the population in the early Dynastic Period was not only of urban origin. Political and especially religious hierarchical institutions forged a unity between the different components that made up the states and this was reflected in their architectural expressions.

Territorial city-state formation processes (known from 3rd millennium Sumer) have been revised in the light of new evidence and texts found from the Amarna period in terms of the evolution of political conceptions for the region of Upper Mesopotamia and surrounding regions. The 'patrimonial' view known from the Amarna rhetoric reflects a legacy of previous periods, while the new evidence suggest to understand the expansion of Assyria in the Syrian Jezireh in the 13th century BCE as pure territorial state formation in its formative stage. H. Reculeau discusses both 'patrimonial' (e.g. Amorite kingdom) and 'territorial' power concepts in their narrow meaning of people-based versus space-based respectively. He understands the changes taking place in the political power structures of 2nd millennium Assyrian studies as an evolutionary trend moving (during the Amarna period) from the person-based power concept which loses terrain to the more territorial-based notion which became fully formed only in the 8th century BCE in the neo-Assyrian empire, an evolution crossing several stages which can be clearly illustrated through the city-state of Aššur.

F. Carlà-Uhink approaches the topic of imperialism in the Roman context in which he sees spatial concepts, such as boundaries and frontiers, as justifying the control over other political entities and as a structural part of the self-perception and worldview of Roman culture. For him, boundaries are both social combined with geographical, and he distinguishes between boundaries (fixed, inwards looking) and frontiers (less well defined zone, outward facing, dynamic), but also *limes*, *finis* and *terminus*, all in relation to the Roman *imperium*. In doing so, he discusses the role of frontiers and boundaries related to identity-formation and its dynamics, and specifically how outside is viewed from inside, i.e. not as another state with equal sovereignty, in

the context of Roman development of imperialism which took place in the second half of the 3rd century BC.

P. Eich's paper discusses the penetration of spaces in the region of Phrygia by groups from outside beyond the borders. This is associated with the restructuring of the provinces around the time of the first tetrarchy. Provinces, such as Phrygia and Caria became split up in smaller units and were joint together, but became stronger governed administratively. This relates to the extraordinary efforts which are linked to Diocletian's persecution of Christians. Such measures can be understood as spatial manifestations of an ever stronger and wider-reaching grip of elites over individuals. The bureaucratically organised system of Christian persecution was both the expression and driving force in the process of tightening the provincial control and explains in part why these two phenomena co-existed. Whereas at first a strong fiscal control of goods and territory played a crucial role in these centrally-organized reforms, the Christian persecution brought this about later on.

C. Ambos introduces section three by looking at sacrality as a spatially organizing principle, set in the Near East. Rituals in this context function as ways to articulate and reproduce cosmic order, made visible in, for example, processions, or temporary spatial installations, such as reed huts as places of rites of passage to another world. Natural elements such as purifying water and mountains play a crucial role too. Ritual spaces thus become higher cosmic ordering principles which bring people together in unity. Ambos emphasizes that ritual space does not just manifests itself this way, but it also makes it possible for people to get into relationships with the gods and the creative orders/forces. For example, to make this relationship possible, the king should pass a night in the hut to make the transition to the other side.

G.J. Selz discusses the principles of movement in rituals through the action of mental mapping the differences and contrasts between the city/civilization versus the steppe/the wild. In this, the organizing principle seems to be based on the ever higher level of the outer worldly, and sacral processions of gods move from the city to the rural/wild environment to confirm this. This is manifested in the spatial component of the ritually enthroned ruler, thus reflecting this hierarchy also in the political sphere of the 3rd millennium. Territorial unity is manifested by processions through which the most important places of settlement and cult place are connected.

Next, J.D. Dillon's study of sacral laws and space shows the differences in organizational principle between local versus foreign cults and how these are shown in land right differences but also through their different socio-legal statuses. He illustrates this through the example whereby Cicero sued Verres for having plundered Sicilian temples. In doing this, Cicero equals the foreign Greek sacral places with its own gods to the Roman sacral concepts and legal categories. However, this lawsuit can only work in Cicero's advantage if the judges understand this terminology of foreign religious concepts in the same way as Cicero meant them. Such manipulation in fact shows how such ritual spatial ordering principles determine religious conscience.

The last section moves away from the material aspect of space but steers to imagined spaces, and how these functioned as projections and symbols of socio-political organizational discourse. S. Schmidt-Hofner gives the example of the olive tree and how this functioned as a symbol and reference point of political imagination for the territory of Attica in Classical Athens. In people's images and stories, that symbol and metaphor articulated their collective values, self-image and the ideology of the Polis, and to this, behavioral expectations were connected. This linking of attitudes to values through the imagined Attic landscape was closely attached to spatial patterning in which the homeland of the Athenians played an important role in constructing their self-image. This imagery was not only a way leading to ideological indoctrination and self-reflection, but it was also present in daily life.

Finally, M.-L. Dészpas discusses, through Tacitus's *Germania*, the elite discourse in thinking about the organization of the imperium, especially the relationship between conquering and submitting, and its link to the inner order, especially that of elite versus the emperor at the time of Diocletian. In this discourse, values such as *virtus*, *libertas* and *imperium iustum* are central. *Germania*, according to Dészpas, is employed by Tacitus as an experimental laboratory and projection image for this organizational discourse debate. The author is convinced that the ordering principles discussed in this book are in fact Rome's. The central principle is the military *virtus* and again, this is a Roman principle. For him, *Germania* contains the spatial order principle in two ways: the manifestation of the socio-political order in space but also and equally one of its constituents.

The overall quality of the papers is high and, at times, may be difficult to access for non-German speakers. The printed book quality is fine although some of the figures, especially the maps, are minute and legends become hard to read. In some cases (paper by Vander Beken) the print itself is not clean and should have been checked by the publishers. The figures throughout the book are also not systematically numbered and whereas there are 50 counted in total, these contain photographs, maps, tables, charts and an appendix, several of which do not have a caption outside the image. Ancient text excerpts are not calculated here as figures *per se*. Due to its specialised nature, this book and its papers serve mainly reading for MA and PhD level and above, and is less suited for BA teaching readings.

Ann Brysbaert

LAURENT BRICAULT/ANDREW BURNETT/VINCENT DROST/ARNAUD SUSPÈNE (eds), *Rome et les Provinces - Monnayage et Histoire: Mélanges offerts à Michel Amandry*. Bordeaux: Ausonius éditions, 2017, pp. 464, 30 tables; 30 cm (Numismatica Antiqua 7). – ISBN 978-2-35613-197-3.

This *Festschrift* was published on the occasion of the retirement of Michel Amandry as director of the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in 2013. At his 70th birthday, it was offered to the

erudite and highly productive numismatist, who is the author of more than 15 books, 20 edited volumes and 343 articles. The volume, consisting of more than 30 articles, deals with various kind of subjects, all related to the research of Amandry, which cover the study of Greek, Roman as well as provincial Roman coinage. What makes the volume unique is that many articles give an overview of the latest research - with often unpublished material - concerning several numismatic debates, which are presented by international renowned scholars. The majority of the articles are written in French or English.

The volume opens with a study, written by F. de Callatay, about the 18th century scholar Jean-Jacques Barthémely, an early predecessor of Amandry as keeper of the coin collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Despite its importance for understanding the classification of standard numismatic catalogues and for reconstructing the history of specific coin collections, a focus on the history of numismatics is a recent development.

The volume continues with several articles dealing with 'hard-core' numismatic analysis and debates, many of these are dedicated to coinage that circulated in Republican times. Concerning early Roman coinage, P.G. van Alfen has written an article on the early *aes rude* and the beginnings of the monetary system in Rome, a piece that is useful for students and scholars who want to get a short, but good introduction to this material. S. Nieto-Pelletier and F. Duval present new insights about the composition of the bronze Gallic coinage that circulated in the 1st century BC. Illustrated by several graphs, their research shows that the Gallic coin series with iconographical themes similar to the Celtic *stateres* share similar characteristics regarding metal and weight composition. The same can be said for Gallic coinage with Roman iconography. Another promising chemical analysis was done by D. Bocciarelli, M. Blet-Lemarquand and A. Suspène on the gold coins issued during the troubled years AD 68-69 in the western provinces. The debased metal composition illustrates clearly the financial impact of the civil wars on the coin production. As Amandry is one of the editors of the *Roman Provincial Coinage* (RPC) volumes and author of multiple articles on this kind of coinage, the *Festschrift* contains also several articles dedicated to the study of provincial coinage. Often additions to the existing RPC volumes are suggested or a small catalogue for a particular set of coins is provided. For matter of completeness, I give a list of the cities whose provincial coinage is discussed in this volume: Apamea (Severan Period), Aspendos, northern Asia Minor (Julio-Claudian period), Peleponnesos (Severan period), Temenothyrae (Licinian period) and Tralles (Diva Paulina).

Many articles demonstrate how coins can serve as a source for other studies in the fields of political, military, social and cultural history. I have selected some to discuss in further detail. B. Woytek has written a thorough piece on the coinage issued in honour of divus Nerva in which he analyses all coins featuring divus Nerva on imperial and provincial coinage. He first concludes that the infrequent appearance of Nerva on Tra-

jan's coin output strengthens the former conclusion of Hekster that Trajan did not need an explicit link with his predecessor to legitimise his reign (cf. O. Hekster, *Emperors and Ancestors: Roman rules and the constraints of tradition*. Oxford 2015). The article continues with a discussion on the scarce presence of divus Nerva type in the consecration series of Decius and Trebonianus Gallus. On provincial coinage, the popularity of the type varied; only the mints of Berythus, the Galatian Koinon and Perinthus minted relatively many coins with divus Nerva. When present, the provincial coinage of divus Nerva seems to echo the appearance of the type on official Roman coinage. A. Burnett presents a case study on Trajan's different titles, such as *Imperator*, *Optimus* and *Parthikos*, and the date of the accession of Hadrian. By comparing evidence from coins with that from papyri, inscriptions and *diplomata*, Burnett concludes that the officers in Rome were often confused about newly adopted titles, while the emperor was frequently away from Rome. However, there seemed to have been room for later corrections when unwanted titles had been adopted in Trajan's coin titlature, explaining subsequently why new titles appeared on different sources over time. The study of a remarkable bronze series, featuring Hadrian and his adopted son Aelius Caesar, issued by M. Iulius Damianus, who originated from a powerful Mylasian family (Caria), is written by F. Delrieux. After providing a brief overview of the types including their descriptions, weights, measurements, and their known specimens, Delrieux sketches how this series is different in style and agency from the coin output of Mylasa and that of Asia Minor in general, concluding that the series is a unique testimony of monetary euergetism in Roman times, benefitting the citizens of Mylasa as well as honouring the imperial house. R. Bland makes a strong case for an imperial visit of Gordian III to Antioch. The article is built around the issue of silver radiates at the Roman mint of Antioch together with two ADVENTVS types, traditionally symbolising an imperial arrival at an imperial mint. By combining this with evidence from other sources, such as literary ones, a doubtful imperial rescript and an inscription from Dura Europos, Bland is able to date Gordian's visit to Antioch to the Spring of AD 239. Most likely, the visit was meant to consolidate the cities in Syria after some Persian raids. D. Hollard has contributed an iconographical study on the depiction of solar themes on the coinage of the Gallic usurpers (AD 268-274). The theme is frequently present on Gallic coins, by the display of e.g. Sol Invictus, Luna, or the legend ORIENS AVG. Although this theme was originally eastern, the coins mainly circulated in the Gallic Empire, where, many soldiers at the Rhine limes were initiated into the Mithras cult. As the doctrine and the rituals were only known to its initiates, no Mithraic elements could be displayed (directly) on the Gallic imperial coinage. Hollard concludes with the suggestion that the solar theme must have been an alternative way for the Gallic usurpers to target the soldiers at the Rhine. Unfortunately Hollard does not expand on the issue about the agency of the Gallic coins, which might have brought up new insights. The last article I would like

to discuss in this section is written by J. van Heesch. His article on 3rd-century coin hoards found in Gaul and the Germanies is a carefully built-up argument to counter a new theory which states that no literary sources support the idea that barbarian invasions can be linked with 3rd-century coin hoards (often called emergency hoards). This 'anti-invasion lobby', as van Heesch calls them, is dominated by British scholars, but has followers on the continent as well. His research results, nicely illustrated with maps and tables, demonstrate that the hoards from the north western part of Gaul were buried due to the 'Germanic' raids that took place under the reigns of Gallienus and Postumus.

In the *Festschrift* several articles on numismatic curiosities are also included. Often such material does not find its way to a publication or is published for only a very specific academic public. This *Festschrift* is an excellent way to bring them under attention of a broader public. I list some. The Roman colony of Nîmes is known for its crocodile coinage featuring the portraits of Augustus and Agrippa on the obverse. Some coins of this series have been found with a metal paw of a wild boar attached to it. After providing a new catalogue of all known examples and a technical analysis, P. Villemur and M. Blet-Lemarquand discuss the function of these curious monetary objects. They suggest that they were used as *ex-voto* or *ex-dono*. Yet, as they admit, many questions concerning these monetary objects remain. Another article deals with the mysterious Iberian Kili coinage, a coin series of Iberia, of which P. P. Ripollès proposes an alternative provenance near the city of Valencia, based on the geographical dissemination of the coins. The articles of U. Wartenberg and V. Drost prove again that there are exceptions to the standard practice in Antiquity that dies were destroyed after they were worn in order to prevent misuse (cf. my own research after the re-use of dies at the Alexandrian mint under Septimius Severus: The consecratio coins for Commodus, a reconsideration, *Revue belge de numismatique et de sigillographie* 158, 2012, 207-224). Wartenberg demonstrates that it is possible that in the remote provincial town of Skepsis a 300 year old coin die was reused to produce new coinage under the reign of Trajan, whereas Drost identifies four reverse types of Gallic imitation radiates, which originate from official dies of the Gallic usurpers, suggesting that these dies had been stolen - despite the high security measures of the official mints - to be used by a clandestine mint.

The editors have succeeded in providing a useful and accessible volume with various numismatic studies, which are not only meant for a numismatic public, but are also a valuable basis for a broader public of archaeologists, historians and classicists who want to use coins as a source in their research.

Liesbeth Claes

FRANK VERMEULEN/DIMITRI VAN LIMBERGEN/PATRICK MONSIEUR/DEVI TAELEMAN (eds), *The Potenza Valley Survey (Marche, Italy). Settlement dynamics and changing material culture in an Adriatic valley between Iron Age and Late Antiquity*. Roma: Academia Belgica, 2017. 424 pp., 117 figs, 21 tables; 30 cm (Studia Archaeologica 1) – no ISBN code.

Since the 1950s, over a hundred systematic regional field survey projects have investigated river valleys, city hinterlands and other regional units throughout the Italian peninsula (<http://www.fastionline.org/survey/>). These surveys provide a rich account of micro-regional and regional settlement histories, but it remains a major challenge integrate these in supra-regional comparisons and syntheses (cf. Richard Blanton's critique on 'Mediterranean Myopia' voiced in *Antiquity* 75, 2001, 627-629 and papers in S. Alcock/J. Cherry (eds), *Side-by-Side Survey. Comparative Regional Studies in the Mediterranean World* (Oxford) 2004). Considering the scientific importance of such syntheses, it is sad to note that survey data are rarely if ever fully available for re-use: during a recent review I could find data publications (usually a site catalogue) for approximately half of the Italian projects, and digital data archives of less than ten.

In this light, the volume under review forms a very welcome contribution. It is one of two recent major publications deriving from the University of Ghent's Potenza Valley Survey (PVS), a regional landscape archaeological project initiated in 2000 to study the long-term settlement history of the Potenza River Valley on the Adriatic coast of central Italy. Where the second book, authored by the main investigator Frank Vermeulen, provides a synthetic outlook on processes of urbanisation and colonisation in the wider central Adriatic, the current multi-authored volume presents the field data of the PVS. Both volumes focus mainly on the Iron Age and Roman periods.

The book consists of two main parts, which are followed by a summary of the long-term development of settlement and society in the Potenza Valley. The first part consists of six chapters that introduce the project's aims and methods as well as the main results of the geo-archaeological investigations, the on-site surveys at protohistoric and Roman (proto-)urban sites, the rural field surveys and the artefact studies. These chapters provide a rich account of the research, although some data and analyses are, as the authors acknowledge, left out for obvious reasons: full presentation and documentation of the data, which includes some 10,000 aerial photos and derivatives and a large amount of geophysical prospection data is certainly impossible in print (although challenging the dataset could set a standard for on-line archiving practices). An unfortunate lacuna in the chapter on the artefact groups concerns the black gloss pottery, which is not discussed but very important in light of the period of Roman colonization – a period that along with the Iron Age (when central places arose in the area) was crucial: it witnessed the foundation of the colony of Potentia, several roads and roadside settlements as well as the

settlement of colonist farmers in the countryside. Considering these fundamental transformations to the regional settlement network, it is unfortunate that part of the underlying dating evidence is not discussed.

The second part of the book presents the survey data and consists of catalogues of sites and artefacts. The site entries provide a clear overview of the gathered information and interpretations in terms of site types and chronologies (the procedures are explained in chapter 5 in part 1). The artefact catalogue is arranged according to chronological and ware groups as studied by different specialists and accompanied by line drawings and a selection of colour photos. The numbers of diagnostics presented in the catalogue seem to be rather low with only ca 15 fragments of black gloss and ca 50 fragments of terra sigillata for a total of over 200 sites, including some large urban centres with extremely high artefact densities. This might suggest that not all diagnostic materials are presented.

Both parts are well written and structured, and clearly illustrated by abundant and clear colour images. At one point the link between data and analyses is not entirely clear: both typologically dated diagnostic artefacts and ceramic wares with broader date ranges were used to establish site chronology and discern certain and possible occupation and residual phases. This distinction is in turn based on a comparison of the chronology of individual site assemblages with the overall site assemblage and the off-site assemblage. While this is a sensible approach (e.g. in order to deal with issues of residuality), it cannot be reproduced by the reader, as information on the dating of ceramic wares is not included.

The book reflects the state-of-the-art nature of the PVS as a project that successfully combines intensive systematic field survey with excavation, geoarchaeological investigations and in-depth artefact studies (typological, petrographic and chemical), to investigate past settlement, land-use and economy. A particular strength of the project is the role of a range of geophysical (magnetometry, georadar, and resistivity) and remote sensing approaches, especially oblique aerial photography, which are all applied to map and monitor archaeological sites and the landscape. The volume clearly shows the value of a systematic integration of these methods, especially for understanding complex urban sites.

In sum, the volume does have some limitations: it does not provide a full presentation of the project outcomes or its data, and in some instances the links between data and interpretations could have been improved. Nonetheless, it is an extremely valuable resource: first, with its concise summary texts and extensive references to other more detailed project publications, it provides an excellent and indispensable introduction to the project. Second, even if there are some possible gaps in the ceramic data, it provides one of the few combined inventories of sites and quantified ceramic data for the Italian peninsula. As such, it is a valuable source for those interested in the re-use of field survey data and may provide a useful building block for comparative analyses.

Tijmon de Haas

G. SCARDOZZI (ed.), *Nuovo Atlante di Hierapolis di Frigia: cartografia archeologica della città e delle necropoli*. Istanbul: Ege Yayınları & Francesco D'Andria, 2015. X, 293 pp., 47 figs, 56 maps; 36.4 cm. – ISBN 978-605-4701-85-8. Online version with a description of the development of the urban area and web-GIS: <http://hierapolis.ibam.cnr.it>

The *Nuovo Atlante di Hierapolis di Frigia*, the seventh volume in the 'Hierapolis di Frigia' series, is a renewed and elaborated version of the cartographic atlas, the *Atlante di Hierapolis* that was published in 2008. The work focuses on the new research that was carried out by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Hierapolis between 2008 and 2013, and includes the data from the excavations on the northeast necropolis carried out by the University of Oslo. The structure and development of the city and necropoleis are comprehensively explained by means of textual and visual contributions by 36 authors and 56 cartographic maps created by the Italian Institute for Archaeological and Monumental Heritage of the National Research Council (IBAM-CNR). A separate map of the site and its surroundings is included in the back of the book, and web-GIS is available for further explorations.

Scardozzi starts the introduction stating that since its initiation between 2006 and 2007, the *Atlante di Hierapolis* has been designed not as a point of arrival, but as a tool to present the knowledge of the city and its necropolis on large-scale cartographic maps in a systematized way, on the base of which it is possible to plan future research activities. Although the first edition of the *Atlante* has served this purpose very well, the second edition is more complete and user-friendly. The overall layout of the old version is maintained, but the new atlas adds a focus on the geological context of the site. Moreover, the data acquired in the past years is re-evaluated and expanded. The *Nuovo Atlante di Hierapolis* expands on earlier results from excavations, geophysical prospection, and the study of satellite imagery with additional remote-sensing techniques, including drone imagery, and well as geologic, hydrologic and seismic data. The information on the maps is re-visualized in the new *Atlante*, using significantly more reduced and comprehensible symbology.

The result is an exhaustive and interdisciplinary publication that can be used as a base for new research and protection of the structures. The data in the book in combination with the web-GIS allows scholars to understand in greater detail the layout and geographic context of the site, and its development through time.

The book is divided in four parts: I) an explanation on the cartographic methods, II) an outline of the historical developments in Hierapolis and chronology of the built environment, III) the 56 maps often accompanied by a description, and IV) the seismic data. Additionally, two appendices discuss the geo-archaeological research and the excavations in two specific areas.

Despite the large quantity of information in the first part of the book, its structure allows the reader to maintain an overview. The research aspects are subdivided in 5 chapters that discuss as technical aspects

and organization of the data, methods of data collection, research on the wall and the geodatabase, and topographical remarks. Especially important is the choice not only to describe the methods, but also to raise problems and explain deliberate choices in the research. This gives the reader significant insights in the process of creating the map, and the accompanying possibilities and drawbacks.

The second part of the book takes the reader through the (building) history of Hierapolis. This overview starts with the Greek-Macedonian colony, continues through the Roman and Early Byzantine period and extends to the decline of the city after the 7th century and the last signs of habitation in the 13th or 14th century. Separate chapters explain the travertine channels, the development of the north necropolis and the development of the city walls. Although the historical overview mainly focuses on the chronology of the buildings in the city, a wider social, cultural or religious context is presented in some cases.

The third part exists of 53 maps that combine to one large plan of the city and the necropoleis on a 1:1000 scale, and created using the UTM projection in a geodatabase. The legend is conveniently split up in several groups, each with their own symbols and distinctions between surviving structures and reconstructions: archaeology, modern topography, and geomorphology/hydrography. The maps are accompanied by concise descriptions taken from the previous *Atlante di Hierapolis*, discussing the structures, ancient roads leading through the area, and later use of the area. Where possible, new information is added on the travertine channels. The fact that the maps are accompanied by explanations makes it a user-friendly and comprehensible overview of the geography and developments of an entire city. Three additional maps zoom in on specific structures.

Part four on the seismic data explains how hydrothermal and tectonic activity is seen on the surface in Hierapolis, which mainly manifested in a long strip on the western side of the urban area. It includes an explanation of the archeo-seismological database and a map with a comprehensible catalogue that describes 88 manifestations such as fissures and depressions is included. The appendices present the geo-archaeological research and preliminary results from the excavations. The following seven pages of references ascertain a solid starting point for further research.

The strength of the book is in the presentation of a multidisciplinary approach that brings together an impressive quantity of data and that reaches past traditional research boundaries, while summarizing the impressive dataset into a comprehensible and well-structured overview. Moreover, the open-access data such as the online-GIS view and online data facilitates easy access to the data, stimulating cooperation between specialists. Although the first part of the book presents the methodologies too detailed at times, the maps are easy to use and provide important insights in the research areas, even for a reader with little knowledge on the site and surrounding necropoleis. All in all, the *Nuovo Atlante di Hierapolis di Frigia* is indispensable as a resource for those who wish to

study Hierapolis and want to become acquainted with the lay-out and chronology of the city and necropoleis.

Paula Kalkman

RONALD T. RIDLEY, *The prince of antiquarians Francesco De Ficoroni*. Roma: Quasar 2017, 297 S., 55 figs., 24 cm, – ISBN 978-88-7140-775-3.

Die für die archäologische Forschung außergewöhnlich interessante Persönlichkeit des römischen Antiquars und Altertumsforschers Francesco De Ficoroni (1664-1747) wurde in der zur Rezension stehenden Publikation von Ronald T. Ridley monographisch vorgestellt und gewürdigt. Ridley ist durch umfangreiche Studien auf dem Gebiet der römischen Altertumskunde für dieses Thema ausgewiesen (u.a. in: *To protect the Monuments. The Papal Antiquarian* (1534-1870), *Xenia Antiqua* 1, 1992, 115-154). Die Schrift stellt erstmalig die weit verstreuten Hinweise auf diesen Gelehrten systematisch zusammen und wertet bisher wenig bekanntes Quellenmaterial aus. In 14 Kapiteln präsentiert Ridley die verschiedenen Aspekte des Gelehrten, der gleichzeitig Archäologe, Ausgräber, Sammler, Epigraph, Numismatiker und wissenschaftlicher Autor war, Topograph und Kontaktperson zwischen den italienischen Antiquaren und internationalen Kollektionisten. Die zuletzt erwähnten Kontakte ergaben sich aus Tätigkeit Ficoronis als römischer Cicerone, einer Tätigkeit, die er liebevoll, vor allem aber aus ökonomischen Gründen pflegen musste.

In der Einleitung nennt Ridley die wichtigsten neueren Veröffentlichungen, wobei eine größere Systematik zu wünschen wäre, weil die Wissenschaftsgeschichte nicht mehr allgemeiner Schwerpunkt der Klassischen Archäologie ist. Das Buch wird von einer sorgfältigen Bibliographie (S. 279-289) begleitet, einem Namenindex mit Objekthinweisen und Illustrationen, die die archäologische Szene des Settecento in Rom beleuchten. Zu erwähnen sind die reizvollen Karikaturen 'Pier Leone Ghezzi (1674-1755)', der als Zeitgenosse, 'pittore delle Camera Apostolica' und Vorsteher der päpstlichen Mosaikwerkstätten die Gelehrten alle persönlich kannte.

Kapitel 1 vertieft die sorgfältig recherchierten Lebendaten des DBI 47 (1997) von L. Asor Rosa durch Archivforschungen, mit denen Ridley den Werdegang von Ficoroni beleuchtet. Er studierte bei dem Experten Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1615-1696) und trat 1688 in den Dienst von Filippo Antonio Gualtieri (1660-1733), einem aktiven Antiquitätenfreund, der als Kenner der französischen Diplomatie 1706 Kardinal wurde. Gualtieri förderte den begeisterten Antiquar und Ausgräber und kaufte ihm sowohl Teile des Inventars aus den Grabungen in der Vigna Moroni ab, als auch Aquarelle des römischen Malers Gaetano Piccini (1681-1736), den Ficoroni mit der zeichnerischen Dokumentation der Ausgrabung an der Via Appia betraut hatte. Nach dem Tod des Kardinals kaufte Ficoroni Objekte der Sammlung Gualtieri zurück, um sie 1738 in England zum Kauf anzubieten. Ridley schildert in diesem Kapitel mehr oder weniger chronologisch die Kontakte zu reisenden Ausländern und die sich daraus ergebenden

Geschäftsbeziehungen. Antikenhandel war im 18. Jahrhundert an der Tagesordnung. Abbe Bernardo Strebini war Ficoronis Partner bei Transporten ins Ausland, die über den Hafen Livorno abgewickelt wurden - zuweilen über Umwege wie Smyrna oder Alexandria. Wir hören von Kriminalfällen wegen illegalen Antikenschmuggels und auch dem polizeilich angeordneten Arrest Ficoronis im eigenen Haus in der via dei Serpenti. Durch akribisch recherchierte Details gelingt es Ridley einen spannenden Lebensbericht zu entwerfen und lässt seinen 'Prince of Antiquarians' lebendig werden.

In Kapitel 2 werden die römischen Antiquare zu Lebzeiten von Ficoroni vorgestellt. Die Stadt am Tiber war keineswegs eine beschauliche Stadt, wie die friedlichen Veduten mit Staffagefiguren suggerieren. Es handelt sich um ein Zwischenkapitel, in dessen Mittelpunkt das berühmte Blatt von Ghezzi 'Kongress der Antiquare' im Vatikan steht, wo sich die eifernden Gelehrten schachernd um den Baron Philip von Stosch tummeln (Abb. 10). Methodisch wäre dieser Teil eher in Kapitel 1 zu behandeln und die Kollektionen thesaurisch als Appendix anzuführen. Kapitel 3 behandelt Ficoroni als Experten der römischen Topographie. Zu diesem Thema sind griffige Studien selten, weil die Literatur häufig historisch ausufert.

Kapitel 4 ist eines der wichtigsten Kapitel des Buches, weil es chronologisch die Ausgrabungstätigkeit Ficoronis behandelt. Er war an fast allen wichtigen Ausgrabungen seiner Zeit in Rom beteiligt. 1705 startete er seine diesbezügliche Karriere in einer der reichsten stadtrömischen Nekropolen, der Vigna Moroni (vgl. Abb. 14-16) an der Via Appia antica, und begründete damit seinen Ruhm als Ausgräber, denn er fand u.a. die Grabanlage der Passienii, einer mit dem Kaiserhaus verwandten, senatorischen Familie. Er publizierte die Grabung von 92 Grabbauten - wenn auch dürftig - in seiner Schrift *Bolla d'oro* (1732). Ergänzend ist anzumerken, dass es zuvor eine Art von Survey gegeben haben muss, um das Terrain zu sondieren. Dies beweist das Aquarell einer Malerei mit der Darstellung einer Columbarienwand mit geflügelter Nike, die 1704 auf dem Nachbargrundstück, der Vigna Casali, gefunden worden war. Das Aquarell ist von dem bereits genannten Piccini, den Ficoroni engagiert hatte, um die vergängliche Wandmalerei künstlerisch festzuhalten. Ficoroni war scheinbar der ersten Ausgräber, der sich der Notwendigkeit einer Dokumentation bewusst war. Die Aufsehen erregenden Funde aus der Vigna Moroni gelangten in die Sammlung des Jesuitenkollegs. Eine detaillierte Kenntnis über den Verbleib der einzelnen Objekte wäre wünschenswert, war aber Ridley bei der disparaten Forschungslage nicht möglich. Diesem Start in ein Ausgräberleben folgten zahlreiche weitere Unternehmungen und eine Fülle von Informationen, die in *Feas Miscellanea* eingingen. Im Appendix stellt Ridley eine nützliche chronologische Zusammensicht archäologischer Aktivitäten zwischen 1675 und 1747 mit entsprechenden Nachweisen in Ficoronis Schriften vor.

Kapitel 5 wird in die Forschungsschwerpunkte des Gelehrten gegliedert. (a) Columbaria. Ficoroni hatte selbst eine Vielzahl von Columbarien ausgegraben und verfolgte hochmotiviert weitere diesbezügliche Grabungen. (b) Die Straßen Roms. Entlang der Gräber-

strassen unternahm er gelegentlich kleine Surveys und versuchte beispielsweise die Niveauunterschiede zur modernen Lauffläche festzustellen (vgl. via Latina bei S. Sisto Vecchio). (c) Marmore und Steinmaterial. Hierbei wurde die Größe eines Blockes oder einer Säule vermessen und das Material bestimmt, ein Gesichtspunkt, den auch Winckelmann interessierte. (d) Versuch einer Identifikation antiker Statuen, die jedoch nach wenigen Jahren durch Winckelmann und seinen gelehrten Kreis überholt war. (e) Etruskisches. In dieses Gebiet wurde Ficoroni durch seinen Florentiner Freund Antonio Gori eingeführt. (f) Archäologische Zeugnisse. Ficoroni versuchte, antike Monumente zu identifizieren und - gemäß der ihm zur Verfügung stehenden Quellen - zeitlich einzuordnen. So bezeichnet er malerische Reste der Domus Aurea als vom Palast des Titus stammend (vgl. Piccini- Zeichnungen, Codex Corsini). In der Beurteilung Ficoronis durch spätere Archäologen (S. 106-109) spielt das Werk Winckelmanns eine gewichtige Rolle. Unabhängig von einzelnen Irrtümern ist der Generationenwechsel zwischen den wilden Grabungen der Goldgräberzeit und einem systematischen Erforschen der antiken Denkmäler seit Winckelmann zu konstatieren. Ridley zieht zahlreiche Quellen zu Ficoronis wissenschaftlicher Beurteilung heran (S. 109, Anm. 59 zu E. Fileri, Fehlzitat), enthält sich jedoch einer eigenen Meinung. Ficoroni war ein typischer Vertreter der Antiquare, wie sie in der liebevollen Karikatur von Ghezzi auftreten. Bei der zeichnerischen Dokumentation seiner Ausgrabungen wurden aber nicht nur die malerischen Motive aufgenommen, sondern auch Grabzusammenhänge gezeichnet, Perspektiven, Ansichten und Schnitte vermaßt. Im heutigen Gelände sind leider keine dieser Komplexe zu verorten (vgl. Codex Corsini, E. Fileri, *Xenia Antiqua* 9, 2000, 86). Die hierbei entstandenen Aquarelle sind die einzigen authentischen Zeugnisse von Ausgrabungen in Rom um 1704/1710 und gehen mit Sicherheit auf das Gespür Ficoronis für archäologische Zusammenhänge zurück und nicht auf den Maler. Ficoroni war ein Tausendsassa, der vielerlei Nützliches aufzeichnete und in seinen Schriften überlieferte. Die Beurteilung Ficoronis als Archäologe ist insofern interessant, weil Ridley bisher wenig bekanntes Archivmaterial heranzieht. An vielen Stellen beobachtet er dessen Geschäftssinn und Schlitzohrigkeit, die ihn auch in kriminelle Machenschaften verwickelte. Ridley berichtet zwar häufig, wie illegaler Antikenhandel an Ficoroni herangetragen wurde; dabei ist ihm aber entgangen, dass sich Ficoroni gelegentlich auch in Fälscherkreisen umgesehen muss. So fand der Ausgräber Giuseppe Mitelli auf dem Esquilin in der Region, die Ficoroni für den Palast des Titus hielt, 1702 eine Zeusstatuette, die er Ficoroni zum Kauf anbot (S. 81, 115). Sie befindet sich heute als 'Euripides' im Louvre (MA 343; s. F. De' Ficoroni, *Le memorie ritrovate nel territorio delle prima e seconda Città di Labico*, Roma 1745, 104; Fundortangabe eventuell reine Fiktion). Offensichtlich wurde sie im Umfeld von Ficoroni verkaufswirksam angepasst (diesen Hinweis verdanke ich H.R. Goette, Berlin, und F.G. J.M. Müller, Amsterdam), die Anregung, in dem Euripides ein Produkt des sog. *secolo delle manipolazioni* zu sehen.

In Kapitel 6 steht die Sammelleidenschaft Ficoronis im Mittelpunkt der Betrachtung. Ridley verwickelt den Leser in eine spannende Geschichte von Funden und Handel mit antiken Objekten. Gleichzeitig erwachte auch sein Interesse an Münzen, denn fast täglich brachten Arbeiter ihm Münzen, Bronzen oder Terrakotten zu Beurteilung und zum Kauf. In diese Raubgräberstimmung wurde gehandelt und geschachert, denn es ging um Geld, Einfluss bei den fürstlichen und geistlichen Auftraggebern, literarischen Erfolg und um die Sammlung Ficoroni, in der Objekte aus zahlreichen Grabungen Roms versammelt waren evtl. nach Vorbild des Museum Etruscorum seines Freundes F. Goris in Florenz. Die Berichte von Ridley überlappen sich hier mit den Themen anderer Kapitel und enthalten zahlreiche Einzelinformationen über die Sammlungsobjekte, mit deren Kupferstichen er seine Publikationen illustrierte. Unter Benedikt XIV. wurden Teile der Sammlung für das Museo Capitolino erworben. Ridley beschreibt sorgfältig die berühmte Cista Ficoronis, die in einem Brief vom 14. Mai 1738 erstmalig erwähnt, in der Nähe von Ficoronis Heimat Labica (heute Lagnano) südlich von Palestrina in einem Gräberfeld mit vielen Cisten gefunden wurde. Ficoroni schenkte die Ciste dem von Contuccio Contucci (1688-1768) geleiteten Museo Kircheriano, wahrscheinlich weil er sich Contucci für zahlreiche wissenschaftliche Hinweise verpflichtet fühlte. Sehr wertvoll sind die abschließenden Archivnachrichten über das Schicksal der Ficoroni-Sammlung, die der 'Prince of Antiquarians' seit c. 1690 zusammengetragen hatte.

Das Kapitel 7 befasst sich mit Ficoronis Antikenhandel. Dieser amüsante und gut lesbare Teil liefert zahlreiche Details über die Wanderung von Objekten oder intimen Treffen wie mit A. Capponi auf Piazza Navona zum Café mit gleichzeitiger Münzbegutachtung und ähnliche Begebenheiten. Ficoroni handelte auch mit bibliophilen Raritäten. Doch diese Geschäfte waren - wie bereits angedeutet - in den seltensten Fällen legal und es führte zu einer nicht abbreißenden Serie juristischer Streitereien, weil in den Jahren 1730-1732 Gesetze zur Unterbindung des Antikenhandels erlassen worden waren. Die meisten belastenden Dokumente gegen diese Art der Tätigkeit des 'Prince of Antiquarians' stammen von Francesco Bartoli (1670-1733), der nach dem Tod seines berühmten Vaters 1700-1733 das Amt des Commissario delle Antichità innehatte.

Kapitel 8 handelt von Ficoronis Großzügigkeit. Diese und eine gesellige Natur zeichnete Ficoroni bereits in der Jugend aus, denn als eigenbrötlerischer Antiquar, wie ihn I. Herklotz charakterisiert (Der Antiquar als komische Figur, in *Welche Antike?*, Wiesbaden 2011, 141-182), hätte er kein so bewegtes Leben mit umfangreichen Kontakten führen können. Ridley listet hier erfreulicherweise die Empfänger von Geschenken auf. Ficoroni versandte - wie schon erwähnt - Inschriftkopien an Fachgelehrte. Zahlreiche Objekte überließ er dem Museo Kircheriano. Vom Totenbett sandte Ficoroni dem Baron Philipp von Stosch eine Gemme mit dem Motiv eines Mannes, der die Maske anlegt.

In Kapitel 9 wird der epigraphische Aspekt bei Ficoroni gewürdigt, dessen größte Aufmerksamkeit den Memorialtexten galt, die schließlich in Mommsens *CIL* VI Eingang fanden.

Kapitel 10 ist der Numismatik gewidmet. Bereits für die Publikation der *columna Antonini Pii* von Giovanni Vignoli (1705) lieferte Ficoroni Münzen zur Illustration der Texte. Dank seiner Münzfunde wurden zahlreiche Bauwerke datiert (Tempio di Fortuna Muliebre oder der c.d. Tempio di Vesta am Tiber).

Kapitel 11 befasst sich mit den Schriften Ficoronis. Hervorzuheben sind: *La bolla d'oro* (1732), in dessen zweitem Teil Ficoroni bezüglich seiner Ausgrabungstätigkeit konkret wird, *Tali ed altri strumenti lusori* (1734), *Maschere* (1736), *Vestigia* (1744), *Labica* (1745) und postum 1757 von Nicolo Galeotti bearbeitet *Gemmae antiquae*.

Kapitel 12 beschreibt Ficoronis italienischen Kreis. Ridley gliedert alphabetisch in: a. kirchliche Hierarchie, b. aristokratische Kreise, c. Künstler und Arbeitsleute, d. weitere Persönlichkeiten, die mit Altertümern befasst waren und e. Ausgräber (vgl. Register S. 291-297).

In Kapitel 13 betont Ridley die internationalen Kunstkontakte Ficoronis, die sich innerhalb der Kapitel vielfach überschneiden. Die Kontrahenten sind alphabetisch erfasst (vgl. Register S. 251-264).

Kapitel 14 würdigt die Lebensleistung von Ficoroni, viele Ehrenmitgliedschaften (Royal Society in London, Academia degli Arcadi in Rom etc.). Zentrale Eloge ist sein Verdienst um ein Museum im eigenen Haus.

Ich fasse zusammen. Ridley würdigt die Stellung von Ficoroni in der Geschichte der Archäologie. Es ist nicht die Sicht des Theoretikers Winckelmann, sondern beruht auf den alltäglichen Erfahrungen in Rom, auf der Praxis. Die weit angelegten Diskurse sind gut recherchiert und bieten ein Spiegelbild der Archäologie, der zeitgenössischen Antiquare und der römischen Gesellschaft vom Ende des Settecento bis in die Mitte des Ottocento, und tragen der veränderten Auffassung von Wissenschaft Rechnung. Bedauerlich, wenn auch bei der Fülle der Informationen verständlich, sind in diesem Buch einige irritierende Irrtümer in der Zitierweise. Die zunächst bestechende Übersichtlichkeit durch die Kapitelfolge führt zu Überschneidungen, die auch den fachlich motivierten Leser leicht ermüden und infolge der Vielzahl der involvierten Personen verwirren. *Prince of Antiquarians* ist ein großer Gewinn für die Wissenschaftsgeschichte und ein solides Nachschlagewerk, auch wenn die Rez. die methodische Straffung und eine stärkere thesaurische Auflistung für übersichtlicher und wünschenswert hält.

Helke Kammerer-Grothaus

SASKIA STEVENS, *City Boundaries and Urban Development in Roman Italy*. Leuven/Paris/Bristol, CT: Peeters, 2017. 323 pp., 58 figs, 4 appendices; 24 cm (Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion 16). – ISBN 978-90-429-3305-7.

This book aims to address 'the impact of urban development on city borders and borderscapes' or 'what happened to the various city boundaries once the city started to develop beyond its original limits' (p. 5)? The chronological range of this study is defined with reference to the construction of the 'Servian Wall' in the 4th century BCE and the building of the Aurelian Walls in the 3rd century CE; whilst at the same time

looking beyond Rome to gain further insights from studying dateable boundary extensions. The most detailed case studies come from Ostia, Rome, and Pompeii with further thoughts on other cities, such as Saepinum and Carsulae.

The book has five chapters plus introduction and conclusion. Chapter 1 focusses on the *pomerium* and the rite of *sulcus primigenius* through a detailed discussion of the evidence and reference to numerous modern theories on the position of the *pomerium*, a very useful figure (47) summarises much of the discussion and the evidence is listed in Appendix 1. Chapter 2 moves onto the subject of city walls, as well as boundaries in cities without walled circuits. The focus on Italy will cause readers to look elsewhere for evidence from the numerous Gallic cities that for a substantial section of the Roman period did not have walled circuits. Chapter 3 moves onto the subject of the expansion of cities beyond their walled circuits that is mainly focussed on chronological periods: 2nd century BCE; from the Social War to Augustus, the Pax Augusta and the Monumentalization of Cities, and from the Flavians to the 3rd century CE. In Chapter 4, the discussion shifts to the 'realm of the dead' and in Chapter 5 there are three case studies from Rome - Porta Collina, Ostia - Porta Romana and Pompeii - Porta di Ercolano.

It has to be said that the main focus of the book is located in the period 200 BCE to 200 CE. Surprisingly, the reader is not provided with an account as to why the Aurelian Wall circuit was located in its rather distinctive location. The real value of this book comes through in the study of archaeologically discovered inscriptions and dated tombs. For those wishing to teach the *pomerium* or city walls to undergraduates - chapters 1 and 2 provide excellent discussion of the evidence and reviews the relevant literature. There is a feeling reading this book that every view is included, for example p. 31, seeing the ability to extend the *pomerium* dating back to the regal period, but at p. 51 states 'the general consensus is that, until it was extended, the *pomerium* coincided with the 'Servian Wall'.

The subject matter of this book also raises questions about how we should present epigraphic evidence discovered in some cases *in situ* and the views expressed by writers somewhat later than this evidence. The *cippi* of the *pomerium* were numbered 'counter-clockwise', which coincides with Tacitus' (*Ann.* 12.24) view of Romulus' action of ploughing the *pomerium*. I am pretty certain the author does not see Romulus's action as a historical fact, but we can pick up instances where Plutarch is said to give a 'description' of Romulus' *sulcus primigenius* (p. 25) that significantly imagines Romulus ploughing between the stones already set up to mark the city's boundary.

The focus exclusively on the boundary of cities causes the context of for example the Vespasian's extension of the *pomerium* to be lost. It is worth highlighting that in 71 CE, Vespasian restored the roads of the *urbs* (*CIL* 6.931) and in 76 CE restored the first section of the Via Appia (*CIL* 10.6812), which would add to the book's concept of a urban re-appraisal in the reign of Vespasian (pp. 34-35) and her acute observation that no censors had been appointed for twenty-six

years prior to 73 CE (p. 7). Although milestones are discussed, the specifics of road restoration are omitted. Equally, although the *cippi* defining the Tiber are discussed; this river as an urban boundary or transport route is not evaluated (p. 99).

The bibliography and references tend to become less frequent after ca 2008. Hence, a number of works are not referred to that deal specifically with the matter of urban extension, notably the work of Simon Malmberg and Hans Bjur ('Movement and Urban Development at Two City Gates in Rome: The Porta Esquilina and the Porta Tiburtina', in R. Laurence and D. Newsome, *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space*, Oxford 2011, also H. Bjur and B. Santillo Frizell, *Via Tiburtina: Space, Movement and Urban Artefacts*, Rome 2009). Although the book does discuss boundaryscape as a concept and a cross-cultural boundary from Amsterdam is discussed, this is a book that tends to seek functions of boundaries and enumerates evidence; rather than fully engaging with urban theory.

The reader may have some difficulty in comprehending the use of the word 'propaganda' and the contrast stated between the luxury of Maecenas and the moral legislation of Augustus, given that Maecenas on his death (8 BCE) left all his wealth to Augustus (Dio 55.7.6). The latter had no problem with accepting the bequest, unlike that of Vedius Pollio (died in 15 BCE). Interestingly, we can read both the destruction of walls in Rome or in Ostia as propaganda and, at the same time, read the construction of walls around other cities in Italy as propaganda.

There are a number of production issues that will irritate readers: none of the Figures have captions - these can however be found in the List of Figures; some figures do not include a scale (e.g. Figs 14, 17, 21) making it very difficult to make comparisons between the examples given; there is no key to the numbers on some figures and, finally, the labels on some figures have been produced in a very small font.

The book is a fount of knowledge and will become a book that takes the first step in placing the discussion of edge phenomena in Roman cities at the centre of the study of Roman urbanism. The book makes clear the need for archaeologists to study both within and beyond the walls of cities, when undertaking geophysics. It is a pity that no plan of the results of the geophysical survey from Ostia could be included in this book.

Ray Laurence

CLAIRE DE RUYT/THOMAS MORARD/FRANÇOISE VAN HAEPEREN (eds), *Ostia Antica: Nouvelles études et recherches sur les quartiers occidentaux de la cité. Actes du colloque international Rome-Ostia Antica, 22-24 septembre 2014*. Brussels/Rome: Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome, 2018. 311 pp., b/w and colour figs; 27 cm. ISBN: 978-90-74461-89-4.

This volume emerges from a 2014 conference held at the Belgian Institute in Rome. Research at the site of Ostia has continued since the late 19th century, and the ever-increasing number and diversity of research pro-

jects means that many publications are scattered throughout specialist journals and publications. It is therefore both helpful and refreshing to see the contributions of well-established and burgeoning scholars of Ostia grouped together thematically. New methodologies and theoretical perspectives compliment papers that re-examine broader issues of the coastal and western regions of the city, namely the excavated area to the west of the city's castrum. The book is well edited, and the contributions in Italian, French, and English fall neatly within three sections: New Research Projects and Recent Analyses; Studies on the Structural Evolution of the Western Regions; and Epigraphic Questions.

The first section opens with a contribution by Stöger & Brandimarte (pp. 11-22), whose use of space syntax highlights the potential for urban analysis at the city-block and neighbourhood level. The excavation results by Gering (pp. 23-30) and David (pp. 31-44) continue to enrich our picture of Late Antique Ostia in the forum and on the coast. The detailed chronologies offered by Marano (pp. 45-51), Medri & Falzone (pp. 53-64), and Pensabene & Gallochio (pp. 65-74) draw out the influence of certain roads, city blocks, or single buildings on each other and upon the wider urban fabric. The article by Morelli et al. (pp. 75-86) gives us a first look at a large horreum-shaped building on the south side of the Decumanus (V, xii, 2). While this structure lies outside the stated spatial parameters of the book, the article shows the potential information available from a detailed cleaning of the voracious plant-growth. This first section closes with excellent examples of the rich data and conclusions possible from targeted 'excavation' of Ostia's storage rooms (Falzone; pp. 87-97) and archives (Olcese & Coletti; pp. 99-111), which the present author can attest to.

The second section opens with two studies on the water systems in this western region of the city; Poccardi treats the different parts of the hydraulic infrastructure of the bath buildings in Reg. III and IV (pp. 115-128), while Danner explores the visual role of water in Late Antique houses (pp. 129-141). Focusing on the *tabernae* along the western extension of the Decumanus, Flohr (pp. 143-153) identifies long-term trends in their ownership and chronology. The next group of articles showcases the Belgian-led work to the west of the city's castrum, starting with De Ruyt & Van Haepere's phasing of the property under the Tempio dei Fabri Navales (III, ii, 1-2) and its connection to the large-scale raising of portions of the city (pp. 155-165). The contributions by Morard (pp. 167-190), Mainet (pp. 191-200), and Tomassini (pp. 201-206) present the complex chronology of the structures under and around the Schola del Traiano (IV, v, 15-16). Together with useful and colourful phase-maps, these three contributions present a long-awaited view on these important structures. Continuing to highlight new phases in well-known structures, the contributions by Kockel & Ortisi (pp. 207-215) and Pavolini (pp. 217-227) bring their rich experience with the city to bear on the history of the so-called *macellum* (IV, v, 2) and the Domus del Ninfeo (III, vi, 1-3) respectively. Ending this section is the contribution by Rinaldi (pp. 229-235), whose crash-course in detecting and reading the different kinds of struc-

tural restoration used at the site in the 20th century are invaluable tools for any researcher at the site.

The third and final section deals with epigraphic evidence from the western part of Ostia. Zevi proposes a modified version of the long-debated inscription mentioning the temple of Vulcan, together with some thoughts on the temple's location and chronology (pp. 239-245). Adding to the novel conclusions regarding the Schola del Traiano, Bocherens (pp. 289-294) uses evidence from brick stamps to suggest that the main function of this building was related to the grain trade (*annona*). Interrogating the history of the Schola del Traiano, Aubry offers some interesting thoughts on the use and chronology of an epigraphic brick stamps, which rarely receive closer inspection (pp. 273-287). Adding recent geophysical studies into the mix, Pellegrino & Licordari (pp. 261-272) double the number of known inscriptions mentioning a *forum vinarium*, and propose a new location for this structure. The final contribution by Caldelli & Slavich (pp. 247-259) identifies an Ostian origin for several fragmentary inscriptions found in an area fronting the Trajanic basin at Portus.

The book is intended for specialists of Ostia, but the diversity of methodological approaches can extend well beyond peninsular Italy to researchers exploring other diachronic and spatial issues of Roman urbanism. While useful for its breadth the joint bibliography may have been more usefully divided at the end of each of the three sections. As this book already assumes that the reader is exploring a specific structure or methodology, a tripartite bibliography would have created a more concentrated list to support further research on each sub-topic. Many of the contributors touched upon the wider conclusions these new excavations and approaches may have for the city as a whole. Yet, a final interpretative summary by the editors could have tied together these voices into a composition to set the stage and direction for future research.

Mark A. Locicero

ROALD E. DOCTER/MAUD WEBSTER (eds), *Exploring Thorikos*. Ghent: Ghent University, 2018. 72 pp., drawings, b/w and colour photos in the text; 24 cm. – ISBN 978-94-929-44399.

This charming brochure contains the mission statement for the field work at Thorikos in the Lavrion landscape of Attica during 2018-2022. The 25 short but rich chapters, each of ca one page text, written by one or more of the 44 scholars from 12 universities and other institutions summarize the prehistory and history of Thorikos, the history of archaeology, site and topography. There are presentations of the geophysical and geological investigations, a survey project in the area, and studies about the Final Neolithic and Bronze Age occupation, and the Mycenaean tombs (including one *tholos*). Some possessed a mnemonic function. Furthermore, the team explored the Early Iron Age occupation and cemeteries, the archaic-classical settlement and cemeteries, as well as Thorikos in myth (only known from literary and iconographic evidence), and its cults. The contributions include descriptions of the

theatre, fortifications, towers, mines and mining, ore-processing workshops, coinage, vessels for storage and consumption, the organic remains, ceramics from the Roman and Byzantine period. Finally, the reader finds data about the finds laboratory, and the Thorikos archive. The chapters form a good guide of what has been done and is going on but less of what has to be done. A new map of Thorikos (2018) gives a global impression how cemeteries, mine shafts, the 'votive' or 'funerary' terrace (p. 36), the industrial quarter, towers, houses, cisterns and the theater are situated around the 'acropolis' (ca 144 m above sea level) of the Velatouri hill.

Thorikos was inhabited since the 4th millennium BC, mining started around 3200 BC. Several tombs and pottery date to 2500-1050 BC and to the Iron Age, but from the Archaic there remains mainly pottery rather than funeral monuments. The site flourished in the 5th and 4th centuries BC. Around 500 BC the elliptical-angular theatre was built (for ca 4000 people). Very few cult buildings are known: the temple of Dionysos at the Theatre and the Doric Stoa for Demeter (?). Activities decreased in the Hellenistic period but one more time increased in the early Roman period. In the 4th, 6th and 7th centuries AD the mines were reused, and this happened again in the 19th century. The American School of Classical Studies explored the theatre in 1885. The ceramic and organic remains clearly show interesting shifting commercial networks during more than seventeen hundred years. Belgian excavations directed by Herman Mussche started in 1963. They were carried on by Robert Laffineur since 2004 and by Roald Docter with his international team from 2005 onwards, using modern methods and instruments (field survey, magnetometry, GNSS, GPR, 3D-scanning, and a flotation machine for organic remains (p. 51)).

In the near future a new Belgian-Greek project will explore 'the soil covering the theatre' (p. 39) in order to shed more light on the emergence of the ancient polis. Further the dating and integration of most washing plants in ore-processing workshops will be studied in order to reconstruct the silver production (p. 47). Although two hoards, one of silver coins from 295-294 BC, and one of bronze coins of 365-379 AD, were found, so far, there is no proof that coins were minted at Thorikos (p. 49). The Thorikos archive at Ghent and the Belgian School at Athens will further be digitized. To conclude, the References and Bibliography are perfect, some colour photographs, however, are, unfortunately, out of focus. *Exploring Thorikos* has much information that will satisfy the curiosity of a broad public.

L. Bouke van der Meer

GIULIA MORPURGO, *I sepolcreti etruschi di Bologna nei terreni De Luca e Battistini (fine VI – inizi IV secolo a.C.)*. Bologna: Bononia University Press 2018. Two vols, 822 pp., vol. 1: 64 b/w figs, vol. 2: 215 pls; 29.5 cm (Studi sulla Bologna etrusca. Serie monografica 1). – ISBN 978-88-6923-304-3.

This book is an impressive, well edited and exhaustive study of two almost adjacent Etruscan burial grounds, called De Luca (henceforth: DL; ca 30 x 40 m) and Bat-

tistini (B.; ca 16 x 12 m), situated just to the north of a funerary street in the western suburb of Bologna (Etruscan *Felsina*). Both date to ca 510-390 BC. They were excavated by Antonio Zannoni, respectively in 1875-1876, and 1895. DL had 111 tombs, 59 of which were violated, and B. contained 14 tombs, 6 of which were violated. Robberies already took place in the Roman period. Although the skeletons were described and illustrated, unfortunately, they were not preserved. Volume I describes the Certosa phase (the 5th century BC) of Etruscan Bologna with its new predominant contact with Greece (Athens; via Spina), the history of the excavations, the archival documentation, the former publications, and the topography of the burial grounds. Then follows a splendid *catalogue raisonné* of all contexts (103-471). The reconstruction of each tomb, its location, structure, funerary rite (inhumation in a *fossa*, or cremation in a *fossa* or *pozzetto*), gender (often unknown) and status of the deceased, *stelae*, and grave goods is based on Zannoni's excavation journals and maps, and the pertinent artefacts in Museo Civico Archeologico of Bologna. All tombstones and artefacts are dated and commented on in great detail, with very useful references to *comparanda* from other burial grounds (Certosa, Arnoaldi, and Giardini Margherita) at Bologna, and elsewhere in the Po valley. The Appendix lists materials that could not be related to specific tombs in DL and B. Then follows the analysis of data, illustrated with tables and maps, of funerary rites, tomb structures, techniques of burying, grave records in diachronic view (in quarters of a century), attributes of women and men, child burials, spatial development of the burial grounds, funerary 'ideology', the bibliography, the index of attributions to Attic red figure painters and concordances. Volume II (608-822) contains black and white photos and drawings of all *stelae* and grave goods as far as they could be traced.

Since the data analysis is extremely detailed, I will only highlight some important aspects. Morpurgo tries to find patterns and rules, in her own words the 'logic' in the archaeological records, preferably using non violated contexts. Although there is always 'diversity in death', there are good reasons for her approach as, for example, the east-west orientation of the tombs (with the head of the skeleton directed to west) and the presence of an Attic red figure krater (called *kelebe* by Zannoni) in at least 44 tombs of DL, and probably 4 of B., show that were some standardized customs. The kraters were used as core part of symposium-sets or as cinerary urns (as salvation symbols (179)), in the latter case mainly between ca 510 and 450 BC. Around 30 % of the graves were cremation tombs, usually with rich contents, and often belonging to women. The oldest ones were prestigiously situated at short distance from the funerary street. Tombs are identified as female in view of attributes like spinning instruments, *alabastra*, jewelry and local bronze mirrors. Graves of males could be identified on the base of *stelae* showing males and the presence of lance points. Some male *stelae*, however, stood on female tombs (104). One stele mentions a *zilath*, the highest urban official (397). Since the skeletons are missing, it is difficult to detect clusterings of tombs. Similar goods in adjacent graves, however, may refer to family ties or to similar funerary ideologies. Only one

tomb overlaps an older one (131). Child burials are extremely rare (289, 303, 445, 525-530). They may contain eggs, bird bones and a piece of *aes rude* as do some female tombs (429). The burial grounds developed, more or less, from south to north. Most tombs date to ca 475-450 BC. There are some indications of funerary meals that took place near the tombs. In those cases the used vases were defunctionalized by depositing the fragments inside the grave (495, 540). Several scholars hold that the Etruscans chose Attic vases because of their form and beauty. Morpurgo, however, demonstrates that large vases were also selected because of their painted images that usually illustrate a mythological scene on one side and a conversation group on the other. An example of what she calls an 'iconographic' or 'programmatic selection' (129, 152, 165, 241, 243, 246, 291, 323-324, 378, 402, 433, 542-550) are an Attic krater and an Attic kylix, attributed to different painters, from tomb DL 16 that both show the adoration of (not an offering to!) a herm (159-165, 629-635). She holds that this kind of assemblages (sometimes including the top figures of local bronze candelabra (152) or a stele) refers to 'the sacred and the votive' sphere, without having an explanation of their meaning or message in the Etruscan context. In my view, one would expect offering votive objects in sanctuaries rather than in tombs. Another problem is that most large vases show Dionysiac scenes. On the other hand, many reliefs of Felsinean *stelae* in other burial grounds show satyrs and ivy leaves which prove that some Etruscans believed in Dionysos (Etruscan *Fufluns*) as one of their salvation gods (539). In general, Morpurgo does not exclude that Attic vases were chosen from a polysemic perspective, offering interpretative *Spielmöglichkeiten* (see e.g. her (probable over-) interpretation of the function of mirrors (141, 515-516)).

Some critical remarks should be added. The author does not define the word banquet, neither does she make clear whether symposium sets were thought to be used in afterlife or if they were intended as a reflection of drinking customs at home, or even first used at home. For a quick consultation an index of artefact types, names like Dionysos, Kore and Nike, and phenomena like *aes rude*, *cimelio di famiglia* (232), *duplicazione (di vasi)* (235, 308, 376-378), *eroizzazione*, *escatologia (di salvezza)*, *integrazione* (336, 350, 413), *libagione* (113, 495, 551), *moltiplicazione (di vasi)*, and *polisemismo* would have been useful. There are few spelling mistakes like Alchimakos (518) instead of Alkimachos (148). Morpurgo's book offers the result of stimulating, thorough, exemplary research. Hats off to her!

L. Bouke van der Meer

URSULA KÄSTNER/STEFAN SCHMIDT (eds), *Inszenierung von Identitäten – Unteritalische Vasenmalerei und Indigenen*. München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2018. 166 pp., b/w illus in the text; 30 cm (M. Steinhart (ed.), *Beihefte zum Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum Deutschland*, Band VIII) - ISBN 978-3-7696-3779-3.

This volume in the precious series of CVA *Beihefte Deutschland* is the result of a *Tagung* on the occasion of the exhibition *Gefährliche Perfektion – Antike Grabvasen aus Apulia* at Berlin in October 2016. The sixteen short, well-illustrated contributions have been written in German, English and Italian. The title of the book suggests that indigenous people used Greek vases to 'stage' their identity. The leading topic is how South Italian red-figure vases were used and experienced by indigenous elites. In the introduction the editors explain the structure of the book. It is about workshops, consumers, the problem of missing contexts, forms and paintings seen from the indigenous perspective, the influence of theatre, and the restoration of vase paintings.

V. Garaffa pays attention to the Greek form and mythical representations in indigenous contexts at Tortora-San Bracato, Guardia Perticara and Garaguso (the last with imports from Metaponto) in Oenotria. She concludes that the elites were primarily interested in vases as exotic prestige objects in order to promote their social status. She rejects the idea that the Greek *symposion* was adopted too since *sussitia* (common meals with wine consumption) already took place before contacts with the Greeks (Arist. *pol.* 7.9.2). A.C. Montanaro shows that the paintings of Attic and South Italian ceramics in graves of warrior chiefs in pre-Roman Apulia (Rutigliano, Gravina, Botromagno), Peuceetia (Ruvo di Puglia, Conversano, Altamura), and Dauria (Minervino Murge) were not chosen at random since they illustrate combat scenes. The vases may have been used at symposia before they ended up in tombs. F. Silvestrelli casts light upon South Italian red-figure ceramics in houses, sanctuaries and necropoleis of Herakleia, nowadays Policoro (ca 425-350 BC). Pottery and painters, though initially influenced by colleagues at Taranto and Metaponto, worked in the city itself. M. Denoyelle adds new vases to Trendall's list of vases of the Lucanian Palermo Painter who worked in Metaponto. E. Herring shows that Apulian red-figure *nestorides* (derivations from the Messapian *trozzella*) exclusively depict indigenous people. Scenes like a woman pouring a libation, probably of wine, to a departing young man holding a horse make clear that primarily women used these vases. T.H. Carpenter demonstrates that Apulian red-figure column kraters (400-375 BC), produced for Peucetian men, almost always show local warriors. The combat scenes may refer to local conflicts between Italic people and colonial Greeks around 400 BC. C. Novak asks, from a postcolonial perspective, whether 'Greeks' and 'indigenous people' on Campanian red-figure vases are 'a trustworthy dichotomy.' She explains that the paintings not only depict combat scenes that are usually

thought to prove the martial character of Campanian men but also mythological, Dionysian, and symposium scenes. K.E. Heurer analyzes the presence of Dionysos in South Italian vase-painting in indigenous contexts in relation to the Italic cult of the god. She holds that this deity played an important role in strengthening familial bonds. L. Todisco demonstrates that vase pictures of *naiskoi* are older than the stone *naiskoi* in Taranto and Italic centers that date from the last decades of the 4th century BC. According to L. Giuliano Apulian vases with theatrical elements like the *paidagogos* only betray indirect influence of performances of tragedies but a more direct one of the comedies enacted on wooden scaffolds. L. Schönheit illustrates the local differences of the latter performances. S. Shierup throws light upon scenes with warriors and acrobats on three Lucanian vases from the late 4th century BC in the National Museum of Denmark. They would testify to indigenous martial self-representation. L. Melilla deals with ancient and modern restorations of some vases. D. Sanders tries to reconstruct the iconographical context of 13 of the 14 Apulian funerary vases (apart from a dish 12 have a hole in their base) from three or more unknown graves in Ceglie del Campo (Peuceetia). It appears that the themes between ca 350 and 300 BC were not chosen from one perspective. M. Svoboda's paper is about the study and preservation of four of these vases.

What remains unknown is how Attic and South Italian vases came to be in indigenous hands: by direct commission, traders, as gifts or in exchange? The book is almost perfectly edited. There are only some minor flaws, due to translation, like Italo, king of the Oenotrians (p. 23, n. 12) instead of Italos. Fig. 2 on p. 63 and Fig. 1 on p. 67 are almost identical. One map of all places mentioned would have been useful. The book is important for those who are interested in cultural interaction. It contains the email-addresses of the authors but, unfortunately, no indices.

L. Bouke van der Meer

TONIO HÖLSCHER, *Visual Power in Ancient Greece and Rome Between Art and Social Reality*. Oakland, California: California University Press, 2018. 395 pp., 160 figs, 36 maps; 26 cm (Sather Classical Lectures 73). - ISBN 978-0-520-29493-6.

Varying on the seminal title of Paul Zanker's monograph *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, Tonio Hölscher presents a wide spectrum of studies on visual culture in Graeco-Roman antiquity in a book of ambitious scope which is the result of the prestigious Sather Lectures held in Berkeley in 2007. Hölscher starts by stating that images played a paramount, maybe all surpassing role in ancient society, in which the eye and the gaze were seen as active actors in the societal exchange of human thoughts, wishes, and demands. More than words, images expressed, both in the private and public realm, everything desirable and unwished, good and bad, safe and dangerous that citizens and other players inevitably met in lifetime. Hölscher takes the Greek and Roman world together and singles out cor-

respondences and discrepancies. This *paragone* yields a fine panorama in which the differences as well as the interaction between or the adaption of elements from both 'cultures' come to the fore. Although seeking general tendencies on the basis of a well-chosen set of case studies, Hölscher does not fall into the trap of superficiality, but gives a lot of food for thought and further research. At the same time he warns against over-interpretation and adaptation of too great a learnedness, provoking complicated and far-fetched readings of imagery. In six chapters, fundamental aspects, running from large to small, are being explored.

The first chapter studies the spatial circumstances in which monuments and their imagery had their function. Here city-scape and landscape, urban centres and rural monuments feature next to city walls and natural landmarks. The actor connecting all these, at first sight different and barely associated elements is the large amount of festivals, involving processions and rituals organized in honour of gods and the poleis or state themselves. In Rome *triumphi* are a specific propagandistic extra form of procession within the urban landscape. Offerings take place in front of a 'stage' in the shape of temple façades adorned with reliefs and housing images of the gods. Roads as well as fortification walls mark the city- and landscapes. The example of the Athenian Agora's layout in the 5th century makes clear how the process of democratization and the performance of politics associated with the governing system is evidenced by managing the agora and adding special buildings and devices. One may ask whether 'visual power' effectively played a role in all these activities in the sense of constantly involving new and old images, but as a whole Hölscher's analysis works out very well. Chapter 2 is, again, devoted to the public sphere, now focusing on public monuments and their impact to define 'historical identity' and collective cultural memory. Hölscher gives a wide spectrum of cases in the entire ancient world. Two of his main examples are the public memory of the Persian Wars in Greece (especially Athens, where we can start with the Tyrannicides on the Agora) and the alleged mythical ancestry of Augustus and his family in Rome. Style as a bearer of messages is as important as iconography, and Hölscher makes clear that the reigning notion of 'classicism' is too simplistic as an explanation of the Roman 'classicizing' style: it is no mere reproduction of classical (mainly Athenian) art, but represents values like *gravitas* and *sanctitas* (p. 103) visualized by stylistic quotations and adaptations. The mythical past of Athens (from Kekrops onwards) can likewise be placed on the foreground as an expression of Athens' alleged sanctity and importance. The references made to the past are instrumental for the patrons of the time and should be seen by their compatriots (and later generations) as constructs of a glorious past and, hence, of a prosperous present.

The third chapter moves on the level of portraits ('person, identity, and images') and tackles the problem of the effectiveness of effigies in ancient societies. The ancients tried to include physiognomics, character, speech, spirit, and what else contributed to a person's *persona*. Hölscher partly endorses the idea of 'visual

habitus': not (only) physical likeness, but the representation of the body and its clothing or nakedness, style and attributes are important factors to determine a portrait, but he still sees the individual treats as fundamental. Factors like 'Zeitstil', 'Zeitgesicht' and the like should not be forgotten. Modern photographs, taken into account as illustrative comparison material, often result enigmatic as much as the 'mysterious' ancient marble heads of persons dead for ages and never reachable for us. In this vein, public portraits can be seen as 'visual constructions of roles' (p. 167). Hölscher illustrates this by analyzing portraits of Perikles, Alexander the Great, republican Romans, and Augustus. He observes the tension between intentional and typical portraits and the question of likeness, which often is 'avoided' as a research topic in ancient studies. More than in other chapters scholarship on classical portraiture and its methodology are discussed, so that these pages can easily serve as introductory matter to a course on the topic as well.

Chapter 4, 'The Dignity of Reality' concerns the difficult problem of realism in ancient art: is a kouros (the oldest case discussed) as 'realistic' as a Hellenistic athlete in the sense of representing a real human being? It is made clear that the simple idea of development from 'primitive' to 'progressive' has little sense in this discussion, since each era and area have their own demands. As such, ancient art always relies on the realistic depiction of a subject, and stylistically these realisms can widely vary, yet being expressions of what Hölscher calls 'conceptual realism': the subject matter determines the visual result and does so within the context the object has to function in. Among the aspects discussed are nudity as an expression of the qualities of the human body within its context (not only divine or heroic, but also less positive traits), the *σχῆμα* or posture, and individuality. With Chapter 5 we return to the matter of the first two chapters, regarding the function of images in social life, e.g. the interaction between figural objects and visitors in sacred spaces (e.g. votive offerings in Delphi, on Delos, Olympia, etc., similar to the cases of Chapter 1). Portraits get a new treat as examples of public statuary. This means that private imagery is excluded.

Chapter 6 brings together all previous aspects and questions the use of images in public context. The problem is well presented with the reliefs of Trajan's Column in Rome, for which many solutions have been proposed, mostly entirely or partly unsatisfactory to read its reliefs (see the scheme of the 155 depicted scenes in fig. 147). We will all concur with Hölscher that no one could really read the entire set of scenes, but that any onlooker would understand its contents and significance as a whole and by associating clusters of scenes in a well visible section. The same lack of overview occurs in temple decorations, which Hölscher treats as subsequent cases, being 'invisible' as one unique iconographic programme. A brief excursus brings the reader to the pictorial world of the Roman house, Greek vases, and ancient coins, also seen as complex sets of visual meanings (see now also P.P. Iossif/W. van de Put (eds), *Greek Iconographies: Identities and Media in Context*, *Pharos* 22.1, 2016, 1-171, for

these media). Hölscher argues that the large and complex decorative programmes should be seen as notions of *decorum* (Greek: *πρέπον*), concepts of appropriateness of visual matters within their contexts (p. 322-328). Architectural elements, adornments, images, precious materials, all these constituents contribute to shape an appropriate *κοσμός* or *decor* to a monument, regardless whether it is small or big, or private or public. So, the images on ceramics used during a Greek-style *symposion* should evoke pleasant and, possibly, learned and literary conversations, for which reason some myths are more appropriate than others, whereas the complex adornments of a sanctuary may evoke religious emotions or increase ritual festivity. Hölscher facilitates the lecture of his dense chapters by inserting programme-like series of questions or lists of aspects to be taken into account, so that the reader can check the methods proposed in his own readings, evaluations, and research, if relevant. There is no brief finale or summary of all these ideas which, how diverging and relating (seemingly) disparate monuments and objects may be, all encompass the sense of visual power in Greek and Roman culture. The book may serve scholars (also thanks to the rich apparatus of notes with up-to-date references) as well as students who can learn the principles of ancient art and its societal impact. The chapters might form an ideal starting point for workshops and seminars as well - a function of the book the author, an eminent teacher by himself, will appreciate. The only really weak point are the utterly unattractive greyish photos.

Eric M. Moormann

MARCO CAVALIERI/CRISTINA BROSCETTI (eds), *MVLTA PER AEQVORA. Il polisemico significato della moderna ricerca archeologica. Omaggio a Sara Santoro*. Louvain-la-Neuve: Presses Universitaires de Louvain, 2018. 2 vols, 1011 pp., 24 cm (Collection FERVET OPVS 4). – ISBN 978-2-87558-666-7.

It is not often that BABESCH reviews a *Festschrift* or a work in memoriam, but since the editors honour a dear friend of mine, Sara Santoro (1950-2017), I would like to pay some attention to this volume of collected essays which excellently testify to Santoro's vast scholarship. Although she is not so well known as she deserves in international circles, her publications ask for a wide readership. As the editors make clear, she worked in many fields of research and one of her principle subjects was archaeometry. The seven sections correspond with her main interests and I cannot but briefly present some of the 45 papers (plus the introductory one by the editors). In Section I on valorisation, communication, and project management we find F. Ghedini's paper on Santoro's involvement in heritage studies and management (here called *valorizzazione*) at Castelraimondo, Bliesbrück, Durrës and Pompeii. In all these sites Santoro took into account the question of maintenance of explored archaeological areas. Santoro's 15 years working at Durrës (Albania) is also reflected by A. Hoti and I. Roda de Llanza. G. Guiducci gives an example of

archaeometrical studies on 'ceramica grezza' which fits better into Section III.

Section II on sites includes papers by L. Quilici (the huge cistern of a Roman villa near Tivoli) and V. Manzelli (Republican sanctuary near Immola), followed by a study of Roman houses in Roman Nora in Sardinia by G. Bejor. Two papers are on the amphitheatre and houses in Aquileia (P. Basso and M. Buora), illustrating the high potential of this site. A. Marcone sketches the 'ruralisation' of late-Antique settlements in Tuscany, where the importance of many large farms as well as towns diminished due to economic backdrops. At the same time, some survived and flourished for ages thanks to the topographical circumstances and natural resources. A. Monti brings the subject of rural settlements to a theoretical plan in his study of people 'with little impact' (p. 178), for which, limiting himself to household archaeology, he proposes various models in case we cannot operate the usual methods like excavations, survey, and remote sensing. He goes back to the still workable 19th-century land-use model of Johann Heinrich von Thünen [not Thunen as in the text].

Section III is dedicated to production, archaeometry, and commerce. It starts with S. Menchelli's paper on Italian approaches to ceramics and archaeometry, dear to Santoro. A similar overview, combined with a case study on Roman Sicily is that by D. Malfitana, G. Cacciaguerra and A. Mazzaglia. They present new data on the production of ceramics in the S. Lucia Catacombs at Syracuse and in Catania, both seen in their original habitat. Thanks to Santoro's contacts with archaeologists working at the borders of the Empire, there is a contribution on the Magdalensberg grey ware ceramics by E. Schindler-Kaudelka and F. Biondani who analyse the (commercial) provenance of this early 1st-century material. Ceramics from Quadrivium-Codroipo (northern Italy) studied by P. Ventura and T. Cividini, can partly be connected with Magdalensberg, partly with other sites in the Alpine and sub-Alpine area. M. Bergamini's paper is on sigillata workshops of the 1st century AD in Scoppieto. The Plotidii family took over moulds of the distinguished Aretine potter M. Perennius Crescens. P. Puppo has made a study of two types of 'milk cookers', found in many Roman sites, which might better be interpreted as wine filters and storage vessels. S. Pesavento Mattioli and M. Mongardi have made a study of stamped wine amphorae from the Cisalpina area dated to the age of Augustus (mainly Dressel 6A) and make clear that their production corresponded with an abundant wine production in Emilia Romagna and the Veneto. Spanish amphorae containing fish extracts found in Gallia Cisalpina are the objects of study of I. Modrzewska-Pianetti. They are proofs of a large-scale import of luxury goods in important towns like Verona, Aquileia, and Altinum, whereas more distant towns got such sauces more rarely. S. Gelichi has made a study of late medieval pottery from Venice and the Veneto. He also provides a research agenda which should include refined taxonomies, better comprehension of find contexts, and attention for technology. Santoro's interest in production also included that of iron, here worked out by M.S. Busana and L. Bernardi, who present some pro-

jects of data recording (CRAFT). On the basis of the study of an iron plant at Montebelluna, the work processes are reconstructed. Textile production in Roman Mérida is the following contribution to industrial archaeology, now by M. Bustamante Álvarez and Y. Picado Pérez. The red dye of *coccus* was greatly applied to the woollen dressed produced here. M. Vidale, I. Angelini, and D. Frenez have applied Laser Scanning Confocal Microscopy to seals from the Indus Valley of the long timespan 2600-1900 BC and established the production processes of these small objects which might form a model for the study of Greco-Roman seals and intaglios.

Section IV on Pompeian studies (the topic Santoro and I have had in common) starts with A. Coralini's presentation of the long-lasting Bologna project VESUVIANA dedicated to the *insula* of the House of the Centenary. Coralini presents a good overview of past and current '*insula* archaeology' in Pompeii and has clear pages on the research history of 'her' *insula* IX 8. M. Salvadori and C. Sbrolli try to define a painter's workshop specialised in figural scenes on the basis of a representation of the rape of Hylas in the Sarno Baths. Yet, the connection with other painted complexes does not become very clear, whereas the relation of the topic with Roman literary evocations gets ample attention. A. Pontrandolfo and C. Grifa present an analysis of the condition of the paintings in the House of Octavius Quartio as an aspect of '*insula* archaeology'. N. Monteix and A. Duvauchelle have made a study of a metal workshop near the Villa of the Mosaic Columns outside Porta Vesuvio, which was to be dismantled at the time of the eruption of Vesuvius. They conclude their contribution with a list of *termini tecnici* in French, German, Spanish, English, and Italian, which might well serve further studies on the topic and needs a greater readership than those of this collection.

The second volume opens with Section V on Iconography. M. Barbanera gives a complex reading of a mosaic with the four Seasons, Dionysos and winemaking as an expression of myth mixed with real life in an early 3rd-century villa near Spello. Methodologically, this paper is an excellent example of how to read such a decoration which, at first sight, is very simple. M.E. Micheli takes two representations of painting women in Pompeii as a starting point of considerations on female artists. It is relevant that Pliny (*NH* 35.147) has six *mulieres* in his overview of painters among which the successful Iaia associated in the 18th century with one of the Pompeian depictions. S. Rambaldi gives notes on representations of landscapes on Roman reliefs, especially single trees and forests. His starting point is an altar from Angera dedicated to Matronae with four dancing women around a large tree. The Matronae form an interesting group of minor goddesses especially popular in Germania, but also occurring in Gallia Cisalpina. Editor Cavalieri writes on Ocean masks in late antique art as symbols of all-encompassing power, ubiquity of Romans, bringing fecundity and bounty. Their polysemic character is amply illustrated in this dense contribution. G.Z. Zanichelli presents two 11th-century reliefs from Salerno, now in New York: they show trellises occupied by

pheasants, which can be associated with other reliefs symbolizing bounty and bless. F. Pinnock leads the reader to Assyria and the representations of the mural crown as device of queens. They demonstrate the eminent position of female members of the court in Assyrian society of the 9th-7th century.

Section VI in on ancient history, epigraphy, and literary sources. M. Menichetti analyses Augustus' first steps to power by using his title *Divi filius* from 42 BC onwards and propagating the cult of *Divus Iulius* (Caesar) concluded with the dedication of Caesar's temple in the Forum Romanum in 29 BC. I. Colpo presents part of her Ovid studies, analysing the stories of nymphs and demi-goddesses punished by Diana, which would correspond with the warnings against adultery and lack of chastity in Augustan culture. The portrait of a *grammaticus* in southern Gaul is sketched by R. Bedon on the basis of Blaesianus' funerary stela (detail: the inscription depicted (p. 797) has *insitionis* rather than *grammatices*, but this is one of the readings proposed in literature). Blaesianus had come from far away for unknown reasons. G. Rosada discusses amber extensively treated by the Younger Pliny and connects his information with a find of an amber manufactory at Frattesina Polese near Rovigo of the 13th-12th century BC. E. Calandra interprets the luxurious 58 BC temporary theatre of M. Aemilius Scaurus in Rome as a baroque *Wunderkammer* where the materiality of the objects played an important role and the display of these objects (marble, bronze, fabric) afterwards illustrated their virtue as curiosities. D. Manacorda re-reads 'old' inscriptions connected with tombs accommodating the *familia* of Drusus and Livia inside Porta San Sebastiano on the Via Appia. Some are known from Pirro Ligorio and other early scholars. Nearby would have stood a honorary arch for Drusus, tentatively connected with the arch still visible within the Porta. *Spolia* used in later monuments in Santoro's town Parma are presented by M.G. Arrigoni Bertini. Three separate finds from Populonia (silver Baratti amphora, treasure of coins, and a mosaic) are discussed by E. Zanini. He 'connects' them in various ways as expressions of late-antique commerce and culture in this area.

The last section, VII, contains three studies on Durrës (see already above) and on Epirus (paper by E. Giorgi), referring to Santoro's own research in the area. I only mention the topics: amphitheatre (architecture: P. Giandebaggi and C. Vernizzi; medieval glass production: C. Boschetti and C. Leonelli), earthquakes and their consequences (B. Sassi).

All papers start with a brief summary in English, providing a rapid orientation on their contents. The illustrations in black-and-white are of a modest quality. Many greyish figures are reproductions from publications rather than original images. Most papers have been updated until Spring 2018, and, yet, typos are rare in this rapidly edited set of volumes. In sum, a fine and justified *tombeau* for an exquisite scholar.

Eric M. Moormann

JOHANNES LIPPS (ed.), *Die Stuckdecke des oecus tetrastylus aus dem sog. Augustushaus auf dem Palatin im Kontext antiker Deckenverzierungen*. Rahden/Westf.: Verlag Marie Leidorf, 2018. 345 pp., 212 figs, 20 tables; 29.7 cm (Tübinger Archäologische Forschungen 25). – ISBN 3-89646-916-9/ISSN 1862-3484.

Some seven years J. Lipps has been involved with the reconstruction and study of the arched vault decoration of the central room at the east side of the peristyle of the alleged House of Augustus on the Palatine (always calling it 'sog[enanntes] Augustushaus', see the title of the book), a luxurious *oecus tetrastylus*, with four columns supporting the vault. He modestly presents this extensive monograph as a 'Vorarbeit', which is quite understandable, since not all material could be taken into account and - what is more seriously hampering this project - the documentation of the excavations by G. Carettoni and of the architectural remains is, despite various publications, still full of lacunae. The House of Augustus has been hotly debated over the last decades, especially for its chronology and, consequently, position within Augustus' career. Its decorations stand at the end of mid-Republican developments and form the beginning of a new, imperial era, with all the consequences this position may have for Augustan art.

Chapter 1 sketches the research agenda and contents of the book. The dearth of good publications on vault and ceiling decoration in the ancient world makes a publication of unknown or badly researched cases, like this *oecus tetrastylus*, a relevant contribution. Chapter 2 presents Lipps' reconstruction of the stucco reliefs. 4340 fragments were found in 1973 and after a documentation in 2009 the complex could almost completely be reconstructed. 3383 fragments are more or less definitely related, the other fragments stem either from the *oecus* or other rooms (pp. 62-63, Table 1). Lipps sketches the method of reconstruction by analyzing the probability of the fragments' relation with other fragments, their position within the scheme, and the repetition of motifs and details. The result is the admirable reconstruction of a tripartite ceiling, i.e. flat series of square cassettes in the longish and narrow side aisles (fig. 23), and a barrel-vault central part dominated by two large squares filled with mostly lozenge-shaped fields, surrounded by friezes of square cassettes. At the sides matching the later friezes weaponry friezes lined by square cassettes occupied the lower part of the vault (figs 89, 99). All cassettes are studded with decorative elements, mainly rosettes, but also griffins growing out of plant motifs. Lipps has taken into account similar schemes in other rooms of the house as well as cases in Pompeii and Herculaneum in which the centres contain large fields with various geometrical subdivisions framed by series of friezes and rows of cassettes. L. Thiermann and H. Piening have studied to technical and chemical aspects of the stucco. UV-VIS absorption spectrography has made clear that the vault had no coloured upper layer, but remained white.

Lipps concludes the chapter with a thorough discussion of the chronology. The sources suggest that Octavian bought, first, the House of Hortensius, probably 43/42, and, later *complures domus*, some more houses, whereas he got a publicly paid house in 36 in the surroundings of the then dedicated temple of Apollo. Carettoni and others used the temple as proof that the building was Augustus' house *tout court*. Lipps resumes the enormous literature on the topic, mainly of Italian, English and German scholars (to be added: G. Sauron, *Choix de vie et choix de décor. Auguste et Livie au Palatin en 36 a.n.è.*, in V. Gasparini (ed.), *Vestigia. Miscellanea di studi storico-religiosi in onore di Filippo Coarelli nel suo 80° anniversario*, Stuttgart 2016, 591-602). The study by I. Iacopi and G. Tedone (RM 112, 2005/2006, 351-378) is fundamental thanks to their archaeological observations. Like Lipps, most scholars now follow them in dating the remains of the house to the decade before the construction of the Temple of Apollo. Lipps adds arguments from his study and observes at least two phases of restructuring after its construction, connecting the complex with the houses gradually acquired by Augustus after 43/42. The relation with the House of Hortensius, however, is not sure and it might have been one of the other bought houses, so that the starting date of the clearly richly decorated house remains unclear.

Chapter 3 discusses the genesis and development of vault and ceiling architecture and decoration from the archaic period until the time of Augustus. Lipps has collected an impressive dataset of 450 cases, articulated according to the contexts of tombs, sanctuaries, private houses etc. (figs 117-121, tables 1-17), whereas a collection of 199 written testimonies adds further information (fig. 122; Appendix 2: texts with translations, pp. 235-289). P. Meyboom carried out a similar research as a preliminary study for the vault and ceiling decorations of Nero's Golden House (in P.G.P. Meyboom/E.M. Moormann, *Le decorazioni dipinte e marmoree della Domus Aurea di Nerone a Roma*, Leuven, Paris & Walpole 2013, I, 100-124; House of Augustus, pp. 111-112). The fact that a limited number of schemes - cassettes, checkerboard, vegetal trellis, tapestry - and filling motifs - rosettes, (few) figural motifs - are found all-over the Mediterranean makes a strong interchange of motifs most likely. Lipps starts with stone and marble ceilings of classical temples showing cassettes, mostly square, sometimes lozenge-shaped, bordered by various frames and filled with floral motifs, which set the standards for subsequent centuries. In *tholoi* lozenges were favourite and had 'disorted' sides in order to fit the circular spaces. Figural motifs are rare, e.g. the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos. Italic temples follow the Greek cases. Lipps could have problematised the transmission of motifs and forms; he only speaks of 'Vorlagen' (p. 112) with which the afore-mentioned temples are meant. According to written sources, gilding was a major topic of temple ceiling decorations. The ceilings of houses are discussed in relation to the temple decorations. In private context, gilding is an expression of *luxuria*, but the archaeological evidence of gilded ceilings makes clear that the sources, despite their tendency to moralise and exaggerate the lavishness, are right.

In Chapter 4 Lipps concentrates on the architectural setting of ceiling and vault decorations within the House. The oecus' lavish floor, wall and vault decorations correspond with those of room 3 at the north side of the peristyle, whereas the other rooms - as far as reconstructions can be made - show more modest, but still rich stucco decorations. The 'studiolo' and the 'rampa' were predominantly painted and therefore more colourful. Lipps presents a fine explanation of the hierarchy of the rooms around the peristyle demonstrating the functional and spatial differences between the decorations. Chapter 5 brings together the information gleaned from ancient sources on aesthetics, appropriateness, luxury versus modesty, and the like, and the *oecus tetrastylus*. This room was richly adorned but presumably its decorations did not go beyond good taste. I think that Lipps' admirable collection of source material will serve further studies on the topic and bring forward other assessments of the information they contain. To work this out in tandem with the archaeological material makes Lipps' monography still more attractive.

Despite its modest characterisation as 'Vorarbeit', Lipps provides a model for further research. It is nothing but a shame that so little of the materials found in the house have been made public. From the bibliography the reader can glean many partial and preliminary publications. Why still preliminary, more than fifty years after the excavation? Clearly, it's not Lipps' fault. Let more studies of this kind follow in the near future.

Eric M. Moormann

PIER LUIGI TUCCI, *The Temple of Peace in Rome. I: Art and Culture in Imperial Rome; II: Remodelings, Conversions, Excavations*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017. 1121 pp., 350 figs; 28.5 cm. ISBN 978-1-107-16247-1; 978-1-107-16254-9.

The Templum Pacis (hereafter TP) has got momentum over the last decades thanks to large-scale excavations in the area north of the Basilica of Cosmas and Damianus and the Forum Romanum. After various articles and monographs by staff members of the excavating team, now we have a monumental monograph in two volumes by the architect Pier Luigi Tucci. The first volume opens with 'Vespasians's Project', started in 71 and completed by Domitian. Previously, the site was occupied by houses as well as the Macellum from 179 BC, and probably remained free after the Great Fire of AD 64. The TP consisted of a 135 x 145 m portico similar to (in the meantime old-fashioned) peristyle complexes and its size permitted the access of a large audience. The eastern wall of the Forum transitorium constitutes part of the western enclosure wall of the TP and shows traces of three entrances corresponding to the 'left' side of the area. Tucci reconstructs flights of five steps supporting the colonnade with ca 8.60 m high columns in *africano* marble. Red granite columns would date to later, Severan interventions. An important improvement seems Tucci's suggestion to 'add' an attic to the colonnade, since the excavators' proposal of a roof on top of the columns' entablature seems too

simple; it would be 'one of the most surprising discoveries I have made in the course of my survey' (p. 89). Tucci has doubts on the presence of water basins (*euripi*) on the piazza itself and takes up old suggestions of accommodations for plants and statues, which indeed seems more likely, given the evidence we have at disposal. According to him, Vespasian's architect used various models, but the most important monument seems to have been the Forum of Augustus, which is a very likely suggestion, also considering the fact that the Flavians anchored their building programs in Augustan architecture. Tucci observes a strong degree of conservatism in this project, although he sees innovative elements, yet rather regarding its position near the Forum and its function than formally. In Chapter 2, 'Augustan influences' are worked out in great detail, to begin with a detailed analysis of the columns' measurements. This matter is confusing due to the subsequent interventions (Flavian, Severan), and the use of columns of diverse sizes for the different parts of the TP (pp. 85-86: list). What unfortunately lacks is material to reconstruct the attic's façade, for which reason the discussion concentrates on the position of beams supporting the portico's roof. The later church of Cosmas and Damianus would have been the TP's library, styled according to that of Augustus' Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, and positioned behind the great hall interpreted as a library by the excavators. This brings him to the other halls around the TP's piazza. The first is the 'axial hall' of which parts of the pavement are visible. Tucci sees this large room as the cella accommodating the cult statue of Pax. In this position she would have dominated the space. The hall of the *Forma Urbis Romae* (FUR) gets deserved attention in the next section. The outer northern wall of the church accommodated the huge Severan plan, maybe a substitute of a Flavian city plan destroyed in the 192 fire. Tucci stresses how rapidly outdated the FUR must have been, becoming nothing more than an adornment or device of propaganda (p. 128). He provides a fine overview of plans and makes a comparison with the five fascist plans attached to the podium wall of the Temple of Venus and Roma and other wall maps of the same era. In the TP context, the plan would underline the peace generating the bounty of Rome. In a long-winded reasoning, Tucci presents the reading that this part of the TP was not an administrative (cadastral) office, but rather a showcase of imperial Rome's monuments, an interpretation that is more attractive than the traditional one.

Of course the still standing constructions incorporated in the Cosmas and Damianus monastery cannot miss in this large work. More than an overview, the second half of the first volume is a thorough analysis of the halls which stretch from the Via dei Fori Imperiali up to the Sacra Via and includes the 'church', once the library erected by Domitian, adjacent to that with the FUR, and the rotunda which has a late-antique entrance from the Sacra Via. Previous investigations by F. Castagnoli and L. Cozza in the 1950s were a stimulus for Tucci to carry out his own research in this area of which the monograph is the result (p. 167). But before going into a detailed analysis of wall structures and

proposing a reconstruction of the library, Tucci gives a lengthy and vivid sketch of the ancient library's practices and its users: grammarians, philosophers, and doctors (Chapter 4). His and the reader's guides are Gellius and Galenus, the latter especially thanks to a rather recently found text in which many details on the use and consultation of books are given. According to Tucci the library of the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine was the principal model. He ventures good speculations to assume that this and other libraries had no separate rooms for Greek and Latin texts, while there existed different criteria to store books, e.g. the collections they stemmed from. Follows a (probably too) lengthy and detailed debate on Galenus' practice of dissecting and vivisectioning animals and human corpses, all to illustrate that this and other medical polemic disputes did not take place in the TP. Unfortunately, the highly erudite chapter is full of repetitions and (according to me) irrelevant details, while the polemic tenor (contra Meneghini and Palombi) could have been milder.

Chapter 5 is on the works of art exposed in the TP. Apart from the *opera nobilia* known from ancient texts and partly attested by inscriptions found *in situ*, Tucci includes the famous Cancellaria Reliefs which he interprets as the side adornments of the Altar of Peace and sees as an aggrandizement of Domitian's deeds in the creation of the Flavian dynasty. Their removal to the Campus Martialis would be the result of the bad recarving of Domitian's head as a Nerva and the bad appearance it would have made in the new regime. In this chapter he also discusses the great fire of AD 192 after which the TP was rebuilt to be reopened probably in 203, the same year other Severan projects in Rome came to completion.

Part II contains the 'Technical Analysis' of the TP and starts with a new chronology as well as an overview of materials and techniques employed. Unfortunately it is impossible to distinguish Vespasian from Domitianic brickwork, whereas the Severan one differs notably, so that as a rule the chronology of the subsequent interventions can be established with a high degree of exactitude. Vespasian started in 71 and opened the TP in 75; Domitian added various elements and enhanced the splendid outlook. Tucci gives a conspectus of the materials and techniques, useful as a sequel to Lugli's 1957 *Tecnica edilizia* for other constructions in Rome as well. Much use is made of Cozza's meticulous exploration notes and sketches. At length Tucci discusses a discovery, that is the presence of red paint on blocks, presumably signs of contractors (p. 283). In the discussion of the wall once covered with the marble *Forma Urbis Romae*, much attention is paid to the plan's discovery and lay-out.

In the second volume (with a continuing page numbering, hence starting with p. 489), we come to Tucci's original specialization, that is medieval architecture and art. First, the rotunda traditionally labeled as the Temple of Romulus erected by Maxentius is reinterpreted and architecturally analyzed as the entrance to the hall of the *praefectus urbi* who resided in the former library, now his public office (Tucci does not give sound reasons for this idea). The rotunda originally

had a straight façade, later strengthened by the curved front (p. 560), and possessed two side-halls, the story of which can be followed until the 19th century. While the dome of the rotunda is made of concrete, the apse of the large hall's constructed with terracotta pipes, an innovative element which is among the indications suggested by Tucci to date the complex to the era of Constantine or one of his sons. The *praefectus'* hall changed into the aforementioned church under pope Felix IV, 526-530, a change not so much architecturally designed as functionally, in the same way other older public buildings were now being used for Christian cult. The decoration of the apse with mosaics was the main intervention (see chapter 12), whereas the old marble veneer remained in place. The ciborium, still extant, shows later interventions; Tucci is able to detect old elements taken out and to reconstruct the original situation. In the meanwhile, the main part of the TP seems to have dilapidated and gradually destroyed. For that reason, most of the second volume is devoted to the church and the constructions added to the basilica (esp. chapter 17 on the monastery of the 17th century). Inevitably, the original TP vanishes under the burden of information on these fascinating later activities. Tucci also discusses some ancient objects used as part of the church's inventory, e.g. a funerary altar now in the USA (fig. 278) discarded during a substantial intervention in the 12th century. Some ancient sarcophagi were used for burials in the same era and would partly be transported as precious objects to the Vatican in the 16th century (see the protest raised by Pirro Ligorio, p. 735), but partly vanished or were sold to foreigners. Tucci meticulously reconstructs some of these medieval sepulchers inside and outside the church, and gives lengthy quotations from Ligorio and illustrations from various sources. The main player in the 12th century was Cardinal Guido to whose activities (i.e. the erection of a new ciborium) Tucci devotes some passionate pages. Unfortunately, due to my lack of expertise and the scope of BABESCH' readership, I have to pass over the remainder of the book on the complex's later phases. For the history of archaeology, some important sections should be mentioned, e.g. that on the discovery of plaques belonging to the *FUR* in 1562 on which new data can be added to the classical discussion of 1960 by Colini. The final chapters (19-20) bring together all information on the 19th- and 20th-century excavations some data already taken into account in the previous chapters. An important person nowadays completely forgotten is Eufisio Luigi Tocco who took the initiative to carry out explorations around the Basilica of Cosmas and Damianus in 1867, hoping to find more fragments of the *FUR*. Many more smaller and larger interventions followed, often in tandem with the Forum Romanum excavations of the late 19th century. In this chapter as in all previous ones Tucci provides the reader with partial as well as complete transcriptions of many documents which indeed are relevant, but often interrupt the reading of the main text, so that the gist of the very long descriptions runs the risk to get lost. For many readers the presence of not translated long Italian and Latin quotations will form an extra obstacle.

Apparently for Tucci the Soprintendenza's (published and unpublished) data have often not sufficed and have neglected numerous features found, for which reason he argues (p. 19): 'Unfortunately, as in other drawings by the Soprintendenza, it is often impossible to distinguish between actual archaeological evidence and mere guess work.' This severe accusation is put at the test throughout the first volume in the sections on the fieldwork especially and returns in the second volume as well, when later interventions and restorations are put in relationship with the original structures. Due to the highly detailed level of information, Tucci does not offer an easy reading and many data will have to be checked by thoroughly trained experts. As said previously, smaller and bigger emendations are proposed, while the Soprintendenza's reconstructions are criticized, e.g. the re-erection of several columns of the southern portico (pp. 42-50). Tucci brings together his findings in the brief conclusive chapter and highlights the force and impact of Peace, the goddess venerated in the TP. Despite Tucci's lack of irenic qualities, this conclusion may be true.

Eric M. Moormann

GRAŻYNA BAKOWSKA-CZERNER/JAROSŁAW BODZEK, *Augustus from Republic to Empire*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2017. III, 164 pp, ills; 28.5 cm (*Archaeopress Roman Archaeology* 36). – ISBN 978-178491-780-7; Epublication ISBN 978-178491-781-4.

This slim volumes includes 13 papers by 11 Polish and 2 Italian scholars, the result of a commemorative congress dedicated to Augustus in 2014 in Krakow. The authors did not order the papers according to contents, but alphabetically according to the author's name. I have clustered themes and briefly discuss the papers in sections, which seem more reasonable to me.

Numismatics and glyptic form an interesting group of propaganda objects. In the first paper of the book, K. Balbuza discusses a unique golden medallion from Pompeii, struck ca AD 2-6, showing Augustus in profile on the obverse and an archaistic Diana on the reverse. Balbuza sees the image as a general rather than specific (Naulochos, 36 BC) reference to Augustus' golden age. As to Pompeii, I would like to add that the temple of the Genius Augusti was erected about the same time, whereas the type of the archaistic Diana got a monumental visualization in a fine sculpture now in Naples. S. Jellonek devotes his attention to the vexed question of the Capricorn and Sidus Iulium (not Iulius as p. 74) symbolism on Augustan coins and stresses the wide spread of the imagery all-over the roman world. Editor G. Bakowska-Czerner discusses some 2nd-century gems from the military fortress of Novae (Bulgaria) as reflections of Augustus' long-standing prestige and popularity. In my opinion, however, the depictions of Diana, Mars, Venus, and Jupiter's eagle are too generic and - as analysed by Bakowska-Czerner - based on *opera nobilia* (also) popular in Augustan era, to form clear references to the first emperor in this remote area (typo: *terrarium* for *terrarium* p. 14). A thorough analysis of the find con-

texts might elucidate the function and use of these ringstones in a clearer way. P. Gołyźniak discusses six gems in Krakow referring to both the young and the ripe Augustus. One bears the portrait of an ambitious Octavian around 42 BC. The stones stem from the 19th-century Constantine Schmidt-Ciażyński collection and unfortunately have no secure provenance.

Topography and architecture is another main theme. A logical item is that of Villa at Prima Porta here briefly described by the Roman archaeologist M. Piranomonte, who does not add many novelties to recent publications. Restorations were carried out for Augustus' bimillenary (not *bimillennarius*, p. 107, 108). A peculiar aspect was the reconstruction of gardens around the building. C. Sfameni present some more Augustan villas in the surroundings of Rome researched over the last years by her team of archaeologists. No specific Augustan innovations can be detected in the villa architecture, but there is an increase of 'urbanisation' of existing rustic villas. A.B. Biernacki and E. Klenina presents results from a Ukrainian-Polish excavation in the Hellenistic-Roman town of Chersonesus on the Crimea from 2008 onwards. Its Hellenistic agora was discovered NW from the theatre. Nothing is specifically said on the Augustan era. The same is true regarding Polish investigations in Marina el-Alamein which have brought to light important vestiges of a Hellenistic-Roman town, here briefly presented by R. Czerner. Although many urbanistic, architectural, and architecture-decorative features changed at the beginning of our era, the author does not tie in with the Augustan theme.

Two contributions discuss the conquest of Egypt. A. Łukaszewicz, author of a biography of Cleopatra in Polish and extensively working on Gallus, gives a gloomy image of Augustus' ruthless policy towards his former enemies (e.g. Cleopatra) and allies in Egypt, among which Gallus struck by a *damnatio memoriae* despite his decisive role to conquer Egypt. He mentions some *dipinti* mentioning *Caesar* [Augustus] by Roman soldiers found in the Polish excavations of Kom el-Dikka in Alexandria, examples of extremely rare Latin texts known from Egypt. T. Polański gives an overview of art works plundered in this hitherto untouched country (in the sense of Roman invasions) and concludes that in this respect, again, Augustus and his men were ruthless. The only concrete testimonies are the famous obelisks in Rome, whereas most works are known from Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* only. A brief paper on Augustus and the Cyrenaica by J. Żelazowski (the book's conclusive one) shows the impact of a series of Augustan edicts known from a monumental inscription on the social structure of the area, especially those settling the difficult relationship between the Greek citizens and the Roman newcomers. Clearly, Augustus practiced a 'conciliatory policy' (p. 157). The same was true for the Jews in this area who would profit from the emperor's liberality during several decades.

Two papers are devoted to Augustus' fortune after Antiquity. A.A. Kluczek analyses the popular story of Augustus and the *Ara Coeli*, an altar erected after a meeting with Pythia or Sibyl on the Capitol in Rome

and connected with the S. Maria in Ara Coeli church. Augustus has become the exemplary emperor, to be connected with the birth of Christ, whereas some of his (whether or not fanciful) deeds were related to the Capitol. P. Dyczek analyses the decoration of a marble chimney piece in the Tyszkiewicz-Potocki Palace in Warsaw. The 1855 chimney has as an adornment the relining female figure on the Portland Vase in mirror image. Dyczek makes clear that the artist, Ludvik Kaufmann, used images rather than the original. Dyczek also briefly discusses the vase's Augustan iconography and tentatively adheres to the interpretation as Mark Antony and Cleopatra.

Due to the lack of order and cross references (e.g. Piranomonte and Sfameni), the book unfortunately misses coherence. The preface does not do justice to cohesion either and the book's rather vague title is of no help either. Most of the papers are of descriptive or inventorying nature, relying on profound literature research and excavation experiences. Yet, they are important as a summa of the state of knowledge. All of them have English abstracts. The illustrations are fine and functional.

Eric M. Moormann

CLEMENS VOIGTS, *Selinus VI. Die Altäre in den Stadtheiligtümern. Studien zur westgriechischen Altararchitektur im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v.Chr.* Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2017. 191 pp., 177 figs, 11 app.; 34.5 cm (DAI Sonderschriften 21). – ISBN 978-3-95490-213-2.

This book continues the series of publications on the Sicilian town of Selinus by the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom, which has undertaken field research in collaboration with the Soprintendenza di Trapani at this site since the 1970s. Despite the initial delays, three volumes were published recently detailing the results achieved: D. Mertens, *Selinus I. Die Stadt und ihre Mauern* (Mainz 2003); S. Helas, *Selinus II. Die punische Stadt auf der Akropolis* (Wiesbaden 2011); and H. Baitinger, *Selinus V. Die Metallfunde aus Selinunt* (Wiesbaden 2016). There is much indeed to be grateful for in the books released so far, and surely also in those that will follow.

The volume under review focuses on nine sacred altars - essentially unpublished - which were built on the acropolis of Selinus in the 6th and 5th centuries BC. The altars located west of the town in Contrada Gaggera are not included in this study, as they are already discussed in the literature. The book is based on a thesis submitted by the author to the Technische Universität München in 2011. After a brief introduction (I, pp. 13-24) outlining the *status quaestionis* and research questions, the architectural evidence, interpretation and chronology of the altars are thoroughly commented on in chapter II (pp. 25-148). This discussion is followed by a general overview (III, pp. 149-171) of the architecture of altars in the western Greek world, and by a concluding chapter (IV, pp. 173-184) that engages with the spatial relationships between altars and temples at Selinus. The book is richly illustrated with numerous black-and-white and some colour photo-

graphs, plans, reconstructions, and high-quality line drawings of the recorded architectural members. The volume is also provided with 10 oversize sheets featuring enlarged plans and reconstructed elevations.

The first group of altars is located around Temple C. The remains of Altar C lie ca 30 m to the east of the temple and the author recognizes two building phases. The first phase is dated to the first half of the 6th century BC, probably predating the construction of the temple itself. The second phase, datable to between the end of the 6th and the early 5th centuries BC, is identifiable through the addition of steps on the front and the presence of stone blocks with a Doric *kymation* decorating the lower part of the altar table (figs 19-26). The smaller and less elaborate Altar C-North also shows two construction phases. The first phase is dated to the latter half of the 6th century; the second, more broadly, at some point between the end of the 6th century and 409 BC (when Selinus was seized by the Carthaginians and annexed into their *eparcheia*). In contrast, the author discards the identification of the so-called 'Südbau' as an altar, suggesting that it might have been a *theatron* instead (fig. 43), probably built in the first half of the 5th century. The function of the building between Temple C and Altar C (*Stufenanlage*) is more controversial, but it does not appear to be an altar either (figs 44-46).

More altars are found in the northern sector of the acropolis. Altar D is placed directly in front of the south-east corner of Temple D. When the temple was built (ca last quarter of the 6th century BC), its *crepidoma* was shaped so that it could be attached to the steps of the pre-existent altar (figs 48-49, 61-62, app. 3). The Altar mit *Peribolos* (figs 63-64, 69) cannot be dated with precision, but some architectural analogies with the *cella* of Temple C and the *Heraion* in Contrada Gaggera would suggest a date towards the mid-6th century. The last two altars in this area are referred to as *Großer Triglyphenaltar* and *Kleiner Triglyphenaltar* respectively, due to the Doric frieze (with traces of red paint) running along the lower part of the altar table (figs 70-72, 74-89, 98-102, app. 5). The larger altar was probably built in the last quarter of the 6th century - an additional step was added in a second phase, covering the lower part of the frieze. The smaller altar is more recent, probably datable to the end of the 5th century or to the early 4th century BC.

The last three altars are in the southern portion of the acropolis. Only scant remains of Altar P are visible, perhaps datable to the mid-6th century BC. On the other hand, Altar A (ca 32.5 m east of Temple A) belongs to an elaborate type that combines a miniature Doric temple structure on the rear with a large staircase on the front. Various elements of the colonnade, entablature, and one fragment of the decorated lateral edging survive, thus allowing the author to present a convincing reconstruction (figs 112-132, app. 9-11). These architectural details strongly suggest a chronology in the mid-5th century BC, roughly contemporaneous with Temple A. Finally, the much smaller Altar A-North seems to date to the second half of the 5th century.

In conclusion, this book represents a valuable contribution which enhances our understanding of Greek altars. It complements the now-dated, yet still important, typological study by C.G. Yavis (*Greek Altars: Ori-*

gins and Typology, Saint Louis 1949) and the more recent works by A. Ohnesorg (*Ionische Altäre*, Berlin 2005) and A. Distefano (*L'altare dell'Olympieion di Akragas*, Rome 2014), adding important information on the development of Selinus' sacred architecture. Together with the research carried out by the New York University (see C. Marconi, *Le attività dell'Institute of Fine Arts – NYU sull'acropoli di Selinunte*, in C. Ampolo [ed.], *Sicilia occidentale: studi, rassegne, ricerche*, Pisa 2012, 279-286), there is now abundant published evidence of Selinus' urbanism and architecture. This is crucial to assess the impact of sacred buildings, not only in the Archaic and Classical periods, but also in the later phases, looking at how pre-existent and new constructions shaped the cultural memory of the local, mixed Greek-Punic community.

Niccolò Mugnai

LUIGI MARIA CALIÒ/VALENTINA CAMINNECI/
MONICA LIVADIOTTI/MARIA CONCETTA PARELLO/
MARIA SERENA RIZZO (eds), *Agrigento. Nuove ricerche sull'area pubblica centrale*. Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 2017. 180 pp., numerous figs; 27 cm. – ISBN 978-88-7140-796-8.

From the 16th century onwards, scholars and amateurs alike have dedicated their efforts to locating the ancient theatre (for there must have been one) at Agrigento. After many failed attempts, new field research at the site eventually led to the discovery of this long-awaited building in 2016, to the great satisfaction of the investigators and of the entire scientific community. The first results of these excavations and other research on the urban topography of Agrigento are described in this book, which features a collection of short essays by numerous contributors. As indicated by the editors (p. 7), the character of many of these papers is preliminary and the progress of the research will allow them to draw more definitive conclusions. This work is the result of a fruitful collaboration between the Università di Catania, the Politecnico di Bari, the Università Kore di Enna, and the Parco Archeologico della Valle dei Templi di Agrigento.

After a group of introductory essays on the historical context, the *status quaestionis*, and some observations on the topography of Agrigento (pp. 5-37), the central part of the volume focuses on the discovery and initial interpretation of the architectural features of the theatre (pp. 41-94). The methodologies employed to identify this building and to investigate Agrigento's urban layout - remote sensing, electrical resistivity tomography, 3D laser scanning, GPS recordings, and spatial analyses on CAD-GIS platforms - are described in a separate section (pp. 129-144). The book is illustrated throughout with black-and-white and some colour pictures, plans, sketches and drawings, many of which (though not all) are of good print quality.

Following the results of the non-invasive surface analyses, eight stratigraphic sondages were excavated bringing part of the remains of the theatre to light. These have revealed that a series of stone substructures were built to support a monumental *koilon* (pp. 41-45, figs 1-5), set in an area of the town that was defined by

a gentle natural slope. A Doric cornice and a sofa capital were also discovered, which would match the type of architectural ornamentation of other Sicilian Hellenistic theatres (in particular those at Segesta and Monte Iato), although these two elements were found out of the original context. It is premature to suggest a precise date for the theatre, but some remarks can be advanced. The excavation of a foundation trench (*Saggio II*) has yielded a set of in-situ pottery whose date ranges from the latter half of the 3rd century to the beginning of the 2nd century BC (pp. 57-58), thus offering at least a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the building. Other finds relate to the phases of use and abandonment of this area: terracotta figurines, lamps, and *unguentaria* (pp. 69-84).

The second part of the book (pp. 97-126) deals with the sector north of the agora, where a sacred building complex attesting to urban life at Agrigento during the Roman period is located. The papers of this section describe in more detail certain architectural features which had been outlined in a previous booklet (V. Caminneci et al., *Agrigentum: spazi di vita pubblica della città romana*, Palermo 2015). The temple and annexed porticoed piazza - also referred to as the Roman forum - were discovered by De Miro, who published a first study (E. De Miro and G. Fiorentini, *Agrigento romana. Gli edifici pubblici civili*, Rome 2011, 45-70). The re-examination of these structures would suggest that the Roman temple was preceded by an earlier temple, probably built around the latter half of the 2nd century BC. The second phase, dated to the first half of the 1st century AD, witnessed the construction of a platform on the front, accessible from lateral staircases, following the design of the *templa rostrata* (pp. 97-103). The presence of a monumental colonnade on the front of the *cella*, as originally proposed by De Miro, is incompatible with the architectural remains, and the authors suggest an alternative version of the temple elevation without any columns (pp. 104-105, fig. 8a-c). One may wonder, however, whether at least lateral *antae*, pilasters, or perhaps a less imposing colonnade with a single row of columns, should be included in this reconstruction.

The architectural study of this monumental sacred complex is accompanied by two brief essays on four togated statues and a fragmentary inscription associated with it (pp. 119-126). Two more papers outline the transformations of this public space from the 4th century AD onwards, following its conversion into a dump (pp. 147-164). The final essay in the book (pp. 167-178) brings together all these newly discovered elements, with particular focus on the theatre, to draw a synthetic picture of Agrigento's urbanism and its relationship with the other urban centres of Hellenistic Sicily.

Given that this first part of the field research was concluded in October 2016, the book had to be assembled rather quickly. Had more time been allowed for editing and proof-checking, some typographical errors which occur in the text would have been avoided. Also, while each essay is provided with a short bibliography, inclusion of footnotes or in-text citations would have helped the reader. Having said that, it is unquestionable that this book offers a fundamental wealth of new data on urbanism and architecture at Agrigento in the Hellenistic-Roman era, which will be surely integrated by

more discoveries as the fieldwork progresses. We must be grateful to the involved institutions, their research teams, and their sponsors for making the preliminary results of their work available to the international academic community. The decision to collect these papers in a book that can be purchased at an affordable price will foster dissemination and accessibility. This is a much more sensible choice than publishing in journals or book series that are either difficult to get hold of outside of Italy (sometimes outside of Sicily itself), or are incredibly expensive, and therefore inaccessible, even to institutional libraries.

Niccolò Mugnai

GERHARD KUHN, *Das Heilige Tor* (Mit einem Beitrag von Bettina von Freytag gen. Löringhoff). Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2017. XII, 268 pp., 256 figs, 7 enclosures; 34 cm (Kerameikos 19). – ISBN 978-3-95490-235-4.

The publication of the Sacred Gate in the Kerameikos of Athens has been awaited for a long time: after its primary discovery together with the Dipylon in 1872, several excavations were conducted and various plans of the gate were drawn and interpreted, the last suggestion of construction phases being presented by Ursula Knigge in *Der Kerameikos von Athen* (Athens 1988, 56-67). It was not before the 1990s, however, that Gerhard Kuhn started his comprehensive research of the gate architecture, accompanied by excavations and restoration work until 2002.

After a preface by the director of the Kerameikos excavations Jutta Stroszcek, a short and rather technical introduction (ch. 1) and the research history (ch. 2), the book starts directly with the original, Themistoklean construction phase of the gate (479/8 BC; ch. 3). The gate courtyard then had only around half the depth as in the later phases and was flanked by two offset towers on its outer side, which were connected by curtains to the gate wall crossing the Eridanos and the Sacred Way. The construction consisted of mudbrick (not preserved) on a low stone socle, where *spolia* from the former necropolis in the area were used. Not according to the north-eastern tower a complete stone socle (p. 14) is critical, however, as humidity would have damaged the base of the mudbrick walls. No traces of the closure of the gate or its upper structure are preserved, but Kuhn reconstructs reasonable dimensions for the height of the gate walls and their crenellations. The bed of the Eridanos was so shallow that it must have flooded the Sacred Way and the lower gate zone quite often. The second phase (ch. 4) dating before 420 BC was characterized by the heightening of the stone socles, the extension of the north-western tower and a doubling of the courtyard towards the city-side, while the former gate wall provided an additional wall-walk in the middle. After treating three channels controlling the Eridanos water in the area between the towers (ch. 5), Kuhn discusses the third phase of the gate dating in the last quarter of the 5th century BC (ch. 6), which included a straightening of the south-west courtyard wall and the abandonment of the cross-wall in the middle of the courtyard.

After a long period of constancy, the next, Hellenistic modifications around 300 BC (ch. 7) concern only the south-western half of the gate: tower and wall socles were heightened in a representative manner by ashlar with drafted margins and orthostats respectively. The fifth phase of the 3rd century BC (ch. 8) saw the transformation of the Sacred Gate into the strongest bulwark among the Athenian gates through the addition of two artillery bastions for heavy-calibre catapults above the Eridanos and at the north-eastern tower. In the 6th phase (before the conquest by Sulla 86 BC; ch. 9), the depth of the bastion above the Eridanos was decreased and a tower added at its south-west side.

A long period of disuse preceded the 7th phase (ch. 10), probably connected with the reactivation of the old wall circuit before the invasion of the Visigoths AD 396 and comprising the reconstruction of the courtyard in stone. The south-west tower and the curtains were modified and two constructions were raised above the Eridanos, while the location of the gate opening is unclear. Only scarce remains are preserved from the last phase (ch. 11), which probably belongs to the age of Justinian and included the abandonment of the south-west tower. The last chapter in the book is dedicated to the so-called *oikos* erected in the first phase directly south-west of the gate, but without functional relation to it, and destroyed only half a century afterwards.

Seven elucidating tables comparing dimensions of elements of fortification architecture (pp. 170-179), a small catalogue of the three finds relevant for dating (by Bettina von Freytag gen. Löringhoff; pp. 180-181), and lists of abbreviations and figure sources conclude the text part of the book. The illustrations form its second part instead of being included in the text, which is sometimes a bit inconvenient.

The book represents a meticulous architectural study, including excellent architectural drawings, ground plans as well as reconstruction drawings for the first six phases (all by the author) and illustrative black-and-white photographs of old and new excavations, many hitherto unpublished. The eight construction phases and their dates are well-argued and mostly convincing, as are the reconstructions of the missing parts. Very helpful are the summaries of each phase in the beginning of the chapters. Concerning specific architectural details, comparanda from fortifications all over the ancient Greek world are discussed. In the notes, occasional lengthy discussions of problems not directly relevant to the subject seem a bit out of place (e.g. pp. 28-30). The overall stone-by-stone plan (encl. 1) would have been much more beneficial if the individual phases had been colour-coded. Ground plans of the late antique phases, if incomplete, would have been desirable. In the only ground plan indicating the lettered features referred to in the text (fig. 211), these letters are barely readable ('Mauerkopf I' can only be found with a magnifier!).

Besides these rather technical points, one sadly misses an introductory description of the topographical and functional contexts of the Kerameikos and the Athenian fortification walls and a conclusion assessing main developments and functions as well as the role of the gate in the typology of Greek courtyard gates, including its peculiarity crossing a stream. Although the latter has

been done by others before (p. 2), it would have been important to have Kuhn's own view on these - not undebated - matters. As it is, the book is a pure presentation of the gate architecture offering no further service around, and as such is directed to architectural historians and archaeologists with profound architectural knowledge - for others it can be a tough nut to crack. Nevertheless, for the former it is a significant and overdue in-detail presentation of one of the most important Athenian gates that should be part of any library with an interest in ancient architecture.

Silke Mith

HANS-PETER ISLER, *Antike Theaterbauten. Ein Handbuch*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2017. 3 vols, 812, 852 & 232 pp., 1046 ill., 29.5 cm (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften 490 = Archäologische Forschungen 27) – ISBN 978-3-7001-7957-3.

This is a study that we can talk about only in superlatives: it is the biggest book on ancient theatres, the most complete one, and the most important one – to date, as far as general studies of this specific type of building go. It is also the work of a lifetime: Isler, professor of Classical Archaeology at the University of Zürich, now emeritus, started to be interested in theatres in 1970, almost half a century ago, when he and his colleague Hansjörg Bloesch rediscovered the theatre of Iatas (Monte Iato, Sicily). This interest slowly grew into the plan to produce an inventory of all theatres; between 1979 and 2011 Isler spent all his holidays and his rare research semesters travelling in order to study at first hand and document as many theatres as possible (without subventions of any kind, as he is at pains to stress in his preface). The book that was the result will not be surpassed easily, because who is going to undertake such a giant task? Of course, there will be omissions and mistakes, as the author readily concedes; indeed, because of its huge scope and its comprehensive ambition, the book cannot be but flawed – as we will illustrate below. Still, this does not detract from its importance.

The first volume is a general overview of theatre building in the ancient world, from Camulodunum (Colchester, UK) in the north to Petra (Jordan) in the south, from Olisipo (Portugal) in the west to Ai-Khanoum (Afghanistan) in the east, and from Minoan days to Late Antiquity. The definition of theatre informing this overview is the following: any building purpose-built for scenic presentations (but possibly used for other purposes as well, such as citizens' assemblies). In the Greek and Roman tradition such buildings are open-air constructions. Odeia are included as well: they have the same shape, but were covered with roofs. With the roofs gone, however, it is often impossible to distinguish between an odeion and a small theatre. Excluded are buildings that as far as their seating arrangements may look like theatres, but are not intended for theatrical performances, primarily *bouleuteria*. And, of course, amphitheatres: Isler does not even mention those, but

the terminological confusion surrounding ancient theatres, which he notes in his first chapter, in more popular literature also extends to theatre and amphitheatre. So I repeat emphatically: no amphitheatres.

In the first volume, Isler cleverly combines a chronological arrangement with thematic elaboration. Every time a new feature is first introduced, that feature is discussed. Everything of relevance seems to have been covered. The text is divided into seven parts. The first part discusses terminology (with a long section on Vitruvius), the historiography, and suggestions for further research (for which the present book is laying the foundations): there are still plenty open questions concerning the architectural development of the theatre, and the exact use to which the architecture was put. The first part ends with an impassioned plea *not* to use ancient theatres for present day performances because this will always lead, either by wear and tear, or by rebuilding, to the loss of the archaeological record.

In the second part we start with the earliest theatres and functionally comparable structures (the much debated *Schautreppen* in the Minoan palace courtyards), and continue with the rise of the *koilon*-shape (theatres with a semi-circular seating area) and of the round orchestra. Here we are informed about the construction of corridors, stairways and seats, about the seating capacity of theatres, the routing within theatres, the paving and the drainage channels of the orchestra and *parodoi*, the *thymele* and altars in general connected to the orchestra, and the purposes to which the orchestra was put. Next, the development of stage buildings is discussed; all types (*paraskenion*, *proskenion*) are discussed in much detail, more than I can comment on here. To illustrate what I am talking about: *koilon*, orchestra and stage buildings get 180 pages, the size of a monograph. The second part ends with chapters on stage machinery, and on the dispersal of the Greek theatre across the Hellenistic world.

The third part deals with the Roman theatre in Italy and the western part of the Empire. After a lengthy discussion of precursors and earliest examples, there are chapters on the *cavea*, orchestra and *scenae frons*, different kinds of stage buildings and the facilities for theatre curtains, mirroring the chapters on *koilon*, etcetera, in the Greek section. The issue of the so-called sounding-vessels gets its own chapter. This third part ends with chapters on theatres of the imperial period in Italy, Sicily and Sardinia, the north-western provinces of the Empire, Spain and Northern Africa.

The fourth part is dedicated to imperial period theatres in the eastern half of the Empire. This part is arranged geographically and there are no separate chapters dealing with specific features, but much of the text deals with the architectural peculiarities of these buildings, where Greek tradition, Hellenistic modifications and Roman innovations come together.

Another three, shorter, parts follow. The fifth deals with odeia; the sixth with *vela* and with the late conversion of some theatres, turning orchestras into arenas or *kolymbethra*, pools for aquatic displays; the seventh with literary and epigraphic sources. There is no conclusion, as this is not a study that set out to answer specific questions (or maybe one should say: numerous ques-

tions). The goal was to bring together information about a specific type of building. On 812 double-column pages of A4 size one can fit an awful lot of information: we have a main text of roughly 400.000 words, graced with 8678 footnotes. And that is just volume I: obviously, a reviewer cannot really do credit to a work this size. Neither the eye-opening observations, nor the things that are debatable, can be listed without overrunning the normal limits set for a review.

The second volume is a catalogue of all sites that have remains of theatre buildings and/or where the existence of such buildings is attested in literary or epigraphic sources: 770 theatres, 60 odeia, 46 related buildings difficult to categorize and 190 theatrical buildings mentioned in written sources. The sites are arranged alphabetically by Greek and Latin toponyms, or modern ones when the classical name is unknown (there are some cross-references, and in the third volume there is a list of modern place names with the ancient equivalents). Obviously, with such numbers, over 1000 buildings, the information must be selective, especially the bibliographic references – but there are more than enough to get one going – and much will be based on secondary literature. Still, the extensive travels by Isler already mentioned have, in many instances, contributed new information or have led to revisions based on autopsy of existing opinions (autopsy is indicated as such in the text). As much detail for each item is provided as possible, also, if available, a plan. Understandably, these are reproductions of existing plans; this, however, means that they are all to a different scale which makes them useless for the purposes of comparison at least as far as size is concerned.

Despite its impressive coverage, the catalogue will have to be used with some caution. A test case will show why (I thank Frida Pellegrino for her comments). In Isler's catalogue there are 40 theatres for Gaul. Some are doubtful: for Augusta Tricastinorum, there is very little evidence, and for Vesunna there is in fact no evidence at all. But more seriously, quite a few theatres are missing, including important ones such as Bourges, Argenton-Saint-Marcel, Nérès-les-Bains and Drevant. Part of the explanation of this state of affairs is that Isler has not availed himself of the most recent French publications, and thus presents us with a picture that is as it stood in the 70s and 80s of the last century. This example might act as a reminder not to accept Isler's catalogue uncritically.

So in some respects, the catalogue was already outdated upon publication. And things will not stop there: archaeological and architectural research will increase our knowledge of certain theatres, and bring new theatres to light. Rather than a second edition one would like to see a dedicated website where any additions to this book can be gathered together and the information can be kept up to date.

At first sight, the alphabetic arrangement of the second volume seems to haphazardly mix up geography or chronology, so important to the first volume. In fact this is the only way in which the catalogue can be easily handled on its own without constant referral to an index. Nevertheless, for the purpose of comparative study or analyzing development, geographical and/or chronological grouping would be very useful, if not imperative.

Isler has come up with a simple, but clever solution. In the index volume (see below) there is a list (strictly speaking, these are not indices) of all buildings in geographic order (Greece, Italy, and so on) and another list of all buildings in chronological order (6/5th c. B.C., 4th c. B.C., and so on, with a more precise date, if available, with every item in the list). This really is extremely helpful.

The third volume contains 170 plates with three photographic images per page. These are mostly general views of theatrical buildings and they are of very reasonable quality. Only when the remains are slight, we tend to get somewhat murky views of hillsides with shrubbery and scattered stones that do not contribute much. There are just a few photographs of architectural details. But to ask for more would be over-asking. Isler has deposited at the University of Zürich 18000 photographs which are available to the public. The indices in the third volume comprise the two lists already discussed above and lists of buildings only attested in written sources, of modern place names with ancient equivalents (already referred to), of odeia (also included in all other lists), of buildings of which no plan is available, and of all plans and all images. There is not any index in the usual sense of the word, which would of course be useful for the first volume. Happily, the systematic nature of that volume implies that the detailed contents page will usually steer one in the right direction.

This is a book that is not flawless, but nevertheless, in its impressive comprehensiveness, almost impossible to find fault with. To complain about the fact that this is a wagonload of facts without overall guiding questions, is hypocritical because everyone will use it. In fact, my main criticism concerns the binding: these are three paper-bound volumes. Volumes I and II each have over 800 pages, and will not survive any intensive use. These should really have been hardbacks; with a publication as expensive as this one (300 euros), another 30-60 euros for a proper binding would not have made that much of a difference. As no archaeological library can do without it, so they should put aside some budget, for the book and for having it bound. For those individuals who cannot afford the print version, the three volumes are available as an online resource for 49 euros (<http://www.austriaca.at/7957-3inhalt?frames=yes>). Whether as printed volumes, an online resource or a set of downloaded PDFs, Isler's *magnum opus* will be, for many years to come, the book that everyone with an interest in ancient theatres will have to turn to first.

F.G. Naerebout

CATHRIN SCHMITT, *Aphrodite in Unteritalien und Sizilien: Heiligtümer und Kulte*. Heidelberg: Verlag Archäologie und Geschichte 2016 (Studien zu antiken Heiligtümern 5). 474 pp., 54 ill., 16 pl., 30 cm, CD-ROM (134 pp.: pp.475-609). – ISBN 978-3-935289-37-5

This is the revised edition of Cathrin Schmitt's dissertation defended at Heidelberg and Aix-en-Provence in 2010. The text has been updated to October 2013 (and occasionally up to 2015). Even for a Germano-French

dissertation this is a hefty volume: 10 pages of introduction, 300 pages of 'Kulttopographie', 25 pages of synthesis, 2 pages of summary, 100 (!) pages of bibliography, over 50 illustrations in the text, over 80 illustrations on 16 plates, indices and a CD-ROM with another 134 pages of catalogue. With over 2100 footnotes, the huge bibliography of some 2500 titles and the catalogue, the book is obviously extremely well documented.

The short introduction situates the work within existing scholarship and outlines the questions and methodologies. As to the first: there is a wealth of literature on individual sites but there exists no general overview of the cult of Aphrodite in Magna Graecia. The present study can be seen as an addendum to the (differently conceived) book by Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge, *L'Aphrodite grecque. Contribution à l'étude de ses cultes et de sa personnalité dans le panthéon archaïque et classique*, Liège 1994 (Kernos Supplément 4). As to the last: as might be expected for a work of this kind, the goal that the author set herself is simply: tell all you know about Aphrodite in Magna Graecia, or rather: the most important things you know about it.

What we can learn about the cult of Aphrodite in southern Italy and Sicily in general can be presented in a few pages - we will come back to that. But the riches are in the details. Obviously, the most valuable part of this study is the 'Kulttopographie' - the systematic account of all important Aphrodite sanctuaries from Poseidonia (Paestum) on the Tyrrhenian Sea in the north to Syracuse in the south-east of Sicily. Discussed are: Poseidonia, Lokroi, Medma, Hipponion, Metapontion, Satyrion, Taras (Tarent), Herakleia, and minor sites in Lucania, Messapia and Apulia, and on Sicily: Naxos, Syrakosioi (Syracuse), Megara Hyblaea, Akrai, Morgantina, Himera/Thermai Himerai, Lipara, Segesta and Ietai (Monte Iato). Missing are Kaulonia where major new finds were made only after this volume had gone to press (but it has been included in the catalogue), and Eryx, which the author has published elsewhere (Die Göttin auf dem Berg Eryx. Astarte - Aphrodite - Venus, in L.-M. Günther/B. Morstadt (eds), *Phönizische, griechische und römische Gottheiten im historischen Wandel* (Turnhout 2015) 109-136). For the sake of completeness those 30 pages on Eryx could have been repeated in the present volume - with this size it is not as if those pages could not possibly have fitted in anymore.

For every site attention is paid to the history of the community, to how the sanctuary is sited in the landscape (or cityscape), to the internal arrangement of the sanctuary, to the finds (archaeological, epigraphic, numismatic) and their context. Obviously, the recurring question is: how to identify the main deity of a sanctuary as Aphrodite? And when the conjunction of all available evidence (the possibilities and problematics are discussed in the introduction, especially whether the cult of Aphrodite is distinguished by specific votives/dedications and sacrificial animals) has enabled Schmitt to say that the titular deity is certainly or most likely Aphrodite, there is still the more difficult question what the specific functionality or functionalities of the goddess at that particular place might have been.

In several of the twenty sites named above, there is more than one sanctuary: all are discussed, and also relevant stray finds, if these are present. The timespan is in each case from the earliest Greek settlement in archaic days to the Roman period, if possible to Late Antiquity. For some sites, separate paragraphs are dedicated to specific finds or specific issues, such as votive deposits at Lokroi, an excursus on sacred prostitution at again Lokroi (it did not exist at Lokroi nor at any other sanctuary for Aphrodite), *pinakes* from Hipponion, and the 'Malibu goddess', the pseudo-acrolithic statue of a goddess, possibly Aphrodite (but Schmitt considers it unlikely), from the late 5th century BC that the Getty Museum had to return to Italy because it was illegally excavated in Morgantina; otherwise, sometimes lengthy passages deal with items that do not have their own paragraphs but are hidden away in site descriptions, such as the Ludovisi Throne (which together with the *pinakes* from Lokroi claims some 20 pages). Thus, if one has an interest in specific objects from Magna Graecia, and these objects might possibly be connected to Aphrodite, it could be worthwhile to see whether Schmitt has included them in her account. The technical details are in the catalogue: this consists of two alphabetical sequences (one for southern Italy, one for Sicily), listing every site which has produced material that could be associated with Aphrodite (the sites are named with their Greek or Latin names, or modern names if no ancient name is known). For every site we get itemized (if available) the epigraphic sources (with full texts), the literary sources (with full texts), the numismatic sources, the toponymics, the onomastics, architectural remains, sculpture, ceramics, terracottas, small metal objects, archaeozoology, and miscellaneous finds, everything as far as possible with measurements, inventory numbers, references, and so on. A true labour of love - befitting Aphrodite.

Those who are not after the specifics of one site or another, but would like to learn about the cults of Aphrodite in Magna Graecia in a more general sense, will turn to the synthesis. This is short in comparison to the 'Kulttopographie' and catalogue, and that is because what we know for certain is comparatively little. With hardly any literary sources, a rather sparse epigraphy and an archaeological record that is accordingly difficult to interpret, Schmitt frequently has to admit defeat. Nevertheless, she can draw some conclusions. First of all, because we are looking over a large area and a long time-span, it is clear that there have occurred many changes - partly because of internal dynamics, but also because of acculturative processes, in an area where Greek, native, Punic and Roman all leave their mark (Aphrodite became a very popular goddess in Messapian territory: most inscriptions are Messapian ones); also, that these changes are such that there is very little continuity. Classical and Hellenistic days are the heydays for Aphrodite in Magna Graecia, but there is only rarely continuity with what came before or would come after. Certainly, there is no continuous tradition that would lead from Aphrodite to Venus. Only at Eryx there is a clear link between Astarte, Aphrodite and Venus.

As to the functionality of the goddess, we find Aphrodite as the patroness of a complete life cycle that comprises childhood, initiation into adulthood, marriage, fertility, and procreation. This befits her role as *kourotrophos* and as goddess of sexuality. But she is also city goddess and especially the protectress of magistrates. Jenny Wallensten in her 2003 dissertation and other publications since (most recently: Demand and supply? The character of Aphrodite in the light of inscribed votive gifts, in C. Prêtre (ed.), *Le donateur, l'offrande et la déesse. Systèmes votifs des sanctuaires de déesses dans le monde grec* (Liège 2009) 169-180) has alerted us to a very different side of the goddess by showing that a large number of the dedications to Aphrodite are by Greek magistrates. It is interesting to see that this finds some confirmation in Magna Graecia. The connection between Aphrodite and the sea can be seen in her role as protectress of seafaring and fishery. There are some things which we do not see in Magna Graecia compared to Greece and further east (no Aphrodite Pandemos, no Aphrodite Urania, no military and almost no chthonic Aphrodite) but it will always remain difficult to ascertain whether the absence of evidence is evidence of absence. A single excavation, or even a chance find, could change everything.

As to the location of sanctuaries, that seems to reflect the diverse nature of the goddess: we find sanctuaries on *akropoleis*, in agora's and other urban settings, in rural settings and sea-side caverns or grottoes, and there is also some evidence for domestic shrines. Furthermore, the synthesis gives a list of relevant theophoric names, of the epicleses of Aphrodite, terracotta types associated with the goddess, and so on.

This is a volume that forces us to come to terms with the fact that we know very much (the huge amount of archaeological data) and very little (we have no information on the cults practiced in all of these sanctuaries). The book reflects this in the enormous amount of information in the 'Kulttopographie' (which might actually be more of a 'Heiligtumtopographie' with only vague indications of cultic activity) and the catalogue, and the somewhat meagre synthesis. Depending on what you are looking for, this book will be a great help, or not much of a help at all.

As with the other volumes of the *Studien zu antiken Heiligtümern*, this book is produced to very high standards. Paper, printing, photography: all are excellent, and the proof-reading is done to perfection. The only mishap I noted was that on p. 334 the *Pervigilium Veneris* is dated to the 4th century BC ('4. Jh. v.Chr.'): this should of course be 4th century AD. The very few things to grumble about are first the indices: the two *indices locorum* (literary sources and epigraphy) are helpful, and so are the indices of the names of divinities and of mortals. The index of topographic names, however, only contains names outside of Italy: but the CD-ROM contains many more sites than the main text, so how do I know whether something I am looking for is included there? And even the main text, with its geographic arrangement, has its difficulties: the initiated will know that for the Contrada Agnese Giamusso they have to look under Morgantina, and for the Belvedere Telegrafo under Hipponion. But I do not. A subject index

is always something to be grateful for, but this one is very selective, with just 70 headwords. Secondly: the 54 illustrations in the main text are all maps and plans. As is common (but not less regrettable because of that) these are not on a uniform scale, and in quite a few instances there is no scale at all. These are of course just a few minor clouds on the very bright sky of this tremendous and awe-inspiring achievement.

F.G. Naerebout

URSULA QUATEMBER, *Der sogenannte Hadriantempel an der Kuretenstrasse*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2018. 402 pp. (Textband), 9 pp. and 320 plates (Tafelband), 10 plans in separate folder, 30 cm. (Forschungen in Ephesos, Band: 11/3) – ISBN 978-3-7001-7994-8

This voluminous study presents the results of a major project undertaken between 2009 and 2012 by the Austrian Archaeological Institute in order to establish the chronology and function of the so-called Temple of Hadrian, one of the most prominent buildings of Roman Ephesos. It was discovered in 1956 and re-erected in 1957-1958. As Franz Miltner, the original excavator, died in 1959, and attention subsequently shifted to other parts of the ancient city, this famous building, strange to say, has never been published in full. The present volumes seek to remedy this deficiency. In addition, the anastylosis of 1957-1958 has led to serious conservation problems, causing the building to be taken apart and re-assembled during 2013-2014. These conservation issues are also addressed in depth in the present study.

The building, which is explicitly called 'temple' in the inscription it carries, stands on the west section of Curetes Street, one of the main streets of Ephesos. It is integrated into the adjacent Varius Baths (also known, wrongly, as the Baths of Scholastica, that is Scholastikia). It is a variant on a tetrastyle prostyle temple, with two pillars fronting the *antae* and two columns between them. It is divided into a *pronaos* and a *cella*, and its facade is crowned by a so-called Syrian pediment. It is about 9 meters wide and 10 meters deep, its maximum elevation is 7.7 meters. Miltner interpreted the building as a neocorate temple (i.e., an official temple for the worship of the Roman emperor) for which permission was granted by Hadrian between 130 and 132 A.D. The architrave inscription (*IvE* 429) states that the building was dedicated to Hadrian (and most likely to Artemis of Ephesos) and to the *neokoros demos* of Ephesos by Publius Quintilius Valens Varius and his family, and it also mentions further officials. It was on prosopographic grounds that Ewan Bowie in 1971 and Michael Wörle in 1973 dated the inscription to 117/118 or 118/119. If one accepts Bowie's and Wörle's dating (and it is generally accepted), this building cannot be the neocorate temple granted by Hadrian.

Thus the main question to be answered in the present study is: what have we got here? The answer is based on an extremely thorough documentation, a veritable

tell all you know that there is possibly to tell about this temple. To this end, the book is divided into three parts: a first part concerning every aspect of the building, a second part concerning the state of preservation and issues of conservation, and a third part presenting the underlying evidence. The parts are interrelated and heavily cross-referenced. For specific subjects, Quatember, who herself has a most impressive publication record with regard to this temple, is joined by Robert Kalasek, Martin Pliessnig, Walter Prochaska, Hans Quatember, Hans Taeuber, Barbara Thuswaldner and Johannes Weber. A separate volume of plates illustrates literally everything mentioned in the body of the text, much of it full-colour, and there are 10 loose leaf floor-plans and elevations in a separate folder (it would have been a better, if probably more costly solution to have fold-out plans bound into the plates volume – to prevent untimely losses. Librarians, beware!).

The first part (170 pages) I would, from a historical viewpoint, consider the main part of the book, of interest to a wider audience. The two subsequent parts might be seen as giant appendices which the non-specialist will only seldom refer to – but which are, of course, of great importance to the architectural historian and the conservationist. One might wonder whether this mass of technical information in the second and third parts (together with numerous plates in the plate volume) had not better, and certainly more economically, be published online only.

The first part discusses, primo, the historiography (in the third part, the relevant parts of the manuscript excavation diary concerning excavation and first anastylosis, are presented in full). The first part continues with an account of the building inscription and the historical context within which the temple was erected. Next, after being introduced to the methodology of 3-D scanning, we get a very full description of the building, and the building phases. For most of the temple, there is just one building phase; only a section was re-fashioned in the 4th century due to structural damage. The decoration is discussed in detail, and separate attention is paid to the relief sculptures in the *pronaos*. These were often seen as Late Antique additions or replacements, but now it has been established that they belong to the original structure. The place of the temple in the urban fabric is analysed, both its relationship to the adjoining bath establishment and its position on a major processional route through the town. The first part closes with a consideration of the typical categorization of the temple. Despite previous attempts to see the temple as an example of 'eastern' architecture, Quatember concludes that it is in fact unique and that its specific features, such as the extreme width of the facade and the Syrian pediment, resulted from the wish to build an eye-catching monument in an important spot. There are summaries of the first part in German, English and Turkish.

As already stressed above, this was also a conservation project. Its detailed publication in the second part of the book is important because the problems caused by decisions in the past can be expected at many places where anastylosis has taken place. These 75 pages are explicitly exemplary, and deal with petrography, and

with the relationship between ancient and modern building materials in the 1957-1958 anastylosis, and resulting damage.

The third part, 130 pages, contains a catalogue of all elements of the building that are in situ or in the Ephesos Museum, and of elements in the direct vicinity, that is, four statue bases in front of the temple. Part of this catalogue is an overview of the different tool marks. The results of the physical examination of the ancient and modern materials are also included in full. The third part closes with the extracts from the original excavation diary already mentioned. The volume is rounded out by lists of abbreviations, figures (acknowledgments only) and a two page index of geographical names, mainly to locate passages where architectural parallels are discussed. The absence of a general index is not really felt, because of the systematic organization of the volume: with the five page contents one can find one's way effortlessly.

So we have an extremely full documentation of an important piece of architecture, undoubtedly the definitive study of this monument. But how about the answer to our question: what have we got here? We cannot know for certain, but the building most likely played some part in the processions that led from the temple of Artemis to the centre of town by way of the Curetes Street, and back again. Not only is the temple situated on a prominent spot on the processional route through the city, but it is also decorated with images that have to do with Ephesos' past and with the part played in that by Artemis. The individuals mentioned in the building inscription all had close ties to the cult of Artemis. This answer may seem a bit anticlimactic: the mountain gave birth to a mouse. True as that may be, previously we had neither a mountain, nor a mouse. Now we have a mountain, and we get the mouse thrown in for free.

F.G. Naerebout

WOLF-DIETRICH NIEMEIER, *Das Orakelheiligtum des Apollon von Abai/Kalapodi. Eines der bedeutendsten griechischen Heiligtümer nach den Ergebnissen der neuen Ausgrabungen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag 2016. vii, 46 pp., 12 pl., 29.7 cm (25. Trierer Wickelmannsprogramm 2013). – ISBN 978-3-447-10708-2.

For many years, the German Institute in Greece has been excavating in Kalapodi, Boeotia, ancient Phokis. That work has turned out to be extremely important. Nassos Papalexandrou called it one 'one of the most important research projects in post-World War II Greece' (<http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2008/2008-09-23.html>, accessed 15-04-2018), and he may very well be right. The sanctuary at the heart of the area investigated has been identified on topographic and epigraphic grounds as the Oracle of Apollo at Abai, an oracle so famous that it was mentioned together with Delphi (Sophokles, *Oidipous* 900; Herodotos, 1,46; 8,27). This was the last important ancient sanctuary in Greece that remained to be excavated, and thus also the only one where from

the start the full range of modern archaeological techniques have been used. Please note that the site was previously identified as the sanctuary of Artemis Elaphebolos belonging to the polis Hyampolis, and in older publications might be referenced as such.

If ever an excavation was well-documented, it must be the one at Kalapodi. There are a large number of reports and articles (all listed in the publication reviewed here, updated to 2016; for some additions one can turn to <https://fallback.dainst.org/projekt/-/project-display/25884>, accessed 17-04-2018), and a remarkably strong on-line presence (not referred to in the publication reviewed here). The Gerda Henkel Stiftung was one of the financiers of the research at Kalapodi, and we have to thank the PR of the Stiftung for the clear information on their website which even includes a whole series of video productions (https://lisa.gerda-henkel-stiftung.de/search?search_str=kalapodi#entries, accessed 12-03-2018), made available to the general public by way of the L.I.S.A. portal (L.I.S.A. stands for: Lesen, Informieren, Schreiben und Austauschen; that is a web address that every archaeologist should be aware of, both for its contents and as an exemplum).

For those who want to have a potted version of the results of the Kalapodi campaigns up to 2013, there is now a 24-page overview (but large and double column pages), with another 8 pages of references, a 14-page bibliography, 8 pages of good quality black-and-white photographs and 4 pages of full-colour plans. In the text there are a map, one more plan and two interesting reconstruction drawings. It is an extremely reliable overview by an author who as director of the excavations at Kalapodi is in the best position to provide it. For this specific summary of the many riches that this fieldwork has brought us, we have to thank that quintessentially German institution of the 'Winckelmannsprogramm': the printed versions of public lectures held at the occasion of the founding father of classical archaeology, Johann Joachim Winckelmann's birthday, a tradition instituted in Berlin in 1841, and since taken up in Halle (1876), Leipzig (1901), Marburg (1947), and Trier (1979).

The volume follows a rather traditional, or should one say time-honoured, way of presenting the Kalapodi site: first the ancient written sources; next, the discovery of the site in 1676 and the archaeology between the discovery and the present campaigns that started in 2004 (esp. the earlier campaigns of the DAI, between 1973 and 1982, led by Rainer Felsch; despite its early discovery and some visits by antiquarians and archaeologists in the 19th and early 20th centuries, the site was largely forgotten until the 1970s); the objectives and results of the excavations between 2004 and 2013, the results presented in seven paragraphs arranged chronologically from the Bronze Age to the 2nd century AD; and a final summing up of the sanctuary's life-cycle.

At Kalapodi, there have been two temples excavated, prosaically named the North Temple and the South Temple. Both were destroyed by the Persians in 480 BC. The North Temple was subsequently rebuilt, but the South Temple was left in ruins, until refashioning in the Roman period. In the present publication, although both temples and their immediate surroundings are discussed, most of the text and all of the

images deal with the South Temple. That temple was at the centre of attention during the 2004-2013 excavations but also its intrinsic interest is far larger than that of the North Temple. The North Temple and its predecessors reach back to the 9th century BC but most of the older evidence was destroyed when after 480 the foundations for a new temple were laid. The South Temple on the other hand was not rebuilt, as already said above, and its earlier phases appeared to be well-preserved, under sealed layers, and the truly remarkable thing is that these earlier phases comprise no less than nine temples, from the 15th to the 5th century BC (and possibly even reaching back some centuries more, to before the Mycenaean period - as is suggested by pottery finds, but no architecture from that period has been preserved). Obviously, the presence of two temples from the Mycenaean period (Temples 1 and 2), one from shortly after the end of the Bronze Age (Temple 3), one from Proto-Geometric days (Temple 4), two from the Geometric period (Temples 5 and 6), one from the end of the 8th century (Temple 7), a provisional building that stood from about 580 to 550 BC (known as Temple 8 though not a proper temple), and an Archaic peripteral temple (Temple 9), all in one spot, provide one with unique opportunities for studying the architectural development of the early Greek temple. Please note that in older publications the temples are numbered differently, as a first Mycenaean phase (Temple 1) was recognized only in 2012.

There is no room here to discuss any of the finds, architectural or otherwise, in detail. Amongst the movable finds, from different periods, there is a large number of dedications/votives, including many weapons and, a unique find, chariot wheels from the late Archaic period (Temple 8); more specifically, several of the building phases have foundation or building deposits of many kinds, amongst them a bronze bowl decorated with dancers, imported from somewhere along the Syrian coast (Temple 6). From Temple 6, which burned down, we have the remains of an aniconic wooden cult image (a *xoanon* shaped like the *sanis* in the Samian Heraion), and from Temple 7 fragments of a wall painting of warriors confronting one another. And so on: the finds are extremely rich (though not the primary concern of the present publication).

New finds like Kalapodi and re-examining old ones all contribute to the idea that the religious life of Greece shows much more continuity between Bronze Age and Archaic Period than is often thought. This is not really unexpected, considering the contents of the Linear-B tablets, but it had always been difficult to find archaeological evidence for unbroken traditions. Now we can add Kalapodi to the small number of sanctuaries with an undisputed continuity down from Mycenaean days, and in the case of Kalapodi the evidence is incontrovertible and overwhelming. However, as Niemeier observes (pp. 23-24, quoting De Polignac) the more important issue is to decide what 'continuity' exactly implies: continued use, certainly, but to what purpose? It is possible that the sanctuary at Kalapodi set out as a sanctuary for a goddess, possibly Artemis, and only became an Apollo sanctuary and oracle in the course of the 9th century BC, as may also have happened on Delos and in Delphi.

Excavating Kalapodi is one thing; understanding everything thus laid bare another. Niemeier is right to say that our work on Kalapodi has only started.

Such revisions to commonly held notions concerning the religious history between 1200 and 800 BC as Kalapodi contributes, feed into the current rethinking of the 'Dark Age' as a period not of unrelenting decline and impoverishment, but as a period when much of what was to be characteristic of the Archaic Period was already prefigured. Maybe we should by now get rid of the 'Dark Age' altogether (and of all that this concept brings in its wake, cf. Antonis Kotsonas, *Politics of Periodization and the Archaeology of Early Greece*, *American Journal of Archaeology* 120.2 (April 2016) 239-270). Kalapodi is certainly amongst the arguments.

It should be obvious: one cannot ignore Kalapodi. And the 2004-2013 campaigns were not the end of it. In 2014 research resumed, led by Katja Sporn, and it has already led to new insights into the lay-out of the sanctuary at large, and its afterlife until possibly the 8th century AD. Also, recent geophysical prospection across several hectares surrounding the temples has shown some other substantial buildings and a settlement with an orthogonal street plan. So if the booklet by Niemeier has made you (more) aware of Kalapodi, do cherish that awareness - there is undoubtedly much more to come.

F.G. Naerebout

DIANA RODRÍGUEZ PÉREZ (ed.), *Greek art in context. Archaeological and art historical perspectives*. London/New York: Routledge 2017. xxiv, 282 pp., 63 ills, 24 cm. – ISBN 978-1-472-45745-5

This is a book that is supposed to be, first and foremost, about context and not about Greek art. As far as the art discussed is concerned, this would be a haphazard collection of papers - even though sculpture and pottery form the main focus. But it is context that should bring everything together (maybe *Contextualizing Greek art* would have been a more precise title). The subtitle refers to archaeology and art history in order to accommodate different scholarly traditions, but ideally these two strands should be interwoven in Greek material culture studies, as the editor phrases it (p. 3). The Greek material culture discussed here, relief sculpture and sculpture in the round and painted pottery, is traditionally the mainstay of studies into Greek art. Here, however, they are to be looked at in context, which should preclude interpreting them as art in a narrow sense, that is, as aesthetic objects with intrinsic value.

So: a volume on the contexts of material culture. The questions informing the volume are about the definition of context, which context(s) to choose if there is more than one context, the ways in which context is relevant for interpretation, and what to do if there is no context (but already in the introduction that is said to be an impossibility). These questions were addressed by a conference organized at the University of Edinburgh in 2014, where over 55 papers and posters were presented. 16 of these were selected to appear in the present volume - on which criteria we are not told. The 19 authors and the editor are an international company, and range

from PhD-students (paired with their professors as co-authors) to long-established scholars.

Context for archaeologist is above all find-spot, but at the conference context was also understood as text (not forgetting the context of the text), and the socio-economic context (social, economic, historical, political). In the book, in a somewhat different set-up, the 16 papers are arranged in four sections: location and find-spot; use and display; artistic and historical contexts; and re-contextualization. Not all papers seem to fit into these four categories equally well. The division is not really explained, except by saying that it 'is intended to offer a representative selection of current approaches' (p. 8). We are not told what these approaches are and which of them have been selected and why. This is definitely not the first conference or book to address issues of context, but it does not get much of a context itself. The editor offers some theorizing about context in the introduction, but it is not nearly enough. I find it especially strange that Michael B. Schiffer's seminal 'Archaeological and systemic context' (*American Antiquity* 37.2 (1972) 156-165) is not referred to (indeed not mentioned anywhere in the book). The concept of different systemic contexts would have helped the editor to avoid the muddle about 'primary, secondary or even tertiary find-spots/context' (pp. 5-6). But then the 'biography of things', very relevant for context and change, is also largely lacking, and Chris Gosden, Yvonne Marshall or Janet Hoskins go unmentioned too. The whole volume is definitely under-theorized.

There is only one paper that addresses theoretical issues at some length, and that is the one by Winfred van de Put on iconography in context. His argument is that we have for one-and-a-half century been in thrall to studying the general cultural context, because that is what hermeneutics tells us to do, while the archaeological context has been neglected. In the introduction the editor stated, understandably, that we have too little context, especially non-archaeological, altogether. Van de Put says we had too much of it, and he definitely has a point here. In advocating a turn towards the archaeological context, he does not want to do away with hermeneutics. Indeed, he argues for an eclectic approach, where we combine archaeological context and a 'hermeneutic bridge from mind to mind' (p. 78). One should look to the social sciences for new questions, approaches and methodologies. I am very much in agreement - but cannot but note that this eclecticism and recourse to the social sciences was already advocated by the ancient historian H.S. Versnel half a century ago, and not just by him (I do not claim that he, or most other ancient historians, made proper use of material culture as a source).

I will now look at the 15 other papers in the volume, grouping them in clusters of my own, with my own labels.

1) *Human cognition as context*. Two papers deal with how people perceive things. Bonna Westcoat and Rebecca Levitan present an interesting case of experimental archaeology. At the Nashville Parthenon (a life size reproduction) they put up a couple of panels of the reconstructed Parthenon frieze (the Nashville Parthenon lacks the frieze - due to the 1929 financial crash that part of the building was never finished), in the shape of painted canvas and of dyed sculpted isolation

foam, and then asked visitors to fill in a questionnaire about the frieze's visibility. It turned out that the frieze, its original when still in place on the Parthenon commonly considered to have been hardly visible at all, was in fact quite visible, with the colouring playing the most important part, and that people found it a powerful experience. This is about context in a very simple and literal sense, but interesting and helpful.

Katerina Volioti on the other hand does not like to keep things simple. She looks at repetitive black-figure vase scenes from the early 5th century, of the so-called Haimonian Group. Usually seen as 'bad art' meant for those who could not afford the better stuff, Volioti goes beyond economy and introduces the viewer's 'psycho-physiological reaction' (also physiological because humans react both mentally and bodily to stimuli - and a decorated Greek vase is not just an image but also an object that one handles). 'Fluency' is the crucial concept here: familiar stimuli are processed more easily, facilitate cognition, and thus what causes these stimuli is considered likeable. That means saleable: the buyers' choices drive production, but subsequently effective marketing leads to cross-selling. Such feed-back loops can explain why unrefined pottery is actually preferred by a wide range of buyers, and is not just the poor man's last resort. The sketchiness of the decoration, which leads to ambiguous imagery, may actually add interest to pleasure. This is an intriguing attempt to explain why 'cheap rubbish' might be something that is actively sought after.

2) *Text as context*. Two papers deal with textual sources in a direct way. Marion Meyer discusses the West pediment of the Parthenon which shows the strife between Athena and Poseidon, and the so-called *martyria*, the relics of this competition, being the sacred olive tree and the salt sea on the Akropolis. Her main point as far as context is concerned, is that we should not try to explain the pediment by later written sources, but rather the other way round. That is an important proposition: let us turn the tables and use the imagery to understand the written sources (and the variant traditions found there), when these sources are written by authors who react to pre-existing images - as is so often the case.

Matteo Zaccarini focuses on material culture that has disappeared without leaving a trace: the Athenian Stoa of the Herms and the three Eion herms that it probably contained. Aeschines and Plutarch document these herms, but offer opposing readings. Zaccarini concludes that neither tells us about the situation of the 5th century, but that each informs us about the concerns of their own days. This is not a surprising conclusion, but one which may bear repetition when it is still common practice to try to always reconcile divergent sources.

3) *'Cultural competence' as context*. Three papers discuss how we should interpret imagery on the basis of general cultural background knowledge. Samantha Masters and Alexander Andrason look at what Lily Kahil has dubbed Helen and Paris vases in 5th-century Attic vase painting. They believe this to be a misidentification. The iconography is not distinctive, the identification arbitrary or subjective - what they call 'explainer-conditioned' (p.165). They introduce the concept of complexity: when we talk about realistic complex sys-

tems, which are open and connected, for instance any human society, such systems cannot be modeled, except by the plausible. There are always several options, conditioned by the meta-environment of the person doing the research, but nevertheless the one option may be more plausible than the other. As the environment is a constituent of the system, we cannot look at a set of Greek vases without looking also at the value system and moral universe of its producers, purchasers and viewers. The so-called Helen and Paris vases have an iconography that overlaps with that of nuptial scenes. But that does not really fit the adulterous affair of Helen and Paris, a most unsuitable paradigm for Athenian marriage. The vases most probably show scenes of idealized courtship in preparation for the marital bond. Considering the societal context of 5th-century Athens, it can hardly be doubted that Masters and Andrason have presented a reading of these vases that is more plausible than Kahil's. Whether we needed the complicating account about 'complexity' to arrive at that conclusion is another matter.

Frank Hildebrandt discusses a set of five fragmentary Apulian red-figure vases by the Darius Painter, 340-330, that might have the same provenance. He interprets the scenes on the vases (the Gigantomachy, a battle between Greeks and 'orientals', and an 'oriental' sanctuary) as 'discourse on the other' and thus a conscious effort at 'self-understanding by Greeks in Italy in the 4th century' (p. 179). I find this rather self-evident: all imagery can be called an exercise in self-understanding, as can all texts, certainly when 'foreigners' (or their mythic counterparts, which are, in ancient perception, historical precursors) are depicted or described - in what one could call 'a discourse on the other/Other' because that is what it is. Hildebrandt set out by listing many different contextual levels, not just find-spot or visual language (the focus of his paper) but also material, technique, quality, and so on. In describing the fragments that were used to reconstruct the five vessels, he notes that the sherds carried signs of deliberate destruction. We do not hear about that again: but I think it could have led on to a nice bit of contextualization.

Alice Landskron discusses the Heroon of Trysa, the famous Lycian grave monument of around 400 BC, and sees Lycian, Greek and Persian elements in its relief sculpture (re-interpreting some scenes in the process). She argues that the life and deeds of the Lycian grandee whose resting place this was are mirrored by the Greek mythological scenes. Indeed, acculturative processes can make one culturally competent in more than one cultural tradition.

4) *The art market as context*. Helle Hochscheid asks whether sculpture, especially on grave stelae, was affordable. She uses the concept of 'Art World' (introduced in the 1980s by Howard Becker), where 'art' is a collaborative effort between artists/artisans, auxiliaries and patrons (Becker's art dealers, museum curators and art critics are left aside as non-relevant for the ancient world, which might not be completely true). The increasing vertical specialization and the wide range of materials, sizes and finishes make sculpture affordable to many levels of society. And if you cannot afford sculpture, you can have the mason do a simple

inscription and have a painter do a painting (or not), or you procure a slab of stone and go for a DIY grave marker. I do not think this tells us anything new.

5) *Re-contextualization*. Five papers describe how material culture changes in changing contexts. Sheila Dillon and Tim Shea map the find-spots of sculptured Attic tombstones from the Eastern Cemetery at Athens, and of Roman portrait statuary amongst the Herulian debris and in the post-Herulian wall at the Athenian Agora. A previous exercise at mapping sculpture find-spots at Aphrodisias functions as a model. The 'statue landscape' exists for many centuries, but not unchanged: there is re-use, re-deployment, and so on. Wall-building is especially disruptive.

Elizabeth Baltes also deals with the 'portrait landscape' of the Agora, where the Agora is the context, and within the confines of the Agora there are micro-contexts. Five such micro-contexts presented by Pausanias are discussed in some detail. Public space is shown to be curated: sculptures are being 'reshuffled'. As the context changes, statues are moved about and/or change meaning. Several modalities are analyzed. Interestingly, some shifts in the 'portrait landscape' can convincingly be shown to reflect Roman interests.

Carmen Sánchez Fernández looks at 4th-century Attic pottery imports on the Iberian peninsula. Vases are given new uses, especially in funerary contexts. Stine Schierup also discusses issues of appropriation, in her case Panathenaic amphorae imported by the Tarantine elite, and put to funerary use. As the imports dry up towards the middle of the 5th century, for a short period pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae are produced in Metapontum, followed by Lucanian red-figure and Apulian amphorae of Panathenaic shape. That imported pottery can be put to new uses and can be interpreted in novel ways that befit their new context, is of course something that has been studied exhaustively.

A look at re-contextualization in the post-antique world is offered by Sally Waite who discusses the Kent Collection of Cypriot pottery at Harrogate (Yorkshire, UK), and from this example argues that unprovenanced pieces in museums are not lost to contextual archaeology because the museum context is an integral part of an object's life cycle as well. She advocates that instead of the usual stylistic or thematic displays more attention should be paid in museums to collectors and the contexts within which they collected. Of course, this is already a well-established trend and there are many more examples than the ones she points out.

6) *No context*. Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones returns to the much discussed Eurymedon Vase. I cannot find context in his paper (except for the fact that he accepts the interpretation of the vase as referring to a Greek victory over the Persians), and its most interesting part is in fact about the virtual space within the vase which I think could be called the opposite of context. Some vase painters have the humans they depict interact with painted frames or the body of the vase. Llewellyn-Jones' interpretation of the 'Persian' on the Eurymedon Vase as leaning with both hands against the 'front wall' of the vase (as if he is opposite the viewer behind a plate glass wall) I find compelling. The argument that we should conflate both sides of the vase and thus have a scene of

anal penetration, I find rather less so; the parallel cases which he adduces are not really parallel cases.

The paper by Eleni Manakidou deals with Archaic pottery assemblages from central Macedonia, which show a great variety of imported and local wares. The role played by context does not come out at all.

Context is here understood as any approach that goes beyond typology, stylistic analysis, ascription to a specific artist, and the like. Even a simple iconographic analysis counts as an example of contextualizing. That is true, of course, and in that way a great many hobbyhorses can be passed off as examples of a contextual approach. Van de Put seems to be quite right in saying that interpretation by way of context, especially the general cultural context, is what we have been doing for many generations, and that we need to integrate this with the archaeological context and with insights provided by the social sciences. Only Volioti seems to fully live up to this, with Dillon and Shea, and Baltes as runners-up. Otherwise, I do not think we really get what we bargained for: context is not really problematized here and we end up with what is indeed a haphazard collection of papers about Greek art, more or less interesting, but not really innovative.

The book has been properly edited; I saw just one typo: p. 102: Gestern = Gesten. What I do find objectionable is that a hardcover book which sells for over 140 euros, is not sewn in quires, but has its pages glued into the binding.

F.G. Naerebout

ELENI MANAKIDOU, *Frauentünze für Dionysos*. Kilchberg: Akanthus Verlag, 2017. 120 pp., 51 figg. b/n, 4 dis., 25,5 cm (Akanthiskos II). – ISBN 978-3-905083-34-7.

In questo ben curato fascicolo della collana Akanthiskos un gruppo di skyphoi attici a figure nere della Classe dell'Airone Bianco fornisce lo spunto per un'analisi dell'iconografia della danza in scene alle quali prendono parte soltanto personaggi femminili, e in pari tempo della forma vascolare che serve da supporto alle rappresentazioni. In particolare, recuperando la base documentaria e le considerazioni espresse in un precedente lavoro pubblicato nella rivista *Egnatia*, Manakidou sviluppa la sua ricerca sullo sfondo della fortuna riscossa dalle raffigurazioni legate al culto di Dioniso in età tardo-arcaica.

Manakidou procede isolando le singole componenti delle immagini in questione, che vengono indagate sulla scorta di una profonda conoscenza non solo della tradizione figurativa, ma anche delle fonti scritte e degli orientamenti attuali della ricerca. Così nel testo, come negli excursus e nel catalogo ragionato che lo integrano, il saggio tocca più aspetti del mondo della donna ateniese in età tardo-arcaica, con speciale attenzione a quelli della danza collettiva, soprattutto nella cornice di contesti festivi, e della relazione tra le donne e le feste in onore di Dioniso. Parallelamente, il lettore viene informato sull'inquadramento stilistico e cronologico degli skyphoi interessati e sul loro uso da parte del sesso femminile, nonché sull'iconografia del culto del dio sugli esemplari della Classe dell'Airone Bianco, per terminare con osser-

vazioni sulle immagini di 'baccanti' su coppe a figure rosse attribuite al ceramografo Makron.

Tranne poche eccezioni i recipienti del nucleo esaminato, articolati in tre gruppi cronologici compresi nel primo quarto del V secolo, sono riconducibili al tipo C della classificazione proposta da A.D. Ure, con altezze che oscillano prevalentemente attorno a 15-16,5 centimetri di altezza e una capacità approssimativa di tre litri: misura degna di nota, in quanto prossima all'ordine di grandezza di un *chous* e per l'ovvio rimando di questo genere di contenitore alle celebrazioni dionisiache nel giorno intitolato ai Choes. La sola mano individuale riconosciuta è quella del Pittore di Teseo, mentre il rimanente s'inquadra per lo più nel Gruppo CHC e intorno ad esso, e nel Gruppo dei Krotala.

Dal punto di vista iconografico, come accennato, gli skyphoi condividono un tema, spesso replicato da ambo i lati, che rappresenta una distinta variante di una delle più popolari scene 'di genere' della tarda produzione a figure nere: quello della danza femminile, accompagnata nella maggior parte dei casi dalla musica di una *auletris*. Su alcuni documenti un insieme formato da tre a cinque donne che si tengono per mano o ai polsi e da una musicista stante, è raffigurato mentre sembra danzare in cerchio con movenze misurate; oppure, in alternativa, nell'atto di disporsi su una fila guidata da una tra le sue componenti. Una dozzina circa di skyphoi presenta viceversa due coppie di donne, danzanti ciascuna intorno a una musicista e atteggiata in pose più sciolte, nelle quali il movimento delle braccia, fattore non secondario secondo le fonti letterarie, serve ad esprimere lo slancio dell'esecuzione. Un gruppo più circoscritto numericamente (tra cui uno skyphos confluito nel recente catalogo *Sotheby's, Antiquities*, New York 3.6.2015, n. 43) propone infine due danzatrici e due musiciste ai lati di un'immagine di Dioniso.

In assenza di elementi identificativi di una classe d'età, il fatto che le danzatrici indossino un lungo chitone con maniche corte o sbracciato induce Manakidou a privilegiare l'idea che si tratti di donne adulte dai costumi rispettabili, rappresentate in una delle rare occasioni d'incontro. Resta similmente incerta l'identità delle musiciste: forse amiche delle danzatrici, istruite nella musica come parte della propria educazione e della propria integrazione nel tessuto sociale, o al contrario intrattenitrici professionali?

Su uno degli skyphoi una colonna dorica e nastri, sospesi a un'immaginaria parete, alludono a un luogo delimitato da una struttura architettonica come spazio dell'azione; mentre tre esemplari in cui si staglia in posizione centrale una maschera di Dioniso, fissata su una colonna che reca una stoffa panneggiata intorno al fusto, sembrano proporre una contestualizzazione meno indefinita, anzi una chiave di lettura determinante per il complesso delle rappresentazioni in esame. I riscontri più ovvi sono offerti da uno skyphos del Pittore di Teseo nel Museo Nazionale di Atene, su cui la presenza di un satiro e di una menade danzanti al posto delle donne, proietta la rappresentazione sul piano del mito; ma anche, e soprattutto, dalle numerose lekythoi che propongono un raddoppiamento della maschera divina, con le danzatrici colte in gesti di devozione o di preghiera. Se nelle lekythoi viene meno sovente l'accompa-

gnamento musicale, questo ritorna, sempre ad opera di figure che suonano il doppio flauto o la lira, su coppe-skyphoi e coppe di datazione lievemente più bassa, non solo di produzione ateniese ma probabilmente anche nord-attica o beotica; Manakidou le pone in relazione con gli skyphoi oggetto del suo studio in quanto, forse, rispondenti alle stesse esigenze da parte dei - o piuttosto, delle - loro acquirenti. Anche su questo gruppo di vasi, infatti, compaiono donne che danzano e colonne - come elementi isolati o, ancora, come parti del simulacro di Dioniso.

Collateralmente, Manakidou non trascura di gettare uno sguardo su scene di danza dal numero di partecipanti e dagli attributi svariati, rappresentate su vasi di altra tipologia della tarda produzione a figure nere (repertorio del quale fanno parte, di speciale interesse, pissidi nicosteniche attribuite al Gruppo CHC, da lei stessa studiate in T. Korkut/B. Özen-Kleine [edd.], *Festschrift für Heide Froning*, Istanbul 2018, 255-264: tra queste una di Berlino, vicinissima non solo per il tema della raffigurazione, ma anche nel profilo e nelle dimensioni a diversi skyphoi considerati nel libro in discussione; e, si noti, un inedito frammento di coperchio da Orvieto, con la maschera di Dioniso applicata su una colonna). In alcune di queste scene, dunque, donne raffigurate con pelli di pantera, corone e tralci d'edera e *krotala* possono essere accompagnate da animali che alludono alla natura selvaggia; attributi che anche in assenza di Dioniso o dei satiri hanno guadagnato a queste figure la generica, e per altri versi dibattuta, definizione di 'menadi'. A tale riguardo Manakidou rileva la mancanza di chiarezza, forse intenzionale, circa l'identità delle donne appartenenti alla cerchia di Dioniso e le sovrapposizioni esistenti tra mondo reale e sfera del mito, evidenti ad es. laddove donne che indossano una pelle di animale ritmano i propri movimenti con i crotali, mentre un giovane, al pari di loro coronato d'edera, intona una melodia sul doppio flauto; l'Autrice vi riconosce un segno di un'ambiguità che connota l'ambito del dio. *Auletrides* - o citariste - e danzatrici dalla gestualità contenuta, talora con connotati dionisiaci, sono un elemento comune anche ad alcuni stamnoi 'delle Lenae' di età classica, le cui scene, incentrate su azioni rituali che prevedono l'impiego del vino, vengono riportate a una celebrazione in onore di Dioniso, a prescindere dalle diverse circostanze specifiche cui la critica ha proposto di riferirle.

Per tornare agli skyphoi, Manakidou ravvisa nella danza l'atto attraverso il quale si manifesta il tributo alla divinità, sebbene non vi sia riconoscibile una precisa danza sacra legata ad atti di culto codificati, né essa appaia localizzabile in uno dei santuari che ammettevano la presenza femminile; piuttosto, è incline a pensare ad occasioni spontanee, cui era manifestamente estranea l'agitazione incontrollata delle menadi rappresentate su ceramiche a figure rosse o altre opere figurative di epoca classica, facendo notare che un aspetto rivelatore del carattere delle scene è l'uso del doppio flauto: uno strumento caratteristico del mondo di Dioniso, al quale era riservato un ruolo anche nel culto. La rappresentazione collettiva, senza un coinvolgimento maschile, invita a ritenere che le protagoniste appartenessero alla categoria delle donne rispettabili.

L'intervento di queste ultime nei culti estatici, pur comportando un temporaneo distacco dalla buona educazione e dalla socialità nel momento della pratica culturale, non impediva che si mantenesse un comportamento scevro di eccessi.

Manakidou approfondisce successivamente il rapporto dell'elemento femminile con lo *skyphos*. Per le figure nere, fa riferimento prima di tutto alle immagini che presentano personaggi consoni per aspetto e atteggiamento alle Ateniesi della classe elevata, mentre si servono di capaci recipienti che richiamano la sagoma della Classe dell'Airone nel contesto solenne di un 'banchetto rituale femminile'. Per quanto non esplicita, la consumazione del vino, il dono di Dioniso, può desumersi dai contenitori che vengono riempiti o semplicemente tenuti in mano; di conseguenza, non si è mancato di chiamare in causa feste dionisiache determinate, come nel caso di una *neck-amphora* di Monaco in cui M. Nilsson percepiva un riflesso delle Antesterie; mentre altri hanno proposto un inquadramento nell'ambito demetriaco (Tesmoforie), ed altri ancora giudicato improbabile un rimando a situazioni concrete (per un accenno recente sul tema vedi anche P. Schmitt Pantel, in R. Schlesier [ed.], *A Different God? Dionysos and Ancient Polytheism*, Berlin/Boston 2011, 121-122). In maniera simile, *skyphoi* figurano anche sugli *stamnoi* 'delle Lenee', così nel contesto della mescolta del liquido nelle scene di carattere culturale come nei cortei rappresentati sui lati secondari di essi.

Con queste premesse, Manakidou ritiene possibile che il vino svolgesse una funzione in occasione di incontri formali tra donne ateniesi, alle quali, diversamente da quanto attestato per altre città come Sparta o Mileto, berne non era proibito, come risulta dalle feste religiose che contemplavano la loro partecipazione; senza dimenticare che l'iconografia degli *skyphoi*, spesso legata come si è visto al mondo della donna, poteva renderli accessori confacenti a quelle di loro che intervenivano a queste riunioni. In considerazione dell'aspetto dimensionale dei vasi raffigurati nelle suddette scene di 'convito rituale', l'Autrice concorda con l'opinione di chi ritiene che l'intero gruppo convenuto potesse servirsi di un recipiente comune.

In varie regioni della Grecia è testimoniata l'esistenza di celebrazioni notturne riservate a *thiasoi* femminili, che comprendevano cortei, danze, sacrifici, conviti nella cornice del culto di Dioniso e, in misura minore, di riunioni nella sfera privata, parallele rispetto a quelle destinate agli uomini, dove accanto alla danza e al canto è possibile che trovasse spazio la consumazione di cibi e vino. Al fine di individuare una connessione con gli *skyphoi* oggetto della sua ricerca, Manakidou si chiede se anche in occasione di feste dionisiache previste dal calendario ateniese, nelle quali si svolgevano danze organizzate (ad es. nelle Antesterie e nelle Grandi Dionisie), possano essersi tenuti incontri della stessa natura, aperti solo a una cerchia ristretta; e intravede una possibile relazione con le Antesterie nell'accesso della componente femminile a quella festa, mediato attraverso la partecipazione attiva di personaggi di condizione elevata, le *Gerarai*. Sarebbe pertanto coerente con la diffusione e il radicamento del culto di Dioniso in Attica tra la fine del VI e i primi decenni del V secolo la comparsa nell'iconografia riguardante il dio di una danza corale, con o senza

attributi chiaramente espressi, specialmente su alcune forme vascolari. Del resto, è ancora su *skyphoi* della Classe dell'Airone Bianco che ricorrono rappresentazioni dal chiaro accento dionisiaco: è sufficiente rammentare le scene del carro navale di Dioniso, ricondotte a un rituale in cui si celebrava il suo arrivo dal mare, oppure alle raffigurazioni di personaggi travestiti da animali o in groppa ad animali, nelle quali specialmente la presenza di un auleta rimanda all'esecuzione di cori ditirambici.

Sulla base degli ovvi rapporti tra la tarda produzione a figure nere e gli esordi di quella a figure rosse, sottintesi ad esempio nell'attività dei decoratori operanti in ambedue le tecniche, Manakidou mette in luce gli elementi comuni intercorrenti tra le rappresentazioni di danze collettive sugli *skyphoi* dell'Airone Bianco e su un gruppo di coppe a soggetto dionisiaco di Makron. A parte la significativa presenza dello *xoanon* in una di queste, oggi a Berlino, da porre in parallelo con quella della maschera affissa a una colonna o ad un palo sopra richiamata a proposito di *skyphoi* e *lekythoi*, anche le opere di Makron omettono sistematicamente la componente maschile. Vi compaiono donne musicanti - *auletrides* e una citarista -, e tra gli elementi accessori che caratterizzano le danzatrici rientrano non solo i *thyrsos*, i *krotala*, la *pardalis*, ma anche *skyphoi* con una sagoma affine al tipo dell'Airone Bianco, in uno dei quali la decorazione, distintamente leggibile, propone la figura di un satiro (sul senso di immagini come questa cfr. anche, da un'altra prospettiva, S. Venit, *AntK* 49, 2006, 34-35). Essi sono un dettaglio non trascurabile, che implica un riferimento agli atti della mescolta e della consumazione del vino, percettibile, come sopra ricordato, anche nei più tardi 'vasi delle Lenee'. Sullo sfondo dell'affermazione del culto di Dioniso tra le donne ateniesi nel tardo arcaismo, Manakidou osserva dunque che la frequenza delle rappresentazioni di danza afferenti alla sfera del dio in quel torno di tempo potrebbe suggerire che l'impulso decisivo delle scene incentrate sul simulacro sia partito proprio dalla 'nuova' tecnica decorativa, come proverebbero appunto le coppe di Makron, per essere poi recepito dai più modesti prodotti della declinante pittura a figure nere.

Ricapitolando quanto fin qui esposto per sommi capi, le pagine di Manakidou dimostrano come rappresentazioni tra loro coerenti, esaminate in maniera circostanziata nel quadro del loro tempo, facciano emergere significati che vanno oltre una lettura superficiale; nel caso in specie, come scene di danza contraddistinte da specifici elementi comuni possano proporre una sfaccettatura fin qui ignorata dell'iconografia del culto di Dioniso.

Orazio Paoletti

ALESSANDRO PIERATTINI, *Manuale del Restauro Archeologico di Ercolano*. Rome: Editrice Dedalo, 2009. pp. vii, 230; 29.7 cm. – ISBN 978-8895913124.

Sometimes one happens upon a book deserving more attention than it has received. Alessandro Pierattini's *Manuale* is one such book. While it has been almost a decade since its first appearance, it is high time that it come to the attention of serious Pompeianists and Romanists. Though unfamiliar to archaeologists, architects' 'construction manuals' contain data and various numer-

ical tables on the financial management and safety requirements of construction sites. These manuals' charts and tables also consider diverse architectural styles for understanding specific building details. For example, the *Manuale dell'Architetto* (Rome 1946) was fundamental for Italian post-war reconstruction. The work came into being after an agreement signed in 1945, when the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche took on the work of creating texts and tables while the USIS (United States Information Service) provided 25,000 copies for free distribution. The architect Pier Luigi Nervi and the architectural historian Bruno Zevi collaborated in the writing. Architects also make use of 'Manuals for Restoration', which are similar to construction manuals but used for the restoration of specific ancient buildings (see, for example, *Manuale per il recupero del centro di Roma*, Rome 1998, edited by Paolo Marconi). Pierattini's manual belongs to this second type.

Focusing mainly on the archaeological site of Herculaneum, the book's numerous plates delineate the construction techniques used for the ancient residential buildings buried in 79 AD by the eruption of Vesuvius. The book aims to benefit those who oversee the restoration of these buildings. To represent the final results graphically, Pierattini had to analyze and interpret the archaeological evidence, which often appears in small, isolated fragments. The author aptly points out that in executing the recovery techniques, modern materials similar to the original ones should be used to avoid the 'false', thus he calls for the use of lamellar wood rather than rustic wood, and steel rather than iron, etc.

After a brief introductory chapter on the history of the excavations, the first chapter of the book introduces the domus' typological features and compares them with the ideal model as illustrated by Vitruvius. In the chapter that follows, the subject of the 'Vitruvian canon' shifts to the 'realtà campana'. Next, the author analyzes the individual types of rooms (fauces, atrium, tablinum, peristilium, cubicula, triclinia, etc.) with particular attention given to their characteristic finishes such as wooden frames, cocciopesto or mosaic floors, wall paintings with their frames, and finally, roofing (roofs, lowered roofs, false ceilings or wooden ceilings, etc.).

The manual's second part entirely consists of the author's drawings. This is undoubtedly the most fascinating and engaging part of the book, with thirty-eight plates in various scales illustrating conjectural reconstructions of selected archaeological buildings, or their parts, from ancient Herculaneum. Reconstructions are not limited to formal aspects but focus on how architecture was built. The author's detailed cut-away axonometric and section drawings explore the long-lost construction techniques of roofs, ceilings, and other building components with a clarity that is rarely found in similar publications.

The reconstructions are substantiated by both ancient literary sources on technical subjects (Vitruvius, Pliny, etc.) and archaeological evidence consisting of beam sockets, carbonized wood, original roof tiles, and other traces observed in the ancient houses of Herculaneum, with references to buildings at Pompeii and in the broader Roman-Italic world. When neither literature nor the evidence provide enough data for reconstructing spe-

cific components, the author's conjectures overtly rely on parallels with traditional, pre-modern structures and on constructional considerations. For example, when reconstructing wooden coffered ceilings, he draws upon building techniques documented from the Renaissance onwards. In this case, the recent finding of ceiling coffers from the House of the Telephus Relief at Herculaneum (D. Camardo/M. Notomista, The roof and suspended ceiling of the marble room in the House of the Telephus Relief at Herculaneum, *JRomA* 28, 2015, 39-70) attests to a building method different from the one Pierattini proposes, although it is based on a similar structural concept.

In another case, Pierattini's interpretation of the roof carpentry of the Tuscan cavaedium differs from the traditional one as described by Vitruvius (and echoed by so many physical reconstructions of compluviate roofs). From Piranesi onwards, the four angular beams (*trabes colliciae*) supporting the roof's valleys have been supposed to span exactly from the corners of the cavaedium's walls to the compluvium, literally following Vitruvius's description: *collicias ab angulis parietum ad angulos tignorum incurrentes* (6.3.1). A problem about this reconstruction, as Pierattini convincingly argues, is that it leads to the roof valleys being oriented such that, in plan, they do not form 45 degree angles with the walls. Such a geometry is incompatible with the shape of the special angular tiles (*tegulae colliciae*) found in many houses in the Vesuvian area as well as in Rome (see, for example, the one with the Acheloos protome from the Auditorium villa). The author's innovative hypothesis addresses this technical problem by orienting the beams at 45 degree angles regardless of whether they intersect the walls precisely at the corners. The resulting solution is thus consistent with the tiles' geometry, and future reconstructions (virtual as well as physical) of Roman roofs will have to take it into due consideration.

Taken together, Pierattini's plates provide a full picture of the construction and reconstruction of the elements that make up the domus. The reader is free to agree or disagree with the author's learned contribution to the scholarly discourse.

Umberto Pappalardo

JESÚS ACERO PÉREZ, *La gestión de los residuos en Augusta Emerita. Siglos I a.C.-VII d.C.* Madrid: Instituto de Arqueología de Mérida and Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2018, 437 pp., 241 figs., 28 cm., CD-ROM included (Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología 82) – ISBN 978-84-00-10329-3.

The 'archaeology of waste' is a newly created archaeological sub-discipline that offers an excellent opportunity to interrelate the different sides of urban ecosystems. We cannot forget that the analysis of the waste management is the study of the city itself, since this sub-discipline approaches most of the facets that define the urban occupation, either from a topographical view (urban planning and later evolution, road network, public and private architecture, etc.), or from a social one (living

conditions of the inhabitants, patterns of production or consumption, etc.).

In this framework, the book reviewed here is rather an original work, being the first monograph that tackles, from a global and integrating perspective, the strategies for the management of urban waste generated in a city throughout a broad time-frame. The chosen one has been the Spanish city of Mérida, and more specifically its first seven centuries of life, since it is an excellent laboratory of work. In this sense, it is worth to mention its importance in Roman and Late Antique times (when it was the capital of the province of *Lusitania* and of the *diocesis Hispaniarum*, becoming also an episcopal see) and, above all, the large amount of archaeological information available, which the author has managed to process successfully despite its dispersion and heterogeneous quality.

The ambitious time frame examined (1st century BC-7th century AD) has made possible the detection, with great success, of the initial waste management strategies used in *Augusta Emerita*, and how these were evolving on the basis of the socio-economic, political and ideological transformations which took place in the following centuries. Given the ambitious nature of this project, the author has focused eminently on topographic and urban aspects, revealing how a public model of waste management gave way to strategies developed within a more private sphere.

The result of this research is an ambitious book divided in two large volumes. The first one is an excellent synthesis which is structured in ten chapters. Due to their special interest, chapters 2 and 3 stand out, as they allow the reader to know, from a critical point of view, the main bibliography about the management of urban waste (at an international and national level) in pre-industrial times, but also all the main textual and iconographic sources available for the Roman period. Regarding chapter 4, it is worth highlighting the methodology employed (valid and applicable to other cities) as well as the subject-specific terminology used, which aims to promote the correct use of the extensive vocabulary inherent to the archaeology of waste.

The following three chapters constitute the central and main nucleus of the work, analysing in each of them the evacuation of a concrete type of waste, whether liquid (chapter 6), physiological (chapter 7) or solid (chapter 8). They are wastes with different and specific issues, which require a particular approach to study them, but without losing sight of the fact that they are closely interconnected.

In chapter 6, the sewer network of *Augusta Emerita* is deeply analysed, including its morphological features and chronological evolution, which has allowed the author to detect a more complex articulation of the sewer network than previously thought. In relation to chapter 7, the protagonists are the latrines, with attention for their location, design and chronology, making Mérida the Roman city of the Iberian Peninsula with the largest number of latrines known to date. Regarding chapter 8, the object of study are the dumping sites, and more specifically their location, type and content. Due to the large amount of landfill sites identified (more than 60), the author has opted in this chapter for a suit-

able chronological analysis, establishing three major time spans: High Imperial Period (1st-2nd centuries AD), Later Roman Period (3rd-4th centuries AD), and Late Antiquity (6th-7th centuries AD).

This diachronic scheme has also been used in chapter 9, which globally presents the main conclusions obtained in the research, also highlighting the future challenges of this new and original line of study. Among them, it would be necessary to deepen in aspects such as the socio-economic characterization of dumping sites or the progressive disuse of the sewerage system, where parasitology has much to contribute as it is showed in the concise Annex I, which reveals the results of the study of several sediment samples from two sewers.

The second volume of the book is a CD-ROM which constitutes an extensive catalogue of every element and space related to the management of urban waste generated in Mérida throughout the analysed time frame. Regarding the more than 114 locations studied, they have been arranged in eleven urban areas, based on urban and topographic elements. The presentation of each location begins with an intuitive planimetric documentation in which its location in the urban plot and the archaeological remains found are reflected. Then, the information obtained is organized in different sections that include: documentation and bibliography, archaeological context, and finally, solid, liquid and physiological waste management. The result is an overwhelming catalogue useful not only to understand the city of Mérida, but also to be employed when looking for parallels in other cities.

Furthermore, the book is well-illustrated, containing an extensive number of maps and pictures, although it would have been good if the publishers had printed some pictures of the volume I at a large size, in order to improve their display.

In sum, this is not only an excellent work about the waste management (and topography) of *Augusta Emerita*, but it also provides an exemplary methodology when processing and analysing the huge archaeological data obtained in historic cities such as Mérida, inhabited uninterruptedly for several centuries, with the difficulties and problems derived from it.

Manuel D. Ruiz-Bueno

LARA DUBOSSON-SBRIGLIONE, *Le culte de la Mère des dieux dans l'Empire romain*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2018. 551 pp., 31 b/w figs; 24 cm (Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 62). - ISBN 978-3-515-11990-0.

This book by Lara Dubosson-Sbrigione deals with the arrival and development of the cult of the *Magna Mater deorum* (Great Mother of gods) in the Roman world. It is divided into six chapters, conclusions included, which are preceded by an introductory chapter about the material studied by the author, the state of the art and the aims of the study. The first chapter covers the arrival of the goddess to Rome in 204 BC, through a discussion of the historical and legendary accounts and a presentation of the rituals and cultic places attached to the cult. Chapter two analyses the two major

ritual cycles celebrating the cult, the *Ludi Megalenses* held in April and the March festivities. Chapter three is a description of the cultic agents, which Dubosson-Sbriglione divides into 'Oriental' (Phrygian priests and priestesses; the *galli*, castrated devotees of the Mater) and 'Roman' (magistrates; Roman priests and priestesses; *archigalli*; music players). Chapter four is dedicated to the description of the *collegia*, associations commonly attached to the Magna Mater cult, such as the renowned *dendrophores* and *cannophores*, but also less well-documented groups, such as the *sodales ballatores* or the *dumopireti*. Chapter five is a long and thorough analysis of the most known and discussed ritual attached to the Magna Mater cult: the *taurobolium* (and *criobolium*). After a brief conclusive chapter, Dubosson-Sbriglione provides three appendixes, consisting of a list of priests and priestesses, a transcription of the epigraphic evidence for *taurobolium* and *criobolium*, and a list of the cultic actors mentioned in the inscriptions. At the very end of the book, the reader can find four indexes, one for the ancient authors, one for the epigraphic sources, one for the iconographic sources and one general index.

The most commendable aspects of Dubosson-Sbriglione's work are its structure and variety of sources. In five thematically organized chapters, the author manages to give a complete picture of the Magna Mater cult and its development in an impressive geographical and chronological span (the whole Roman domain between 204 BC and 391 AD). Each chapter is clearly organized: after an introduction of the specific matter, Dubosson-Sbriglione carries out an investigation of literary as well as material sources, with a specific focus on epigraphic evidence. At the end of each chapter, the author provides intermediate syntheses, which might seem redundant, but in fact make the consultation of this considerable work easier. Quite oddly, although inscriptions and literary sources are usually translated into French, Dubosson-Sbriglione occasionally makes use also of Italian translations, such as for Arnobius' mythological narration translated by Sanzi (p. 63) and for a Greek inscription in Rome translated by Guarducci (p. 335).

Significant omissions in the references is something upon which it should be remarked. Even though the author heavily relies on important names, especially within French scholarship, such as Graillet (whose work she aims to update) and Borgeaud, Dubosson-Sbriglione overlooks the contribution of other paramount research, such as Roller's, Alvar's and Latham's, which would have been extremely useful. For instance, Alvar's reflections on the Romanization of 'oriental' cults would have been instrumental in discussing the distinction between Roman and Oriental cultic actors in chapter 3 or the definition of the *taurobolium* ritual as a Roman invention or reinterpretation (p. 389).

Overall, Dubosson-Sbriglione's study develops around three main, difficult themes: the March festivities, the *galli* and the *taurobolium*. About the cycle of festivals held between the 15th and the 27th of March (*canna intrat*, *arbor intrat*, *sanguem*, *hilaria*, *requieto!*, *lavatio*), Dubosson-Sbriglione advances a new interpretation, criticizing the common assumption that these

festivities concerned Attis rather than the Mother of Gods (p. 115). In particular, the author innovatively interprets the *canna intrat*: usually interpreted as the celebration of the birth of Attis (the Great Mother's companion), according to Dubosson-Sbriglione, this festivity was actually dedicated to the Phrygian flute (*tibia*) or Pan's flute (*syrinx*), instruments used during the Magna Mater cult celebrations (p. 116). The author explains that, since they were usually made of rose wood, which in Latin was named *spadonum* ('eunuch'), these instruments symbolized Attis' castration. However interesting, this interpretation does not contrast the starting assumption that the March festivities were not about Attis. Despite the author's efforts, detaching Attis from the March festivities is a dead-end hypothesis. As a matter of fact, even Dubosson-Sbriglione constantly mentions Attis in her description of the March festivals, even though her ultimate aim is demonstrating that the focus was the goddess and not her companion. Since Attis is a fundamental element of the devotion to the Magna Mater (Ovid - *Fasti* 4.221-226 - describes him as the archetype of the *galli* priests), such a scope seems quite erratic. All in all, Dubosson-Sbriglione's interpretation of Attis' figure seems quite inconsistent: despite affirming that he appeared only in the 3rd century AD (p. 115), the author mentions also earlier testimonies (Catullus, poem 63; Ovid, *Fasti* 4) that thoroughly describe this character.

As for the *galli* and the *taurobolium*, Dubosson-Sbriglione's analysis seems more convincing. Although the omission of Alvar's study is quite noticeable especially for these two themes, Dubosson-Sbriglione presents an exhaustive description of the Magna Mater's priests. Particularly interesting is the adoption of the vasectomy hypothesis for the *galli*'s castration technique (p. 148), a conciliating position between those who utterly deny such a ritual and those who believe the sources' description of a total self-emasculation. In Dubosson-Sbriglione's definition of the *galli* and Attis as antithesis of the Roman citizen (p. 150), the careful reader does feel the absence of reference to Latham's work. Finally, the ultimate interpretation of the *taurobolium* as a Roman mystic ritual (p. 388) heavily relies on Duthoy's renowned study. Particularly praiseworthy is the effort of outlining the identity of the people mentioned in the inscriptions.

In conclusion, the scope Dubosson-Sbriglione established for this study (namely updating Graillet's extensive job - p. 403) turns out to be quite limiting and not reflective of the actual potential of this book. Despite some oversights and omissions, Dubosson-Sbriglione's book is a valid, up-to-date synopsis of the Magna Mater cult in all its geographical and chronological extension. The author keeps a wary approach throughout the whole book and yet still attempts to propose new interpretations for the hot topics (although not always successfully, in my opinion). As the final outcome of a doctoral dissertation, Dubosson-Sbriglione's book has no presumption to replace Graillet's work, but rather to follow it up.

Emilia Salerno

FRANCESCA PAOLA PORTEN PALANGE, *Lucerne a volute monolici e bilicni dal teatro di Caesarea Maritima*. Archaeologica 177. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2017. XV + 148pp., 65 pls (b/w); 24 cm. –ISBN 978-88-7689-303-2/ISSN 0391-9293.

In this book Francesca Paola Porten Palange discusses an interesting group of terracotta volute lamps, unearthed during excavations at the theatre of Caesarea Maritima (modern-day Israel) between 1959 and 1964 by the Italian Archaeological Mission under the direction of Antonio Frova. The construction of this theatre was - according to Titus Flavius Josephus - part of a larger urban development project at the site during the final decades of the 1st century BC under Herod the Great.

The book is a classic material publication and has a very straightforward structure. A brief introduction provides some background to the excavation and discusses the find context of the discussed lamps. They were uncovered in the *hyposcaenium* (the room behind the stage of a theatre) together with several candle holders and *patere* in Eastern Sigillata A bearing the Greek salutation XAPIC. It also outlines the study history of the discussed objects that - due to their high rate of fragmentation - had to be subjected to substantial restoration and consolidation works, significantly delaying their publication. This introduction is followed by an extensive discussion of the characteristics of the lamps, justifying their separation into several types, and as such underpinning the detailed catalogue that constitutes the core of the book. The collection forms an astoundingly compact group of forms (estimated to include 135/140 individual lamps), both in terms of chronology and typology, as well as in style and technique. All fragments belong a type of lamp known as the volute-lamp, dating to the last decades of the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD. Such lamps are characterized by the presence of volute shaped elements marking the transition from the shoulder to the mouth and a distinctive large triangular shaped handle bearing incised vegetal decoration (usually a palm leaf bordered by volutes or acanthus leaves); and have either one (*monolici*) or two (*bilicni*) nozzles. The author distinguishes 22 groups based on (often minor) variations in size, form, and the decoration of both the discus and handle; there is a brief separate

section devoted to three lamps (all only fragmentarily preserved) that are signed with the name FAVSTI, a renowned producer of lamps originating in Italy, who in due course is thought to have set up shop in various locations in the eastern Mediterranean, including Egypt. The catalogue concludes with a concordance list and bibliography and is followed by 65 black-and-white plates that display a selection of the discussed lamps.

There is little to fault in the catalogue itself. The division of the lamps in different series is well-explained and the description of each type is detailed and authoritative and accompanied by an excellent bibliography providing references for both shape and documented decorative details. The accompanying photos are, even though often dating back several decades, generally of sufficient quality, and if necessary accompanied by 1:1 line drawings. It goes without saying that the author should be applauded for the painstaking effort that has been devoted to the study of the presented collection of lamps, necessitating countless hours of careful refitting and documentation. As such she has been able to reconstruct part of an important assemblage that she interprets - based on its incredible homogeneity - as most likely constituting a single bulk order imported from Italy, an interpretation that in the future could be further investigated through archaeometric research. At the same time, it is especially this possible contribution to the study of ancient trade mechanisms that remains underexplored. This is caused mainly by the choice (that remains unexplained) to separate the lamps from the materials that it was found associated with. Also, although several observations on the compactness of the set of lamps; their high degree of standardization (tentatively interpreted as a sign as them coming partly from the same workshop, or several spatially closely related ones) and their presumed date and origin (most likely Italy) are made, such remarks are scattered throughout the catalogue, whereas such interpretations would have been better brought together in a clear discussion at the end of the book.

The lack of such a systematic embedding of the studied materials into wider economic debates in the end restricts the scope of the publication, which will mainly find its way to scholars occupied with the study of Roman material culture.

Gijs Willem Tol

Books received

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GRAŻYNA BAKOWSKA-CZERNER/JAROSŁAW BODZEK (eds), *Augustus. From Republic to Empire*. Oxford: Archaeopress Publishing Ltd. 164 pp., figs; 29 cm (Archaeopress Roman Archaeology 36). – ISBN 978-1-78491-780-7.

SETH BERNARD, *Building Mid-Republican Rome. Labor, Architecture, and the Urban Economy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. 315 pp., figs; 24.5 cm. – ISBN 978-0-19-087878-8.

L. BRICAULT ET AL. (eds), *Rome et les provinces - Monnayage et histoire: mélanges offerts à Michel Amandry*. Bordeaux: Ausonius 2017, 463 pp, ills, 30 cm. – ISBN 978-2-35613-197-3.

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ANNA CANNAVÒ/SABINE FOURRIER/ALEXANDRE RABOT, *Kition-Bamboula VII. Fouilles dans les nécropoles de Kition* (2012-2014). Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée Jean Pouilloux, 2018. 407 pp., b/w and colour figs; 29.5 cm (Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée 75) – ISBN 978-2-35668-061-7/ISSN 2259-4884.

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gisch Historisch Instituut te Rome, Artes VIII). – ISBN 978-90-74461-89-4.

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LARA DUBOSSON-SBRIGLIONE, *Le culte de la Mère des dieux dans l'Empire romain*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2018. 551 pp., 31 b/w figs; 24 cm (Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 62). – ISBN 978-3-515-11990-0.

BRICE L. ERICKSON, *The historical Greek Village*. Princeton, New Jersey: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2018. xxvi+494 pp., 357 b/w figs, 9 color figs, 32 tables; 31 cm (Lerna VIII). – ISBN 978-0-87661-308-5.

C.A. FARAONE, *The transformation of Greek amulets in Roman imperial times*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 2018, 512 pp., 104 ills; 26 cm. – ISBN 978-08122-4935-4.

FRIEDERIKE FLESS/STEPHANIE LANGER/PAOLO LIVERANI/MICHAEL PFANNER (eds), *Historische Reliefs*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2018. 191 pp., 67 figs, 96 pls; 32 cm (Vatikanische Museen Museo Gregoriano Profano Ex Lateranense, Katalog der Skulpturen IV). – ISBN 978-3-95490-307-8.

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URSULA QUATEMBER (mit Beiträgen von Robert Kalasek, Martin Pliessnig, Walter Prochaska, Hans Quatember, Hans Taeuber, Barbara Thuswaldner, Johannes Weber), *Der sogenannte Hadrianstempel an der Kuretenstraße.* Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2017. 2 vols+map folder; 30 cm (Forschungen in Ephesos XI/3): text volume: 402 pp., figs; plates volume: 7 pp., 320 pls; map folder: 10 maps. – ISBN 978-3-7001-7994-8.

JULIEN SCHOEVAERT, *Les boutiques d'Ostie. L'économie urbaine au quotidien I^{er} s. av. J.-C. – V^e s. ap. J.-C.* Rome: École française de Rome, 2018. 310 pp., 91 b/w figs, XVIII pls; 28 cm (Collection de l'École française de Rome 537). – ISBN 978-2-7283-1294-8.

EVA ALRAM-STERN/BARBARA HOREJS (eds), *Pottery Technologies and Sociocultural Connections Between the Aegean Anatolia During the 3rd Millennium BC.* Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2018. 312 pp., b/w and colour figs; 30.3 cm (OREA 10). – ISBN 978-3-7001-8127-9.

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IVO VAN DER GRAAF, *The Fortifications of Pompeii and Ancient Italy.* London: Routledge, 2019. XVI+280 pp., b/w figs, 32 b/w and col. pls; 24 cm. – ISBN 978-1-4724-7716-3.

ANDREW WILSON/ALAN BOWMAN (eds), *Trade, Commerce, and the State in the Roman World.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. 656 pp., b/w figs, 24 cm (Oxford Studies on Roman Economy). – ISBN 978-0-19-879066-2.